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James H. Woods

TO THE MEMORY
OF
JAMES HAUGHTON WOODS
Professor of Philosophy, *Emeritus*
HARVARD UNIVERSITY
1864-1935

FOREWORD

It is most fitting that this, the first number of the *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, should be dedicated to the memory of our colleague who above all others is responsible for the existence of Far Eastern studies in Harvard University. After the death of Mr. Ko Kun hua 戈鯉化 in 1882 no Chinese was offered at Harvard until Professor Woods, among the first to realize the importance of this language not only for the prosecution of research in Buddhism but also for the development of a more universal culture, sought to awaken interest in the establishment of a chair of Chinese at Harvard. Consequently, in 1916, with Professor Woods' backing, instruction in the Chinese language again became available in Cambridge, so that, at the time of the formation of the Harvard Yenching Institute, Harvard was able to show by the actual presence in the University of an Instructor in Chinese that she was interested in the Far East.

Besides assuring the offering of courses in the Chinese language, Professor Woods was the prime mover in raising a large sum of money both in America and Japan which brought some well known Japanese lecturers to the University. Everything was going smoothly, interests thoroughly aroused, and large sums of money promised for instruction at Harvard in both Chinese and Japanese, when the World War intervened and disturbed all plans. Otherwise, it is certain that Harvard would now possess chairs of Japanese and Chinese endowed by funds raised through the energies of Professor Woods.

His interests were primarily in the philosophies and cultures of the East, yet the example of his own life, the energy he expended in the study of many languages besides Chinese and Japanese, shows that he was a proponent of the thesis that a knowledge of these philosophies and cultures is impossible without a thorough grounding in the appropriate tongues. On February 26, 1924 he replied to a correspondent: "It would be wiser to do more honor to Japanese civilization by founding permanent instructorships in the Japanese language which will prepare American students while they are young, to become as familiar with Japanese books and newspapers as they are with German or Russian."

We cannot undertake here an account of his life that would do justice to the depth of his affection for the East and show the profound influence it exercised upon him personally. Leaving this to other hands capable of managing the vast correspondence which will serve to document that aspect of his activity, we would quote in extenso the minute drafted by his colleagues George H. Chase, Walter E. Clark, Ralph Barton Perry, and Alfred N. Whitehead, and adopted at a meeting of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences of Harvard University on April 30, 1935. This minute is published in the *Harvard University Gazette* for May 18, 1935.

James Haughton Woods, son of Joseph Wheeler Woods and Caroline Frances Fitz, was born in Boston on November 27, 1864. The family tradition on both the father's and the mother's side was clerical and academic. After graduating from the Boston Latin School, he entered Harvard in the autumn of 1883, and graduated *magna cum laude* in Philosophy and English Composition in 1887. After two years in the Episcopal Theological School, Cambridge, during which A. V. G. Allen was his principal teacher and Phillips Brooks his personal adviser, he went to the University of Berlin and remained for three semesters. His principal teacher was Harnack, but he heard Paulsen, Pfleiderer, Kaftan, Ebbinghaus, Lasson, Runze and Döring, and his studies embraced philosophy, as well as theology and church history. The summer of 1890 he spent in France, and the spring of 1891 at Oxford, where he was attracted by the lectures of Wallace, Freemantle, Fairbairn and Gore. He then returned to Cambridge for three years of varied activities. He was in charge of St. Paul's Church, Natick, and completed his theological studies, receiving the degree of B. D. in 1904, as of the class of 1890. At the same time he carried on graduate work at Harvard in ecclesiastical history, and assisted Emerson in that subject. In the spring of 1894 he returned to Berlin for two semesters, working in mediæval and ancient history, epigraphy and philology, with Harnack, Scheffer Boichorst, Paulsen, Hirschfeld, Dessau, Klebs, and Schiemann. Then after a year at Strassburg in philosophy under Windelband and in church history under Lucius he received the degree of Ph. D. in 1896 with a thesis on "Erkenntnis Theorie und Causalität." At Strassburg he also gave much attention to Greek philosophy and to Greek art. The Greek language he had known and loved from his school days. Following up this interest he spent a considerable part of the following year in Italy and in Greece, where he took a trip in the Cyclades and Peloponnese with Dorpfeld. He returned to Cambridge in the fall of 1897, and during the five following years was registered in the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, working in philosophy and anthropology, and publishing a small volume entitled "The Value of Religious Facts." From 1900 to 1902 he was instructor in anthropology, and in the second of these years he was also instructor in philosophy. But the most important event of this period was the development under Lanman of his studies in Sanskrit and Indic Philology. His interest in Greek philosophy, and especially in the Cynics, had already led him to trace the relations between Greek and Oriental thought, and Wil-

foundations of the broad erudition, the tolerance and understanding, and the quick, imaginative sympathy by which he was distinguished

Except for a few scattered articles, his doctor's thesis, and two small books on religion, all of Woods's published work was in the field of Indian philosophy. His first book in this field was a translation, in collaboration with C. B. Runkle, of Deussen's *Outline of the Vedānta System of Philosophy*. In 1914 he published the *Yoga System of Patañjali*, a translation of the Yoga Sūtra, together with a commentary and super commentary. This was followed in 1915 by a translation of the *Mamī Prabha*, another commentary on the Yoga Sūtra. In 1922 and 1928, with the collaboration of D. Kosambi of the University of Bombay, he published for the Pali Text Society an edition of the first part of the *Papañcasūdanī*, a commentary on the *Majjhima Nikāya*. For many years he was engaged with Kosambi and later with P. V. Bapat of Ferguson College, Poona, in the preparation of a translation of the *Visuddhimagga*, a great compendium of Cinghalese Buddhism dating from the fifth century. This work was nearly completed and now awaits publication. In 1934 he went to Japan to engage in the study of Tendai Buddhism. Although he had first undertaken this work as a tribute to the memory of William Sturgis Bigelow, some of whose manuscripts he had inherited, it assumed a growing importance for its own sake. At the time of his death, he was in the full tide of scholarly activity in collaboration with Yabuki and associated with his friend Anesaki and an enthusiastic group of younger Japanese assistants. At the desire of these friends a service was held in the temple of the Tendai monastery in Tokyo—an unusual evidence of sympathy and respect, and a permanent memorial to Woods will be placed on the spot where his old friends Bigelow and Fenollosa are buried.

Woods's work in Oriental subjects called for learning, patience, and a capacity not only to use Oriental languages, but to understand the Oriental mind, both past and present. He possessed an unusual aptitude for languages, and achieved some familiarity with at least fifteen. But his interest did not terminate in the texts themselves. They were to him records of a system of thought or of a way of life, and he was never satisfied unless he could in some measure share and communicate the insight which they were originally designed to express. It was this essentially philosophical interest which led him through the Yoga Sūtras and Buddhist texts to a study of the systematization of practical mysticism.

Woods's teaching and administrative activities created an opportunity for the demonstration of his personal qualities. He was intensely proud of his Department zealously devoted to its interests and quick to seize opportunities for its development. The appointments of De Wulf and Gilson and the creation of the collection of books in mediaeval philosophy were largely due to his initiative and efforts. He carried the major part of the burden of publishing the papers of the late Charles S. Peirce, raising for this purpose approximately \$20,000, and supervising the editorial work. He was always to be counted upon for any sacrifice of time or of personal resources that might be required to meet a Departmental emergency. With his colleagues old and young he was united by ties of deep affection. However remote their

special fields he followed their work and their careers with unfailing interest and cordial encouragement. His students brought him their personal as well as their academic problems, and they never came in vain. In his preoccupation and endearing oddities, as well as in the fervor and genuineness of his intellectual passion, he was to all of his associates a personification of the traditional ideal of the scholar.

During the greater part of his service in the Department, Woods conducted two courses in Indian philosophy given in alternate years, a reading course in the original Pali texts for students of Indic philology, and a lecture course for the benefit of students of general philosophy. His other courses were ordinarily in the history of philosophy, with a growing emphasis on Plato. The foundation of his character, as exhibited in his teaching, was a functioning of accurate and voluminous scholarship amid the delicacies of feeling,—a transition among shades of thought, rather than a choice among its schematic divisions. His lectures possessed a subtlety of texture at once rare and delightful. He was at home in strange places and knew how to lead others there. Indian philosophy acquired meaning without losing anything of its exotic flavor. His courses on Plato were peculiarly suited to his genius. When he dealt with early cosmologies, or with Indian, Egyptian and Greek ideas of immortality, the beliefs of vanished civilizations became the intellectual expression of experiences in which his hearers shared. He delighted in Plato's blending of thought with feeling and imagination. In Plato's idea of the Good, with its emphasis on wholeness and inter connection, he found a norm which governed his taste, his dealing with his fellowmen, and his fundamental philosophy.

It is inevitable that a man so extravagantly endowed should be imperfectly embodied in his published works. The soil from which these sprang, their context of unused learning, their surrounding and sustaining medium of experience and sensitive discernment, are perpetuated in what he gave during his life to his students and friends, and in the grateful love which this giving inspired.

SERGE ELISSEEFF

JAMES R. WARE

PROFESSOR WOODS AND HIS LAST VISIT TO JAPAN

HIDEO KISHIMOTO 岸本英夫

TOKYO IMPERIAL UNIVERSITY

Professor James Haughton Woods arrived in Japan on December fourteenth, 1934. He had just retired from his chair at Harvard, but his visit to Japan was not a mere sightseeing trip of a retired professor. He had a special purpose in mind, to which he had very probably decided to devote the rest of his life. This was his long entertained desire to study the philosophy of Tendai 天台, a sect of Buddhism. Besides his profound interest and scholarship in Oriental philosophy he had a personal reason to pursue this particular subject, a reason which was occasioned by affection for the late William S. Bigelow. Mr. Bigelow, to whom Japan of the early Meiji era owes much, entertained an enthusiastic interest in the Tendai doctrine. During his stay in Japan he often visited priests and scholars of this sect in an effort to grasp the main concepts of the doctrine. The conversations on such occasions he carefully recorded. Naturally, he was warmly accepted by the Tendai followers. According to Professor Woods, he was not only registered as a member of that sect, but was even given a certain higher ranking. On his death bed, he spoke of the problem of the life after death to Professor Woods in connection with the Tendai doctrine and asked him some day to clarify the mysterious points of this philosophy. And thus he left all the materials he had collected in the hands of Professor Woods. Professor Woods often told me how since then he had felt an almost spiritual obligation to complete the work of his late friend.

Professor Woods maintained that for the understanding of the thought of a foreign country the knowledge of that nation's language was essential. He himself naturally wished to follow this out as far as possible in his study of Tendai, and in the autumn of 1933 he began to attend my course in the Japanese language at Harvard. At first I must confess, I could not take it seriously, as it seemed hardly natural that an aged professor of seventy should be starting a new Far Eastern language. I took it to be moral support of my new course and an expression of his affection. But soon I was to find that this was not his only reason, for he always

came to the class room better prepared in his lessons even than the regular students. And thus he continued throughout the whole year without missing more than two classes. The picture of him, sitting in a student's chair in my class room, is still vivid in my mind. In this way he was preparing for his study of Tendai.

Before his arrival in Japan, I had consulted with Dr. M. Anesaki 姉崎正治 in regard to the arrangement for Professor Woods' study in this country. Dr. Anesaki, who had been his friend since the Oriental Congress of 1902 at Kiel in Germany, suggested obtaining the advice of Dr. K. Yabuki 矢吹慶輝, a dean of Taishō 大正大學 University and a distinguished Buddhist scholar. Dr. Yabuki accordingly examined a copy of Mr. Bigelow's manuscript which had been sent to us. When he had read it through, he felt that, in spite of the keenness of Mr. Bigelow and the scholarship of the priest with whom he met, Mr. Bigelow was sadly misled because of the difficulty of working through an interpreter. It must have been a very difficult undertaking, for the priest understood no English, and the Japanese interpreter, with whom he worked, was entirely unfamiliar with philosophy, though otherwise a distinguished man. The misuse and inaccurate employment of the technical terminology easily caused serious misunderstandings, which, once occurred, could not be corrected. As a result of it, in the manuscript, Tendai was treated as if it were a mystery religion. In particular the problem of the disintegration of the soul was much discussed, but, although such a subject may well form some part of the Tendai doctrine, it can never be the central theme.

It is a well known fact that Tendai is a sect founded by Chih-i 智顗 (531-598) in China in the sixth century on the basis of the Hokkekyō 法華經 or Lotus Sutra and was introduced to Japan by Saichō 最澄 (767-822) in the opening years of the Heian 平安 (794-1191) period. Its comprehensive doctrine is usually regarded as the highest peak of the religious philosophy of Mahāyāna Buddhism. It is a complicated system and contains an elaborate religious philosophy, which entitles it to be regarded as one of the greatest systems of religious philosophy ever known. However, because of the linguistic barriers, it has been left untouched by Western scholars, and apparently the time was not yet ripe for Mr. Bigelow to comprehend the full features of it. Dr. Yabuki, however, thought that this manuscript could be utilized by Professor Woods as a convenient approach to the main ideas of Tendai, if he should begin with its mystical thoughts. So it was also decided to obtain a scholar of Tendai mysticism as Professor Woods' personal instructor.

On the thirty first of December, Professor and Mrs Woods, Dr Yabuki and I, after lunching at a restaurant on the square near Ueno Park 上野, hurried down to Asakusa 浅草. It was a cold winter day, but the busy streets were decorated with the fresh green leaves of bamboos and pine trees to greet the new year which opened on the morrow. Asakusa is now chiefly known as a popular amusement center, but originally it was the precincts of Sensōji 浅草寺, a temple of the Tendai sect. Sensōji, which now is to be found behind the amusement center, is still the headquarters of this sect in Eastern Japan. Here, Dr Yabuki planned to introduce Professor Woods to the Rev K Shimizudani 清水谷恭順, a priest of Sensōji and a professor of Tendai mysticism at Taisho University, who had agreed to be Professor Woods' personal instructor.

We were first shown into the Kwannon Hall 観音堂, a bustling center of popular belief, to observe a symbolic rite being held specially for the coming new year. After regular chanting and the scattering of flowers, a young monk took a demon mask, and holding it high in his hand began to run. A second monk with whip in hand pursued him, constantly striking the floor to make frightening sounds. After they had run around the altar three times the rite was ended. We were told later that this symbolized the chasing off of evil spirits before the new year. Following this, in the drawing room of Dempoin 傳法院, the central hall of Sensōji, Professor Woods was introduced to Bishop Ōmori 大森 and the Rev Shimizudani, and it was agreed that instruction was to commence by the middle of January. The Rev Shimizudani told me that both he and the Bishop regarded this a rare opportunity for the Tendai doctrine to be introduced correctly to the Occident. He intended to exert his best efforts to aid Professor Woods, and he considered the prospects to be very bright. But unfortunately this arrangement was never to be realized.

When the new year's festivities were over, Dr Yabuki suggested that he might meet with Professor Woods to give him some introductory ideas on the Tendai philosophy before the Rev Shimizudani began his instruction, and Professor Woods enthusiastically accepted the proposal. These meetings were held three successive times, on the ninth, tenth, and thirteenth of January, and lasted from the morning until about four o'clock in the afternoon. In his room in the Tokyo Imperial Hotel Professor Woods, Dr Yabuki and I sat around a single table. Dr Yabuki spoke first, and I translated, while Dr Yabuki made corrections wherever the interpretation was not exact. Then Professor Woods raised questions. This triangular system worked very smoothly and successfully. The

unique ideas in the Tendai philosophy were never too difficult for Professor Woods to grasp. His rich background in various philosophical systems and his deep knowledge of Indian Buddhism always enabled him to comprehend fully. Once in a while, some Sanskrit words, which he had taught me in Harvard, helped us to convey the meaning to him and would make him beam with joy. Proceeding in this manner, I could see how Dr. Yabuki's immense knowledge was pouring into Professor Woods' receptive mind. Certainly this might have proved a great occasion for the occidental study of Buddhism.

Dr. Yabuki began his lectures with the six schools of the Nara 奈良 period (710-794), namely, Kusha 俱舍, Hossô 法相, Kegon 華嚴, Jôjitsu 成實, Sanron 三論, and Ritsu 律. Among these the idealism of the Hossô philosophy especially interested Professor Woods. The Hossô philosophy is based on the doctrine of Yûshiki 唯識 (*vyñaptimatrâtâ*). To emphasize the value of emancipation, it explains this world as a mere illusion. This illusory world is nothing but a product of subjective distractions. The process of the development of this illusion is minutely explained and is in a way like the emanation theory of Neo Platonism. The paramount entity of this system, which corresponds to the One of Plotinus, is called Arayashiki 阿賴耶識 (*Alayavijnana*). Since Arayashiki is the key to the whole system of the Yûshiki philosophy, various later theories and interpretations developed around it. This Arayashiki was the particular point of interest for Professor Woods. He asked Dr. Yabuki to give minute explanations of these divergent theories, and asked such keen questions that Dr. Yabuki was to continue his discussion of this subject longer than he had intended. And as a matter of fact this unexpected but welcome delay prevented Dr. Yabuki from concluding his introductory instruction by the end of the third day as had been planned.

By the first two days, however, we had already treated Nara Buddhism and had entered the Heian 平安 Period (794-1191), of which Tendai and Shingon 真言 are the two main sects. On the third day, Dr. Yabuki began by explaining Chih-i's chronological classification of the Buddhist canon, which was based on his philosophical interpretation of the Buddhist teachings and has been accepted as the orthodox classification until the recent rise of textual criticism. In the afternoon, he dealt with the doctrine of "Kai-e" 開合 in Tendai. This doctrine is one of the central elements of Tendai philosophy. "Kai" 開 means to reveal and "e" 合 universal. According to comprehensive Tendai philosophy, all the diver-

the responsibility of collecting the ashes from the crematory case, which is regarded, by Japanese custom, as the last important service to the body of the dead. The ashes were placed in a receptacle which had been carefully selected from among various types of bronze kettles for use in the tea ceremony and which had been inscribed with his name.

On January nineteenth, in order to express our last respects to and friendship for Professor Woods before his ashes would leave Japan, a Buddhist funeral was arranged at Asakusa. It was held in a hall of the very temple he had visited so happily but twenty days before. His picture and his "ihai" 位牌, a name tablet with his posthumous Buddhist name, were placed on the altar. Bishop Ōmori took the part of the presiding priest, and Rev Shimizudani was among the attending priests. Thus the funeral was conducted in full Tendai style, quietly and gracefully; chanting, gongs, incense, and elaborate symbolic rituals. All through the service I felt how happy Professor Woods would have been could he have been present himself. Besides his former friends, there were present about a dozen of the most distinguished Japanese Buddhist scholars. Most of them had never met him, but they wished to express their deep sorrow for the foreign scholar who had died in their land in the midst of his study of Buddhism. On the first anniversary of Professor Woods' death it is planned to establish a monument to his memory at the Temple Mui 三井寺, on beautiful Lake Biwa, by the side of the tomb of Mr. Bigelow.

As an American friend later wrote me, if Professor Woods had known that he was destined to die abroad, he certainly would have chosen Japan. He loved Japan, as we Japanese loved him. But the longing for chance of introducing Tendai philosophy to the Occident is gone. Is it not our obligation to Professor Woods, as he felt it to be his duty to Mr. Bigelow, some day to accomplish this undertaking?

PSYCHOLOGICAL OBSERVATIONS ON THE PERSECUTION OF THE CATHOLICS IN JAPAN IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

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General Observation, the National Reaction

Japan's first contact with Europe, which had been opened by the arrival of the Jesuit missionaries in 1549, came to an end a hundred years later by the strict expulsion of not only missionaries but of practically all foreign merchants. This consummation resulting in the nation's seclusion is quite remarkable in contrast to the first welcome extended to the missionaries and merchants and the rapid extension of the missions in the last half of the sixteenth century. The influence of the missionary work backed by the attractions of the new culture was so tremendous in the eighties ¹ i. e., thirty years after the arrival of Xavier, that the missionaries thought the Christianization of Japan to be a matter of years or decades.

Certainly quite sudden a turn was the edict of the Taiko¹ 太閤, the dictator, ordering the missionaries to leave the country at once (1587). But the capricious tyrant was not persistent in his anti missionary policy. Not only were the missionaries largely tolerated and new arrivals admitted, but he even tried to secure service of missionaries and merchants for the sake of his ambitions towards the south seas. Even when he crucified twenty six *Kirishitans*² in 1597, it was rather an outburst of his anger irritated by concomitant incentives than an execution of a definite policy. His successor, Ieyasu, 家康 was more definite in his idea of suppressing Catholic religion, yet he highly favoured European merchants and pilots even in being well aware of the intimate connections existing between them and the missionaries.

¹ Title which Toyotomi Hideyoshi (豊臣秀吉 1536-1598) took in 1592 when he transferred his post of prime minister to his adopted son.

² A corruption of the Portuguese word *Christian* here used to cover the Christian religion and its converts in Japan in the 16th and 17th centuries.

The real beginning of a period of persecution and suppression may be dated at 1614, when a great number of Kirishitans, both foreign and Japanese, were banished from the country or exiled to remote places in Japan. The measures of interdiction carried out during the following decades by Ieyasu's son and grandson, were almost necessary consequences of that event, which culminated in the entire suppression of Kirishitans.

Though the interdiction of Christianity had been started by an abrupt outbreak and oscillating in its measures in the beginning, one should not fail to discern in the progress of this policy a general background of national reaction against the new religion and culture. For comprehending the significance of this reaction one has to see that Francis Xavier and his fellows arrived in Japan when the nation was in the lowest ebb of her culture, in the last stage of a period of war and confusion lasting nearly two centuries, that the most hopeful time of the propaganda under the protection of Nobunaga 信長 coincided with the coming back of a rising tide under his dictatorial rule, and that the reign of the Taikō, Nobunaga's successor, heralded a restoration of national prosperity and a renaissance of culture. Thus the first welcome extended to Christian religion was most conspicuous on the parts of the people living in utmost miseries and of the local chiefs aiming at the aggrandisement of their feudal territories. Though there were also some sincere converts of real religious fervor, they were induced to conversion not less through their dissatisfaction with, or ignorance of, the native religions, than through the strong appeal of Christianity. Thus the revival of the national spirit as if inspired by vernal breeze and shower after a long period of dreary winter was manifested in all phases of the political and cultural life of the nation. It requires a separate treatise to review the phases of the renaissance. One of the most outstanding features in it was the national enthusiasm of hero worship centered upon the person of the Taikō, the military dictator who restored peace and prosperity in a fairly short period of less than twenty years, and this point has a direct bearing upon our present subject. There was a general background of national revival but its effects upon Catholic missions would have been manifested somewhat differently or been retarded in their acute outburst without his personal influence, especially his arrogant pride.

Many Japanese historians are satisfied with saying that the Taikō's measures against Christians was motivated by his "patriotism" or nationalism. This is too general an observation to exhaust the circumstances of the time, though not entirely untrue. On the other hand, the

missionary reports ascribe the sudden change of the Taiko's attitude simply to his caprice instigated by his adulatory court physician. This and similar allegations may be quite true as the occasions which incited the tyrant to take up his measures, even finally crucifying Christians. But even the caprice of a tyrant would hardly move wholly without a more general background of motives, whether his temperamental character or the surrounding social atmosphere. The missionary reports say also that the tyrant disliked Christianity because of his desire to be apotheosized after his death and ascribes that ambition simply to his personal vanity. This too may be quite true, but one would miss the point if one overlooked the popular enthusiasm for the achievements of the dictator combined with the revival of Shinto ideas, long prepared for and now finding an object of hero worship in his person. Moreover the restoration of national unity and prosperity and the growth of national pride quickened by the Taiko's Korean expedition (1592-98) aroused anew the belief that Japan was the "Land of the Gods," a Shinto belief diametrically opposed to the Christian conception of deity. In fact his personal ambition was mainly a manifestation of this general current of the age.

Beside this a significant feature of the Taiko's age was the rise of a new art movement, which was partly a revival of ancient art but very largely due to his personal inspiration and patronage. Another was the beginning of a revival of learning emanating from the Buddhist Zen monasteries, which was destined to rise higher in the following generations. All this was made possible by the restoration of unity and prosperity. These new forces moved around the pivot of the Taiko's military and political achievements. As the influence of the Catholic propaganda got its hold by rushing into a depression in social confusion, the anti-cyclone of national revival directed its counter-attack upon the imported culture and religion. In fact the personal magnetism of the Taiko was the central figure in this reaction and revival, while his temperament as well as caprice played incidental but important parts in his whole career and in this general movement of the time. A hero of daring acts as he was, his character much represented the ethos of the time which again was much moved by his personal inspiration. Unfortunately for Christians, both of these forces worked against them.

Now we turn from this general remark on the currents of the time to more specific observations on the psychological factors working in the further development of the persecution and suppression.

The Psychology of the Rulers

The most vital point in the vicissitudes of the fate of Kirishitan movement is the ideology of the ruler, both of the central dictatorial and the local feudal governments. That the vassals and also the people under his rule should follow his example even in religious matters. This was the conception and motive that induced the Kirishitan Daimyōs 大名 (feudal lords) such as Arima 有馬, Ōmura 大村, Takayama 高松, to force his people to conversion and to persecute obstinate Buddhists. Thus it was quite natural that, when the tide turned and the persecution of Kirishitans was started, the rulers wanted their vassals first and then the people at large to give up the new faith. Thus Ieyasu, the Taikō's successor as dictator and founder of the strong Shōgun government, only pursued the same course with more persistence and thoroughness. Slow but steady was every measure taken by him, in remarkable contrast to the audacity and impetuosity of his predecessor. His joint rule with his son gradually consolidated the power of their family, the Tokugawas, and proceeded steadily on the policy of suppressing Kirishitans. But the consideration of foreign trade had restrained them more or less from pushing the policy of interdiction to an extreme. Then the coming of Dutch and English merchants and pilots made easier the policy of suppressing Portuguese and Spanish trade together with the missionaries and their converts. Thus the first fifteen years of the seventeenth century marked a period of steady tightening of the suppressive measures, culminating in the great banishment of Kirishitans in 1614 to be considered below.

When the third Tokugawa, the young Iemitsu 家光, took the rein of government in 1623, the times had much changed, the power of the Tokugawa had firmly been established and there was almost no apprehension of a rival, the public finance was immensely strengthened and the young Shōgun was released from financial cares, therefore made much less anxious about the profit of foreign trade, all the Kirishitan Daimyos and their chief vassals had apostatized through the pressure from above in the proceeding years, while the surviving Kirishitans, mostly common people, professed their faith only in secret. All the circumstances suggested that the extermination of Kirishitans was rather an easy task, and indeed the young dictator gave orders to his officials to proceed on the policy without scruple. The orders were carried out more and more rigorously, though the steps were not so easy as had been thought at the outset, the consummation was a practically

total extermination of *Kirishitans* supported by the rigid exclusion of foreigners, resulting in a complete seclusion of Japan from the world to last over two centuries

This is the story of Iemitsu's reign (1623-51) in outline, and the most noteworthy point in it is the personal temperament of the ruler playing a determining part in this great turn of national history, perhaps more than in the case of the Taikō

The official historians of the Tokugawa tell us that Iemitsu was a very wise ruler. This is perhaps partially true in the sense that he was quick in perception and acute in intelligence, as to be seen in the episodes adduced to illustrate the point. But these stories betray clearly that he was sensitive and temperamental, subject to impetus and irritation. This is confirmed also by a missionary report. It says when in 1623, i. e. in the first year of his rule, two *Padres* (Fathers) were arrested in Edo 江戸, the capital, together with a number of followers, the young despot rebuked the officials in vehement anger and said

I shall be surprised not so much in being informed that the whole country has arisen in rebellion as by hearing that two *Bateren* (*Padres*) have been discovered in Yedo. Did not the city Commissioners tell me that there was no single *Kirishitan* in the city? What is the matter now? I cannot depend upon my officials. Two *Padres* they say but probably more! Any and everyone discovered hereafter shall be burnt alive!

This may be a story spread out among the citizens in the midst of excitement, leaking out of the court circles. Anyhow the story serves as an illustration of the temperamental nature of the ruler in which anger and pride were combined. The order given was at once executed in the burning alive of the fifty arrested, and from that time almost all of the foreign missionaries and their Japanese *Irmans* (Brothers) were executed in the same way.

One can well imagine how a young despot, self-conceited of his own ability and keen of the power held by heritage from his "divine" grandfather and father, was eager, perhaps almost morbidly eager, to suppress and exterminate anything and everything resisting his high command. In his idea there ought not to exist anything obstructing his will. He dismissed the staunch tutors left by his grandfather, he intimidated powerful *Daimyos* and dared to deprive them of their feudal territories. If there remained any intractable force under his rule, that was the insidious *Kirishitan* faith, which captivated mysteriously the peoples'

mind, and certainly was working treacherously to betray him to the foreigners. The point that irritated him quite acutely was that the obstinate Kirishitans were composed of the "Wave men" (Ronin 浪人) and common people, while the feudal lords and higher vassals had apostatized. It must have been quite inconceivable to him how these people without power and wealth could resist the ruler's will, unless they were mysteriously seduced and supported by a foreign power. Seen in this light they were evidently traitors who deserved utmost punishment. This was the idea conceived by the haughty dictator, and shared more or less by all his officials and administrators.

Thus there was nothing strange in the almost morbid sensitiveness about the Kirishitans on the part of the governing class, and the course of events seemed to the rulers to confirm their fixed ideas and to make them more nervous. For the number of the arrested and executed never decreased during the following ten years, not only in the west, the former stronghold of the missions, but in the remote north-east too. This incited the government to tighten the grips and to undertake harsh measures, which became so provocative and unbearable that the famous Shimabara 島原 insurrection broke out towards the end of 1637. It was a final outburst of the people living in extreme distress and instigated not merely by religious motive but by economic and political motives too. Though not all the insurgents were Kirishitans, the leadership was in the hands of a few bigots who cherished apocalyptic beliefs, and the government regarded the insurrection as simply due to Kirishitan belief. One can imagine how the irritable Shogun was infuriated and impatiently pressed its subjugation. When the Government forces repeatedly had been defeated and the insurgents stubbornly stood a siege of nearly three months, his fury knew no limit, he ordered to murder all the insurgents when the siege was finally reduced.

This event was conclusive evidence to the eyes of the ruler that the Kirishitans were traitors and in order to complete their suppression rigorous measures to shut out all foreign intercourse were deemed necessary. Certainly there was in this course of events much influence of the general trends of the times, yet it remains quite a question whether the final seclusion would have come without the personal interference

* I.e. the knights deprived of feudal fiefs therefore mostly malcontent. The Tokugawa rulers were nervous of the wave men and the suspicion of their political plots had much to do with the same suspicion directed against Kirishitans in general.

of the temperamental ruler*. Anyway it is of great importance and interest to see the leading part taken by Iemitsu in the suppression of Kirishitans, if not so much in turning the current of times as in moulding the vigorous and even cruel methods in carrying out the policy of interdiction. This point brings us to another observation on the psychology of the administrators

The Psychology of the Persecutors

In nearly every case of persecution we see a reciprocal straining of antagonizing attitudes between the persecutors and the persecuted, which is well illustrated in the present case. As hinted at above, the "Great Banishment" of 1614 marked the beginning of a veritable reign of persecution. But in fact the administrators believed that the banishment had accomplished practically the whole task of suppression, as may be seen by the fact that in the following two years, there were rather few arrests and executions*. But the years following the great banishment were a period of smuggling, more than twenty missionaries, foreign and Japanese, entered clandestinely during 1615-1616. Organized smuggling amounted to about six cases up to 1622, and those who succeeded in it amounted at least to twenty-one*.

At first the administrators of Nagasaki 長崎 had been unaware of it, and their surprise was great when they sensed it and succeeded in arresting two out of seven smugglers. A temporary satisfaction was broken by disappointing shock, which was replaced by irritation, anger, and hatred, all this was intensified by the rebuke from the higher authorities and was followed by the determination to execute the suppressive measures more vigorously. This was the psychological situation into which the administrators of the persecution were dragged, some of them not quite willingly but perhaps many readily disposed to severity. The result was the inauguration or further enforcing of various measures and methods of persecution such as the search from door to door, the requirement of passport, the prizes given to informers, the organiza-

* Even after an almost complete shutting out of foreigners he was so keen and nervous about Kirishitan* that he personally attended the examination of the arrested Kirishitans twenty-one times in the course of three years 1613-16.

* 13 martyrs in 1615 and 12 in 1616 then a gradual increase culminating in the "Grand Martyrdom of 1622." See *ATESAKI Concordance* pp. 34-46.

* Four of these were arrested at once on arrival but others worked clandestinely for years the longest being twenty years. After 1622 there were a series of smugglings but most of these individuals were arrested soon after arrival.

tion of secret service by apostates, the law of "solidarity,"¹ the method of inquisition by forcing all people to trample upon the sacred images. All these were executed more and more severely and extensively in reaction to the obstinate attempts at smuggling and concealing on the part of the persecuted. A climax was the Grand Martyrdom of 1622, when twenty five were burnt alive and thirty beheaded on the execution ground² of Nagasaki. Besides sixty were similarly executed about the same time in and near Nagasaki.

Now we have to consider the persons who were responsible for the prosecution of these measures. Under the Tokugawa rule, each feudal territory was administered by its government or lord, but the policy of suppressing Kirishitans was regarded as an important national policy, and orders were given from the Shogun's government in Edo. Yet since Nagasaki was the centre of foreign trade as well as of Kirishitan missions, its Governor (Bugyo 奉行, or Commissioner) appointed by the Shogun himself played the most important role. Though every measure was ostensibly ordered by the central government, the Governor of Nagasaki frequently took the initiative, not only his examples were followed by the feudal states but he was almost a supervisor over them, particularly in the island of Kyūshū, where Kirishitans were most numerous. He was assisted by Daikans 代官, Deputy Commissioners, appointed from among the influential citizens of Nagasaki. Under this institution, the governor changed from time to time, while some of the Daikans stayed in office for a long period even becoming almost hereditary. Thus the Daikan often played a more important part than the Governor, and the worst for the persecuted was a Daikan who had once been their fellow in faith, even though nominally, and deserted his confession.

We shall return below to the case of a persecuting Daikan who was an apostate, but here we have to consider the situation in which the Governor was put and his psychological reactions. When the third Shogun came to rule, as described above, the Grand Martyrdom had taken place and Nagasaki seemed to have been largely relieved, while the young Shogun was pressing for rigorous measures in his own city and in the north.

¹ The solidarity of a group of neighbouring households five to ten in number held responsible collectively for the existence of a Kirishitan or hiding of a refugee and so on.

² Tateyama near the present railway station hence called Holy Hill by Christians. The executed were foreign and Japanese Padres, Japanese Irmans and their hosts.

east On the other hand when the report of the Grand Martyrdom reached Manila, the excited Orders planned more organized smuggling, and indeed a group of nine missionaries succeeded while twenty four failed on account of a ship wreck The Shogun's rebuke and the Governor's irritation need not be described, the outcome was the appointment of a new Governor (1626) and the further prosecution of severe measures The Governor and the Daikans had to work between the enraged Shogun and the obstinate Kirishitans Put under these circumstances no ordinary mortal could restrain his anger and hatred towards the persecuted, however humane they be in other respects. One instance may suffice for illustrating the case torture in the boiling sulphuric waters in the crater of the Unzen 温泉 volcano inaugurated by the new Governor, Mizuno Kawachi 水野 When this cruel torture was found not to serve the purpose of publicity, the old method of burning alive was resumed The idea in administering punishment was to show the pain to other people to intimidate them, and it was at the same time an expression of the persecutors' anger

More noteworthy than the cruel measures which were partially an expression of hatred, is perhaps the use of more insidious and treacherous methods These were mainly administered by the Daiikan Heizo¹⁰ who served under several governors as the chief executor of the persecuting policies during nearly twenty years (1610? 1630) Being himself an apostate and having been inhumane enough to abuse his mother and brothers, he showed no scruple in prosecuting his former comrades in faith Just as he was found to be a very useful tool of the Governor, so he secured the service of his fellows in desertion of faith Though we cannot ascertain which and how much of the treacherous methods were due to his initiative it can be seen that he and his satellites were responsible for the most relentless execution of the treacherous and cruel methods Secret information betrayal seduction, and intimidation, were encouraged, and in fact the tracing and discovery of the smugglers and their hosts were more and more efficiently done We can imagine how he and his satellites felt great satisfaction and delight in all this Perhaps many detective stories could have been told by them

Even apart from the function of persecuting Kirishitans the Governor

* The terrible reign of this torture lasted only three months in 1627 though there were some casual recurrences in the following years

¹⁰ His name was Suyetsugu Heiz 木次平親 known as Feizo in the missionary records.

and Daikan of Nagasaki were in a position easily tending to corruption. They administered under supervision of the central government, but since foreign trade and Kirishitan affairs were entirely special matters, they monopolized the role of special experts, and could easily abuse their official power. The Daikan, being appointed from among influential citizens, carried on his own private business side by side with his official duties. In fact the Heizōs were Daikan and shipowners for two generations, and the last fate of the family was the confiscation of all its properties as a penalty for irregular business and neglect of official duties.¹¹ Similarly was the governor exposed to self degradation. Uneme 采女,¹² the Governor in 1629-32, not only augmented the cruel measures inaugurated in the stormy years since 1622, but indulged himself in private profiteering and flagrant irregularities in private life. He was consequently condemned to death along with his son.

These instances are cited here in order to show what easy victims of temptation were these administrators and how a mentality of self-indulgence, greed, and wantonness was mutually associated with hatred and cruelty towards the persecuted. Not every governor or daikan was vicious by nature, not a devilish being as recorded in the missionary records, yet as the functionaries taking charge of the persecuting prosecution, these officials were naturally induced to look at the persecuted with vindictive eyes. When the authorities sensed smuggling but could not discover it when those smuggled in were concealed by fellow Kirishitans who managed to transfer them from place to place in evading the search, or when the arrested stubbornly resisted temptation or intimidation for forcing their apostasy, the authorities could hardly restrain themselves from hating them. This hatred combined with other motives due to bureaucratic prejudices induced the persecutors to adopt more and more harsh methods of torture. But when the poor Kirishitans had endured almost miraculously these tortures, the persecutors felt themselves defied or were amazed at and puzzled by the mysterious nature of the Kirishitan faith. All this could not but incite the persecutors to become more cruel. This can be seen from the course of events leading from the Great Banishment to the Grand Martyrdom and finally to the whole massacre of nearly forty thousand insurgents,—a history of a quarter of a century from 1614 to 1638. Many episodes told in the

¹¹ The first Heizō died insane in 1630 the second was sentenced to death in 1632.

¹² His name was Takenaka Shigetsugu 竹中重次. The story of Maria Magdalene (Pacts pp. 604-7) was probably a replica of a similar ancient Roman story, but something similar took place not seldom under Uneme's administration.

missionary reports and the official and private documents of the time may be adduced to illustrate various points in this psychological process.

We cannot here enter into details, but let us get a general view of the changes in the methods of execution. In the early stage of the persecution the execution aimed at exterminating the followers of the "evil religion." The first great martyrdom of 1597 was executed by crucifixion intended as a spiteful demonstration, and this was followed by a few casual repetitions. But when it had been realized that Kiri-hitans glorified the crucified, it was never repeated by the Tokugawa administrators, except in a few local cases. They devised various tortures, also bodily mutilation, and the final end was mostly capital punishment. Burning alive was practised sporadically in those years, but it became an almost regular punishment for grave cases after the Grand Martyrdom of 1622. Nearly all missionaries and Japanese brothers were executed in that cruel way, beside some leading converts and their wives. Those who were burnt alive amounted to about 360 in the years 1622-33, which may be called a reign of ordeal by fire, with an interval, chiefly the years 1627-8, of tortures in the crater of Unzen. But this cruelty came to an end when it was replaced by the "Hanging in the pit" (*ana tsurushi*) 穴吊. This change was carried out at one stroke in July, 1633. It was a result of the discovery that burning alive served not the purposes of extermination, because it furnished an opportunity for the executed to glorify their martyrdom, as we shall show below. This new method consisted in the burying of the body at the bottom of a pit so that only the head protruded.¹¹ Such a miserable display of a head was too undignified to permit of an exalted sermon on the part either of the tortured or of the onlookers. Moreover, left thus in a pit for days and nights, in some cases for six or seven, the tortured person either succumbed to hunger and misery, or finally apostatized. In fact the first apostate Padre, Christovan Ferreira, was won over to the persecutor through this torture, a great triumph for the governor.

The Psychology of the Persecuted

Lastly some observations on the mental conditions and attitude of the persecuted.

¹¹ In the imaginary drawings of the scene made in Europe in the 18th century, the scene is a picture of the executed hanged down with the feet fastened on the top of a pole and the head downwards—simply a distortion induced by the name hanging. There were 43 executed in the pit in the last five months of 1633, 14 in 1634 and 26 in 1637 all were missionaries and tertiaries.

An "Admonition to Martyrdom" (in Japanese),¹⁴ probably composed in 1614, says that persecution of Kirishitans is an ordeal sent by Deus to distinguish the strong in faith from the weak and thereby to confer glories in heaven upon the strong. This was, of course, a general teaching of the Church but the pious Kirishitans of the time found a vivid confirmation of this teaching in their actual experiences. In fact a large majority of the Kirishitans counting half a million apostatized because of the persecution, while the number of martyrs amounted to less than one percent. But even this was a credit to their fidelity while proving to be the source of great annoyance to the persecutors.

In the face of imminent persecution the task of the missionaries and leaders was naturally to prevent the apostasy of the weak. The stories of the Lord's passions, of the ancient martyrs, the description of the glories in "Paraiso" in contrast to the miseries in "Inferno" were recited anew¹⁵ and commented upon. Special emphasis was laid upon the endless tortures in Inferno and admonition was given that those who would not endure mere temporary tortures in persecution should be prepared for future ones lasting forever. Various pretences for yielding were strongly rebuked, such as —In exile one could not secure the blessing of the sacraments, therefore better to stay in safety through a deceiving declaration of apostasy, the persecution is a passing cyclone, stay in closed doors until it passes, instead of exposing oneself to it. These and other pretexts were certainly current among the weaker, and the painstaking care of the leaders was not only to refute these, but to prevent contamination of a mental attitude of that kind.

A side view can be obtained in the coming into vogue of two new words, probably during the persecution in Miyako in 1614, when many apostatized. One was "*korobu*" 轉, literally to tumble down, for apostatizing, and the other "*tachi agaru*" 立ち上る, to rise up, for revoking apostasy. A tragic comic scene was shown in the streets of Miyako, where the bodies of the arrested Kirishitans wrapped in straw bags were rolled horizontally on the streets in a long series, pushed by the hired outcasts, who together with the superintending policemen repeated the cry of "*korobe, korobe*" (imperative of *korobu*). Certainly the word originated among the Kirishitans, being first used in the pre-

¹⁴ This is one of the few Kirishitan writings in original Japanese and was followed by another "Manual of Martyrdom" which indicates a heavier pressure of persecution. See *Proceedings of the Imperial Academy* (1931) Vol VII, No 8 p 291 293.

¹⁵ Several writings of these kinds, some translation and some original, had been circulated even in the pre persecution days.

cautionary admonition not to desert the faith (*korobu na*), and then adopted by the persecutors and visualized in the rolling, the Japanese word for rolling being "*korobasu*" which may also mean to cause to fall down. As for the counterpart "*tachi-agaru*," one can imagine how much this verb in the imperative (*tachi-agare*) was used by the strong in remonstrating with the weak ones, in the prison houses, in the homes, and perhaps in the streets too.

This persecuting prosecution was not only a fight between the persecutors and the persecuted, it also stirred up combat between the stronger and the weaker among the persecuted, between the martyrs to-be and the apostates. As the persecution proceeded in its severity, the combat became proportionally vehement, especially when the apostates were used by the government as the tools of the suppressive measures, as cited above in the case of Heizō, the Daimō of Nagasaki. The apostate persecutor, making use of his knowledge of and former connection with the faithful *Kirishitans*, proceeded to the search and prosecution with most shrewd and relentless measures. This was enhanced by the apostate's eagerness to prove the sincerity of his apostasy and also to demonstrate his usefulness before the eyes of higher authorities. The same was the case with the apostate Daimō as well as the satellites of lower rank. The apostates and the martyrs to-be reciprocated their bitter enmity. Indeed devilish was the combat between the "obstinate fools" and the "servants of devils," between the "traitors to the country" and the "damned fellows of Inferno."

In this connection we might mention another instance of an apostate who became a prominent figure in the persecution. He was Christovan Ferreira S. J., who had declared apostasy under the torture in the pit in 1633, and thence served the governor under the title of "Detective Inspector" (*Me akashi 目明*) of *Kirishitans*, taking charge of an inquisition against foreign missionaries.¹⁴ Both missionary report and Japanese legend make him responsible for the initiation of the method of inquisition by forcing the examined to trample upon the sacred images.

A more direct way of preventing the falling off of the comrades in faith was tightening the solidarity in the family and community life more especially in the fraternity organization. Confraternities with various aims had been organized during previous years, such as the

¹⁴ PAGES pp. 873-41. He examined in 1642 Antonio Rubino (1578-1643) and his party who were arrested when smuggled in. Ferreira's end is unknown but possibly true is the story that he later revoked apostasy and was executed.

Confraternity for Misericordia (charity) or one for the Adoration of the Holy Virgin. Now when persecution became imminent and every faithful had to prepare himself for martyrdom, those organizations were automatically transformed into ones for mutual encouragement and vigilance, new ones were organized for adoration of martyrs and martyrdom, they all served for mutual aid in distress and for concerted action in concealing and transferring the missionaries under search and pursuit. All this organized in subterfuge was constantly the source of great shock to the persecutors, but it worked, at least for a while, to give the persecuted not only great consolation in the struggle but assurance of their final triumph as taught by the Church.

The solidarity in faith and for mutual aid continued to work in one way or another, even when Kirishitan communities were dispersed and communication between the wandering missionaries and their flocks was cut off. When Kirishitans were gradually exterminated or driven from towns, they took refuge in villages among mountains, when decent abodes were too rigorously searched, the persecuted mingled with the outcasts and lepers, while some took refuge finally in the mines as miners. Yet there is no trace of any who left the country voluntarily for the purpose of escaping persecution.

Passing by other details of solidarity, it is interesting to note that these measures of passive resistance were occasionally supplemented by more active, even aggressive, demonstration of faith. The first instance was the great processions held in Nagasaki. When early in the Spring of 1614, the exiles from central Japan were gradually being concentrated in Nagasaki for embarkation, the bigoted Franciscans started a procession ostensibly preparing themselves for martyrdom in the coming Easter days. The Dominicans and the Augustinians voluntarily followed the example, the Jesuits only reluctantly in the last stage. For nearly two months the streets of Nagasaki were flooded with these processions. Not only did these fail to produce an impression upon the determined authorities but the fever was destined to exhaust itself. It proved to be a mere cyclone and after its passing there was left no other means than passive resistance.

The second demonstration was the challenging public propaganda undertaken by a Dominican and an Augustinian¹⁷ in the territory of Omura 大村, where the apostate Lord was persecuting in 1616. Their idea was to provoke the apostate and to die themselves a martyr death, being fully aware that the apostate would never heed them. When they

¹⁷ Navarette and Hernando see PAGES p. 365

had been executed and their corpses sunk into the sea, the excited members of their Confraternities could not restrain themselves from starting an organized search for the martyrs' bodies in the depths. The search lasted nearly half a year resulting in the discovery of one of the corpses, which was carried to Nagasaki and adored by the pious. It is quite remarkable that these almost public demonstrations of the adoration of martyrs were not interfered with by the authorities, though the chief leader was burnt alive with others two years later.

The third was on the occasion of the *Grand Martyrdom of 1622*. The procession of fifty-five martyrs to the execution ground was made a veritable demonstration though involuntarily in the ordinary sense, the leaders lifted the crucifixes in their hands (ladders even in days before) and they sang even while being fastened to the poles. The chief leader, Spicola, preached on the pole in farewell and encouragement to the onlookers, who surrounded the execution ground beyond the bamboo fence, and these sang in unison with the martyrs. Most of them held rosaries in their hands, and many women among them wore white veils over their heads. Perhaps there were too many in this spontaneous demonstration for the authorities to intervene. At any rate there is no record that any of those spontaneous demonstrators were traced or arrested.

This was not the first such demonstration, and afterward there were several similar ones. Here we may mention, the martyrdom of Jeronymo de Angelis, S. J., who was burnt alive in Fdo in 1623 with fifty of his fellows. Carried on horse back around in the streets, he gave sermons in a loud voice which did not cease until his expiration in smoke and flame. It is said that one of the onlookers penetrated into the ground and declared his conversion. Similar scenes, though much less conspicuous took place on many occasions of execution by burning alive until 1633, when it was displaced by torture in the pit, as described above.

However, all these demonstrations were of no avail in changing the situation and there was left no other choice than passive resistance on the part of the persecuted. In the course of time, under the reign of seclusion, even the attitude of passivity was weakened to that of subterfuge, just as the zeal of the persecutors too degenerated to mere repetition of formal inquisition as a routine. The final result was the survival of degenerated *Kirishitans* in subterfuge mostly near Nagasaki, and their discovery by the newly arrived French missionaries in 1865, after the re-opening of Japan to foreign intercourse.

DRSTĀNTAS IN THE BRAHMASŪTRAS

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Argument by example, or an inference from the particular to the particular, is generally admitted to have been the original and true type of inference. The man on the street, in fact, knows no other more effective method of debate. The particular analogous instance adduced in proof gets its validity of course from the universal proposition which it implies, and which in Sanskrit is designated the *vyapti*, and upon the degree of infallibility attainable by the *vyapti* depends naturally the distinction between accurate "induction" and mere "analogy." It is therefore no wonder if we find that *drstāntas* or illustrative examples¹ play a very important rôle in Sanskrit philosophical writing, and the frequency and the range of the *drstāntas* used can often be taken to indicate the stage of philosophical evolution reached by a particular work or author, while if different portions of the same work show any very outstanding variation in this respect, that can be, *ceteris paribus*, regarded as pointing to possible chronological strata within that work. In the following paper, intended as a tribute of reverence and affection to the memory of Professor James Haughton Woods to whom I owe more than words can express, it is proposed to examine critically, from the above point of view, the *drstāntas* occurring in the *Brahmasūtras*, commonly attributed to the authorship of BĀṢARĀNYAKA.

The *Brahmasūtras*, in the form in which they have been preserved in the oldest extant *Bhāṣya* or comment on them—that of SĀṆKARA—contains exactly 555 sūtras or aphorisms, distributed into four chapters of four *pādas* or quarters each. The distribution of the *drstāntas* in the whole work is shown in the following table—

¹ In specific cases they take the form of fables, parables and *dīkhyāśloka*s or legendary stories.

Chapter I	No. of Sūtras	No. of <i>Drṣṭāntas</i>
Quarter i	31	1
Quarter ii	32	1
Quarter iii	43	0
Quarter iv	28	3
Total	134	5
Chapter II		
Quarter i	37	10
Quarter ii	45	9 ^a
Quarter iii	53	13 ^a
Quarter iv	22	3
Total	157	35
Chapter III		
Quarter i	27	3
Quarter ii	41	10
Quarter iii	66	21 ^a
Quarter iv	52	7
Total	186	41
Chapter IV		
Quarter i	19	0
Quarter ii	21	0
Quarter iii	16	0
Quarter iv	22	4
Total	78	4
Grand Total	555	85

These 85 *drṣṭāntas* are furnished by 79 out of the 555 sūtras. It must, however, be pointed out that no less than 17 of the above *drṣṭāntas*^a

^a Sūtras 3 and 7 contain two *drṣṭāntas* each.

^b Sūtra 43 contains two *drṣṭāntas*

^c Sūtra 26 contains four *drṣṭāntas*

^d Namely, II i 6, 9, 13 33, II ii 15, II iii 7, 25, II iv 1, III i 19, 20, 24, III ii 29, III iii 16, 30, 36, 37, and III iv 2. It is rather strange that they should all come from the 2nd and the 3rd chapters only

are vague, being expressed by words like "as in the world," "as is seen," or "as elsewhere," thus leaving only 68 specific illustrations, six of which occur twice,⁶ and one seven times.⁷ This gives 56 *drstāntas* for 555 sūtras, or about one original *drstānta* for every ten sūtras. In fairness, however, it must be pointed out that there are 17 cases where the sūtra specifically mentions one *drstānta* and hints at others with the word °ādī, "and others"⁸. The commentators do not always fill them out in the same way.⁹ Looking to these facts it cannot be said that the *Brahmasūtras* indulge in anything like superabundance of *drstāntas*, which is rather surprising when we remember that not only the several Upanishad texts but even the latter day Vedānta works like the *Pañcadāsī* consist of little beyond a minute elaboration of just a few *drstāntas*.

A much greater surprise, however, awaits us if we consider the distribution of these *drstāntas* between the different parts of the work, and when I began this investigation I had no idea that its results would afford a most welcome corroboration of certain conclusions about the chronological stratification of the *Brahmasūtras* that I had worked out, on quite independent grounds, in my *Basu Mallik Lectures on Vedānta Philosophy*, Part I, Lecture V, pages 142-144. For facility of reference, I state these conclusions in a categorical manner. The present text of the *Brahmasūtras* falls into three well-defined strata. (1) Their original nucleus was the *Chandogya Brahmasūtra* of JAIMINI which attempted to remove all inconsistencies or apparent self-contradictions of the several Vedānta texts comprised within the *Chāndogya-Upaniṣad*. There probably existed analogous *Brahmasūtras* for other Upaniṣads like the *Bṛhadaranyaka*, and the *Bhagavadgītā* reference in the plural (Chapter XIII, verse 4) is to these diverse *Brahmasūtras*. (2) In the second stage attempt was made to harmonize the teachings of these diverse

⁶ Namely, *upalabdhi* (II iii 37 and III iii 54), *āśman* (II i 23 and II ii 7), *vidhā* (III iii 5 and III iv 47), *ambu* (II ii 3 and 19), *Śrapna* = *saṃdhyā* (II ii 29 and IV iv 13), and *payas* = *lṣira* (II i 24 and II ii 3).

⁷ Namely, *prakāśa* (III ii 15, 34, II iii 46, III ii 25, III ii 28) = *pradīpa* (IV iv 15) = *jyotiḥ* (II iii 48).

⁸ Namely, *āśmādi* (II i 23), *calṣurādi* (II iv 10), *jyotirādi* (II iii 48), *trṇādi* (II ii 5), *dāśakīṭarādi* (II iii 43), *devādi* (II i 25), *parovarīyastādi* (III iii 7), *pumastādi* (II iii 31), *prakāśādi* (thrice II ii 46, III ii 25, and III ii 34), *prāṇādi* (II i 20), *madhātādi* (I iv 10), *mantrādi* (III iii 50), *vidhyādi* (III iv 47), *sūryakādi* (III ii 18), and *śrapnādi* (II ii 29).

⁹ Another small point to be noted is that the word °cat, which expresses the *deśāntas* in 66 sūtras, probably does not do so in one case. III ii 14.

Brahmasūtra and build up with the help of the *śrīti*s, a consistent Vedānta philosophy acceptable to all schools. The citations from other Upanishads, the reference to the *śrīti*s and to earlier authorities by name, as also the combatting of *etīhā* 'misinterpretations' belong to this type. (iii) In the third stratum (which is practically the present text minus a few very late additions) attempts were made to defend the Vedānta philosophy against attacks from without and even to carry the battle into the domain of these opposing 'heterodox' schools. Of the total number of 35 sūtras according to my calculation 151 belong to the first stratum, 238 to the second, and 166 to the third including within this last some 15 very late additions.

The following fact would seem to afford a welcome confirmation of the above conclusions. The first chapter of the *Brahmasūtras* of 1st 4 sūtras give only 5 *deshāntas* (i.e. 3rd 37th), and 3 of these again occur in the fourth quarter, the first half of which combats certain *etīhā* 'misinterpretations' while the latter half is of the nature of a purāṇa or supplement where occur the well known controversial sūtras opposing the views of ĪŚVARĀTHIYĀ, LUDĒLOMI and KĀṆĪKĒTĀNĪ.

The second chapter of 15th sūtras give 35 (i.e. 2nd 90th) *deshāntas*. It contains the well known *śrīti*s and *tīrthapādas* where the author wage defensive and offensive warfare against "heterodox" systems of philosophy and also discusses the nature of the individual *ātman* (from *pārśvārtha sūtracāra* II iii 16-53). Is it not curious that just these portions (which belong to the third stratum) should account for almost all the above *deshāntas*? Professor JACOB has objected to my regarding the *śrīti*s and *tīrthapādas* as later additions, but has conceded it in the case of the *pārśvārtha sūtracāra*. But even this discussion covering 35 sūtras gives 10 (i.e. 2nd 26th) *deshāntas* out of the 1st contained in the whole quarter! And it cannot be said that this particular topic was more in need of illustrations than any other topic in the *Brahmasūtras*.

In the third chapter the discussion of the nature of the Supreme Self (*pārśvārtha sūtracāra* III ii 11-41) and the so-called *gunopasiṁhāra prakāra* in quarter iii are assigned by me to the third stratum and these fully account for as many as 34 out of the total number of 41 *deshāntas* (i.e. 2nd 94th) in the entire chapter of 186 sūtras.

In the fourth chapter of 15 sūtras only 4 *deshāntas* (i.e. 5th 13th) occur and these are all found in the four successive sūtras wherein the views of BĀDĀRĪ, BĀDĀRĀYĀNĪ and JAIMINI are opposed to one another.

It would accordingly seem reasonable to conclude that in the later and more controversial portions of the *Brahmasūtras* the *deshāntas* occur

in increasing frequency—a result that we could have even deduced *a priori*

Just one more concluding observation on the range of knowledge or experience covered by the 56 (or, including repetitions the 68) illustrations found in the *Brahmasūtras* may here be permitted. The rules of procedure and interpretation established by the *Pūrva-mīmāṃsā* in connection with the ritual of the sacrifice have yielded as many as 27 (nearly 40%) of the *dr̥ṣṭāntas*, and there is nothing unusual in this in view of the relation between the *Pūrva mīmāṃsā* and the *Vedānta*, which analogously is designated the *Uttara mīmāṃsā*. Of the remaining illustrations mythology has yielded two, and philosophical systems controverted, six, while ten are derived from the psychological experiences of waking, dreaming, and sleeping states. The balance of 23 illustrations has been contributed by ordinary events of daily life. This fact is noteworthy, and it becomes particularly instructive in view of the further circumstance that these matter of fact illustrations or *laukika dr̥ṣṭāntas* come in just those controversial portions of our text which on independent grounds can be considered as late additions. That these *laukika-dr̥ṣṭāntas* should have occasioned the widest divergence in interpretation among the commentators is nothing strange or unexpected, and there are a few of them which, in spite of the astonishing erudition and ingenuity expended on them, still continue to tempt, and to elude, the earnest student.

t'a¹-mên lia³ lai² lo 他們倆來了，
ni³-mên lia³ pieh² ta³-chua¹ 你們倆別打架，

it is also possible to say:

chê¹ tung¹-hsi¹ lia³ jên² t'ai² pu² tung¹ 這東西倆人抬不動，
yao¹ sa¹ jên² t'ai² 要□人抬。

倆人 does look redundant on paper, but it is perfectly good usage and does not sound redundant to a Peiping ear.

In the second place, when *lia³* (or *sa¹*) is used with things, it is equivalent to the number *liang³* (兩) (or *san¹* 三) plus a "classifier" or "numery adjunct," the following name of things being either expressed or understood. Thus, in

lia³ wan³ pu² kou¹ 倆碗不夠， (1 e *wan³* as objects)
hai² yao¹ sa¹ 還要□，

lia³ is equivalent to *liang³-lo¹* (兩個) or *liang³-chih¹* (兩隻), similarly with *sa¹*.

Seeing now that *lia³* and *sa¹* can be used both for persons and for things, which can be either expressed or understood, and that they contain within themselves a numerary adjunct, we shall now consider the limitations to their use

Imitation 1—Since *lia³* and *sa¹* contain a numerary adjunct, the latter must never be expressed. Thus, one can say either.

liang³-chang¹ cho¹-tzũ 兩張桌子，
liang³-lo¹ hsiào³ ha(1)²-êrh 兩個小孩兒，
wo³ yao¹ san¹-chih¹ 我要三隻，
san¹-pa³ shui³-hu³ 三把水壺，

or

lia³ cho¹ tzũ 倆桌子，
lia³ hsiào³ ha(1)²-êrh 倆小孩兒，
wo³ yao¹ sa¹ 我要□，
sa¹ shui³-hu³ □水壺，

but never

lia³-chang¹ cho¹-tzũ 倆張桌子，
lia³ lo¹ hsiào³-ha(1)²-êrh 倆個小孩兒，
wo³ yao¹ sa¹ chih¹ 我要□隻，
sa¹-pa³ shui³ hu³ □把水壺。

Limitation 2 — *lia*³ and *sa*¹ are never used when a quantitative unit is used in place of a numerary adjunct for individuals. Thus,

*ni*³ *yao*⁴ *mai*⁵ *san*¹ *chin*¹ *jou*⁴ *ma* 你要買三斤肉嗎?
pu *yao*⁴, *wo*³ *chih*³ *yao*⁴ *mai*³ *liang*³ *chin*¹ 不要, 我只要買兩斤,
 cannot be replaced by

*ni*³ *yao*⁴ *mai* *sa*¹ *jou*⁴ *ma* 你要買□肉嗎?
pu *yao*⁴, *wo* *chih*³ *yao*⁴ *mai*³ *lia*³ 不要, 我只要買倆。

Limitation 3 — Since *lia*³ and *sa*¹ contain a numerary adjunct, they cannot be used before a noun where normally no numerary adjunct is used

(a) Numbers used ordinarily, as

*erh*⁴ *lo*¹, *san*¹ *lo*¹, *erh*⁴ *yueh*⁴, *san*¹ *yueh*⁴ 二斤, 三哥, 二月, 三月
 never

*lia*³ *lo*¹, *sa*¹ *yueh*⁴, 倆哥, □月, etc.,

(b) Names of individual objects used as measures of quantity, as

*liang*³ *hsiang*¹ *shu*¹ 兩箱書,
*san*¹ *wan*³ *ch* *a*³ 三碗茶,

where *hsiang*¹ and *wan*³ are measures of books and tea respectively. One can drink three cups of tea without there being actually three tea-cups (*sa*¹ *ch'a*² *wan*³)

Limitation 4 — Numerary adjuncts for cognate objects, such as *hui*² (回), *tang*⁴ (趟), *hsia*⁴ (下), *chu*⁴ (句), *sheng* (聲), etc cannot be contained in *lia*³ or *sa*¹. Thus,

*chung*¹ *ta*³ *le* *liang*³ *hsia*⁴ 鐘打了兩下,
t *a*¹ *shuo*¹ *le* *san*¹ *chu*⁴ *hua*⁴ 他說了三句話,

cannot be changed into

*chung*¹ *ta*³ *le* *lia*³ 鐘打了倆,
t *a*¹ *shuo*¹ *le* *sa*¹ *hua*⁴ 他說了□話。

Limitation 5 — *Lia*³ and *sa*¹ are used only in a light or informal style of speech. Thus one can say

*lia*³ *hsiao*³ *uu*¹ *tzu* 倆小子,

but not

*lia*³ *t* *yuan*¹ 倆咸院, (except, of course, in mockery)

Summarizing the above, we can say that *lia*³ and *sa*¹ are the equivalent, in informal style, of *liang*³ and *san*¹, respectively, plus a numerary adjunct for individual objects or persons

We shall now proceed to consider the sounds of these words and compare them with the corresponding numerals

個 <i>lia</i> ³	兩 <i>liang</i> ³
□ <i>sa</i> ¹	三 <i>san</i> ¹

From a purely descriptive point of view, all we can observe is that the dropping of a nasal ending *-ng* or *-n* has the force of adding a numerary adjunct. But if we go further and listen carefully for the forms of the other numerals, namely, those without nasal endings, we shall find this interesting fact. Whenever it would be natural to use *lia*³ and *sa*¹ instead of *liang*³ *ko*⁴ and *san*¹ *ko*⁴, then it would also be probable for us to hear

$$\left. \begin{array}{l} i^2 \text{ ə} \\ ssü^4 \text{ ə} \\ wu^3 \text{ ə} \\ lu^4 \text{ ə} \end{array} \right\} \text{ instead of } \left\{ \begin{array}{l} i^2\text{-}ko^4 \\ ssü^4 \text{ } ko^4 \\ wu^3 \text{ } ko^4 \\ lu^4 \text{ } ko^4 \end{array} \right.$$

where *ə* stands for a neutral vowel somewhat more central than the clearly back vowel written *ê* in the Wade system, and the sign " " stands for lack of stress

The use of *ə* for *ko*⁴ is not difficult to understand. It is well known that the voiceless plosives *p*, *t*, *k* in Peiping are not only unaspirated, but also of the *lenis* variety, sometimes written as [b], [d], [g] in phonetic symbols. These readily become true voiced plosives *b*, *d*, *g* in unstressed intervocalic positions. Thus, *i*²-*ko*⁴, etc. has a voiceless *k* [g̊] when pronounced with even stress, but in normal speech, when the second syllable would be weakened, it becomes *i*²-*gə*, etc. This is what normally happens with other similar combinations of syllables.

Now expressions of the *i*² *ko*⁴ type are of more than normal frequency, and we should expect that in rapid speech the plosive would become not only voiced, but also become fricative on account of extra wear and tear, thus

$$i^2\text{-}ko^4 > i^2 \text{ } gə > i^2\text{-}\gamma^4,$$

where *γ* represents the velar fricative sound as *g* in German *Wagen*, when it is not pronounced as a plosive.

There is however no such pronunciation as $i^2-\gamma^*$ for $i^2-\text{lo}^4$ in the speech of Peiping, and this is due to the following circumstance. Many Chinese dialects are averse to begin a syllable with a stressed mid or low vowel, and add various consonants such as the glottal stop (Wu-dialects), and *ng* (Canton, Paoing) or *n* (Tientsin), etc. In the case of the Peiping dialect, it is this very sound γ (somewhat weaker than in German *Wagen*) which is used for a parasitic initial, as $\gamma\hat{e}^4$ (惡), Wade (Giles) o^4 , or γa^1 (礙), Wade ai^4 . But in intervocalic positions, the consonant γ is dropped, as in $pu^2 ai^4 shih^4$ (不礙事). In the same way, it is dropped from the hypothetical $i^2-\gamma^* < i^2 \text{lo}^4$ and the result is the $i^2-\text{ə}$ as we saw before. Similarly, we have the $ss\ddot{u}^4 \text{ə}$, $wu^3-\text{ə}$, $liu^4 \text{ə}$ forms, which, in changing from the strong ko^4 -forms, have all dropped the unstable - γ^* forms.

To return to our numerals with nasal endings. An important phonetic fact in dealing with nasal endings of northern and central Chinese dialects is that they are more of the nature of the second element of a diphthong than a stable final consonant. The *ng* in $liang^3 \text{gə} < liang^3-\text{lo}^4$ is much less stable and less firm than in words like *linger*, *longer*, etc. The weakness in the *ng* articulation makes it possible for two things to happen. (1) the - gə in $liang^3 \text{gə}$ changes into - ə in the same way that $i^2 \text{gə}$ changes into $i^2-\text{ə}$. (2) The weak *ng*, as it usually does before vowels, becomes only a nasalizing factor in the latter part or the whole of the preceding vowel, so that the two words become $lia^3 \text{ə}$. Similarly, as the *n* in $san^1 \text{ko}^4$ readily becomes velarized into ng^3 , $san^1 \text{lo}^4$ then becomes $sā^1-\text{ə}$.

We are almost ready now to conclude our note by saying that since $liā^3 \text{ə}$ and $sā^1 \text{ə}$ are not naturally stable sounds in the dialect, therefore they fall into the slots of the nearest phonologically possible syllables, namely, lia^3 and sa^1 . It remains, however, still to show why the ə is dropped for *two* and *three* and not for *one*, *four*, etc. The key to this is in pa^1 (八). The - ə sound is clearest after numerals with apical vowels $ss\ddot{u}^4 \text{ə}$, $shih^2-\text{ə}$, next in clearness after high vowels $i^2-\text{ə}$, $u^2-\text{ə}$, $eh^1 i^{(2)}-\text{ə}$, less clear after mid vowels $liu^4-\text{ə}$, $chiu^3-\text{ə}$ (where the *u* is very open). But in the case of the low vowel in *pa*, to the best of my knowledge, I have never yet heard a clear case of $pa^{1(2)}-\text{lo}^4 > pa^{1(2)}-\text{ə}$. It is either the intermediate weak form $pa^{1(2)}-\text{gə}$ or simply a somewhat lengthened $pa()^1$. The aversion to a hiatus between a low and a mid vowel seems

* When $san > sang$ by assimilation to a following velar consonant the ə remains somewhat 'front' in quality, but becomes the usual medium ə in the final ə .

to have resulted in the dropping of the -ə. The absence, or at least rarity, of the $pa^{1(2)}-ə$ forms therefore explains why $liā-ə$ and $sā^1-ə$ fall so readily into the phonological slots lia^3 and sa^1 .

We have then the following stages of change for these two numerals

$$\begin{array}{l} (pa^1-ko^4 > pa^{1(2)} gə > \text{---} > pa^{1(2)} a^* > pa()^1) \\ liang^3-ko^4 > liang^3- gə > liā^3- ə > liāa^{3*} > lia^3 \\ san^1-ko^4 > sang^1-ko^4 > sang^1- gə > sā^1- ə^* > sāa^{1*} > sa^1. \end{array}$$

where the forms with asterisks are hypothetical forms

As to the inclusion in lia^3 and sa^1 of numerary adjuncts other than ko^4 , it simply came from the possible alternate use of ko^4 for most of the other individualizing numerary adjuncts. Phonetically lia^3 and sa^1 come from $liang^3-ko^4$ and san^1-ko^4 . Since ko^4 can often be used for $chang^1$, pa^3 , $t'iao^2$, $chih^1$, etc, so can lia^3 , sa^1 be used for $liang^3-chang^1$, $san^1-chang^1$, $liang^3-t'iao^2$, $san^1-t'iao^2$, etc etc

HAN YU AND THE T'ANG NOVEL

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In chapter 14 of Han Yu's collected writings¹ we find two letters written in reply to two letters from Chang Chi 張絳,² both of which are found in this same chapter. Chang Chi's first letter³ contains the following statement: "Of late I have noticed that you are much given to 'mixed untrue tales' and like to have someone relate them in your presence. This is detrimental to a perfect character." Han Yu's reply⁴ contains the following answer to Chang Chi's charge: "In addition, you complain that I, along with others, listen to 'untrue, mixed tales.' This is simply a way to amuse myself. If you compared it with wine or sex, you would see that there is a difference."

Chang Chi's second letter⁵ remarked: "Your words and actions would not be far from perfection did you not amuse yourself with 'mixed, untrue tales.' Whenever you hear them related, you even applaud and laugh. This disturbs the spirit and harms one's [better] nature, and does not rectify them. If you cannot rectify them, what is to become of you?" In reply to this Han Yu said:⁶ "As for your charge [that I am given to] 'mixed [untrue tales]' I exhausted the

¹ *Ssu Pu Tsung Kan* 四部叢刊 Yuan edition Han Yu Chang li Hsien sheng Wen Chi 韓愈昌黎先生文集 14 1^b-^a1a

² Biography in the *Chiu T'ang Shu* 舊唐書 160 in the *Hsin T'ang Shu* 新唐書 176, as a supplement to Han Yu's biography

³ *Op cit* (note 1) 14 18a 比見執事多尚駁雜無實之說。使人陳之於前，以爲歡。此有以累於令德。

⁴ *Op cit* 14 18b. 吾子又謾吾與人爲無實駁雜之說。此吾所以爲戲耳。比之酒色，不有間乎。

⁵ *Op cit* 14 19b. 君子發言舉足，不遠於理。未嘗以駁雜無實之說爲戲也。執事每見其說，亦拊拊呵笑。是撓氣害性，不得其正久。苟正之不得，曷所不王焉。

⁶ *Op cit* 14 19b-1a 駁雜之謾前古盡之。吾子其復之。昔者夫子猶有所戲。詩不云乎 善戲謔兮。不爲虐兮。記曰 張而不弛。文武不能也。至害於道哉。吾子其未之思乎。

question in my previous letter, but you reopen it. Of old Confucius⁷ still had means of diverting himself [Further], does not the Book of Poetry⁸ say "He is given to amusement, he is not oppressive?" The Book of Rites⁹ says "Not to shoot when once the bow is drawn, neither Wên nor Wu was capable of that." How does it [my indulgence in novels] harm the Right Way? Have you given no thought to the matter?"

In chapter 8 of Chao Yen wei's *Yun Lu Man Ch'ao* 趙彥衛，雲麓漫鈔¹⁰ we read "the T'ang *chu jen* first sent their full name in to the chief examiner through distinguished men of their time. Later on they presented [a sample of] their work [either prose or verse]." After a few days they again presented [what] is known as a *wen chuan* [something] like the *Yu K'uai Lu*¹¹ or the *Ch'uan Chi*¹². For it is likely that this sort of writing, containing all styles, can exhibit one's historical talents, poetic ability, and reasoning powers."

It is not very clear what is meant by the expression "mixed" 駁雜 in Chang Chi's letters. I do not know whether it is applied to (1) the literary style, (2) the intent of the tale, or (3) to the quality of the contents. If he has in mind the first alternative, then, as Chao Yen wei remarks, in one T'ang novel all such styles as poetry, songs, and plain prose, were intermingled, so that they could unquestionably be called "mixed." If it is the second, then the thought and reasoning of T'ang novelists had been greatly influenced by both Buddhism and Taoism, and, from the point of view of such literati as Han Yu their style could be described as "mixed." According to the third possibility, the material used in T'ang novels dealt for the most part with divinities and ghosts, or with strange phenomena which were rare in human experience. Consequently, they well merited both the epithet "mixed," and the epithet "untrue."

To sum up, if the "mixed, untrue tales" to which Han Yu was given do not signify such compositions as the *Yu K'uai Lu* and the *Ch'uan*

⁷ *Lun Yü* (Couvreur's ed. 1930), p. 269 (ch. 17-19) 陽貨籍

⁸ 詩經，衛風淇奥篇。

⁹ 禮記，雜記第下。

¹⁰ *Shê wen* 涉聞 edition of an old copy, ch. 8-3b 唐之舉人先藉當世頭人以姓名達於主司。然後以所業投獻。踰數日又投，謂之溫卷，如幽怪錄，傳奇皆是也。蓋此等文備衆體，可以見史才詩筆議論。

¹¹ Cf. *Ssu Ku** catalogue 144 小說家類，存目二。

¹² *The Hsin T'ang Shu* 59 mentions a 傳奇 in three 名 by Pei Hsing 裴鉞

Chi, there is nothing else that I can suggest. Although, when Chang Chi sent Han Yu the letters,¹³ the latter had not yet composed the *Mao Ying Chuan*, we now, because of this fact, can know that Han Yu had previously been addicted to novels. The *Mao Ying Chuan* which he wrote later was based merely upon an earlier predilection, it was merely an attempt to write a novel in the *lu wên* (which he was accustomed to use to make clear the proper conduct of an optimus)

In chapter 3 of Li Chao's *Kuo Shih Pu* 李肇, 國史補¹⁴—the section on the historians Han [Yu] and Shên [Chi-chi]¹⁵—we read “Shên Chi-chi wrote the *Chên Chung Chi*, a work of the same kind as Chuang tzü's *Yü Yen*”¹⁶ Han Yu wrote the *Mao Ying Chuan*. Their style is very elevated and not inferior to Ssü ma Ch'ien's. Both books give evidence of genuine historical talents.”

Liu Tsung-yüan's 柳宗元¹⁷ “After Reading Han Yü's *Mao Ying Chuan*” says “[Han Yu's] contemporaries mocked it. Was it not because it furnished diversion? Yet drama was not shunned by the sage, for the Book of Poetry says ‘He is given to amusement, he is not oppressive’ The *Shih Chi* contains a section of biographies of actors and jesters,¹⁸ all of whom were a benefit to their respective periods.” Chao Yen wei's remark “can exhibit one's historical talents and reasoning powers” agrees with both Li Chao's and Li Tsung yüan's comparison of the *Mao Ying Chuan* with the *Shih Chi*.

¹³ Cf. Wu pai Chia Chu Yin Pien Ch'ang li Hsien shêng Wên Chi 五百家註音辯昌黎先生文集 14, Fan's 樊氏 commentary to Han Yü's reply to Chang Chi's first letter.

¹⁴ The *Chin chien pi shu* 津建秘書 3 10b-11a 沈既濟撰枕中記, 莊子寓言之類。韓愈撰毛穎傳, 其文尤高, 不下史遷。二篇真良史才也。

¹⁵ Shên Chi-chi's biography is in *Chiu T'ang Shu* 149, *Hsin T'ang Shu* 132. His *Chên Chung Chi* is found in the *Wên Yuan Ying Hua* 833 文苑英華 and *T'ai ping Kuang Chi* 82 太平廣記.

¹⁶ Chuang tzü 27, the *Yü Yen P'ien* 寓言篇, begins “[My work is] ninety per cent metaphor.”

¹⁷ *Ssü Pu Tsung K'an*, Yüan ed 21 1a 世人笑之也。不以其俳乎。而俳又非聖人之所棄者。詩曰。“善戲謔兮。不爲虐兮。”太史公嘗有滑稽列傳。皆取乎有益於世者也。

¹⁸ *Shih Chi*, 126

A letter¹⁹ from P'ei Tu²⁰ to Li Ao²¹ reads, "Han Yu of Ch'ang li I have known for a long time I like him very much and unexpectedly [I find myself] admiring him To be sure he is a man of excellent talents, but I have recently heard friends remark that relying upon his decided self sufficiency, he is usually quite lax He does not use literature to set models [for his contemporaries], rather, he is using literature to amuse [himself] This certainly should not be done! His [Han Yu's] inferiors [including you] should simply avoid this [misuse of literature]"

Han Yu's biography in chapter 160 of the *Chiu Tang Shu*²² contains the following statement "At that time [Han Yu] had the confidence in his ability to follow his own whims even to the extent of opposing the utterances of Confucius and Mencius When the southerners erroneously took Liu Tsung yuan as the spirit of Lo Ch'ih, Han Yu composed the stele inscription to substantiate this [claim] When Li Ho, whose father was Li Chin, did not try the *chin shih* examination, Han Yu composed for him the *Hui Pien*, to urge him to try the examination for *chin shih* In addition he wrote the *Mao Ying Chuan* in which he criticized and mocked lack of human feeling This is the worst of his prose compositions"

In chapter 3 of the *Kuo Shih Pu*,²³ the section on the Preferences of Modern Prose, we read "From the period Yuan ho literary style imitated [the penchant to] the marvelous [found] in Han Yu, it was

¹⁹ V Ming ed of *Wên Yuan Ying Hua* 680 12b 13a and the *Ssu Pu Tsung Kan* s Chia chung 嘉靖 ed of the *Tang Wên Tsu* 唐文粹 84 6a 昌黎韓愈僕識之舊矣。中心愛之，不覺驚賞。然其人信美才也，近或聞諸儕類云 恃其絕足，往往奔放。不以文立制，而以文爲戲。可矣乎，可矣乎。今之不及之者當大爲防焉爾。

²⁰ P'ei Tu's 裴度 biog in *Chiu Tang Shu* 170 and *Hsin Tang Shu* 173

²¹ Li Ao's 李翱 biog *Chiu Tang Shu* 160 and *Hsin Tang Shu* 177

²² Ts'ên's 岑 ed ch 160 7a 7b 時有恃才肆言，亦有黷孔孟之旨。若南人妄以柳宗元爲羅池神，而愈撰碑以實之。李賀父名晉，不應進士，而愈爲賀作諱辨，令舉進士。又爲毛穎傳，譏戲不近人情。此文章之甚紕繆者。The text 李賀父名晉 is the same in all editions On the basis of the following sources however we must add a sixth character 肅 and read Ch n su *Chiu Tang Shu* 137 *Hsin Tang Shu* 203 and *Ch'ang li Hsien shêng Wên Chi* 12 (original text of the *Hui Pien*)

²³ *Chin Chen Pi Shu* ed 3 13a 13b 元和以後，文章學奇於韓愈。大抵元和之風尚怪也。

VEDIC EXEMPLARISM

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The doctrine of Exemplarism is bound up with that of forms or ideas, and has to do with the intelligible relation that subsists as between the forms, ideas, similitudes, or eternal reasons of things (*nāma*, "name" or "noumenon" = *forma*) and the things themselves in their accidental, and contingent aspects (*rūpa*, "phenomenon" = *figura*). This is as much as to say that Exemplarism, in the last analysis, is the traditional doctrine of the relation, cognitive and causal, between the one and the many the nature of which relation is implied in Vedic Sanskrit by the expressions *visvam ekam* (RV. III, 54, 8), "the many that are one, the one that is manifold" (= Plotinus, "Integral Multiplicity"), *visvam satyam* (RV. II, 24, 2), "The manifold truth," and *visvam garbham* (RV. X, 121, 7), "The germ of all," and more fully enunciated in ŚB X, 5, 2, 16, "As to this they say, 'Is He then one or many?' One should answer, 'One and many.' For inasmuch as He is That, He is one, and inasmuch as He is multiply distributed (*bahudha vyavṛṣṭih*) in his children, He is many" ¹

The doctrine in these respects cannot be better demonstrated than by means of a diagram consisting of two concentric circles, with their common centre and two or more radii, or by the corresponding Vedic

¹ "He," in the original, "Death" (*mṛtyu*), "That," i.e. the "Person in the Sun" In order not to complicate the present exposition by a discussion *de divinis nominibus*, the pronoun has generally been substituted for the name of deity actually employed in the passages cited. I have discussed the use of essential names in my "Vedic Monotheism," to appear this year in the *S. K. Aiyangar Memorial Volume*. The general principle is as follows: deity is every where of one and the same form (RV VIII, 11, 8, *purutrā hi sadṛm asi*, I, 94, 7, *yo vīratāḥ supratīkāḥ sadṛm asi*), but he has many names, the application of which inheres not in him, but in the percipient, "Even as he seems, so is he named" (*yādṛg eva dadṛśe tādṛg ucyate*, RV V, 44, 6), "As he is approached, so he becomes (*yathōpāsate tad eva bhavati*, ŚB X, 5, 2, 20), for example, "Indra art thou to the mortal worshipper" (RV V, 3, 1), "Thou art Varuṇa at birth, becomest Mitra when kindled" (RV III, 5, 4 and V, 3, 1)

symbol of a wheel (*calra*) with its felly, hub, and spokes. Such a diagram or symbol represents the universe in cross section, the circles any two levels of reference or "worlds" (*loka*), or more specifically the individual and intellectual, or human and angelic (*adhyatma* and *adhidaivata*), levels of reference. The whole world, or universe (*visvam*) thus represented corresponds to the ensemble of all possibilities of manifestation, whether informal, formal, or sensible, a world (*loka* = *locus*) is a given ensemble of possibilities, a given modality. The infinite ocean of all possibility whether of manifestation or non manifestation is represented by the blank surface of the paper which at the same time interpenetrates and transcends the indefinite extension of the finite universe represented by the diagram; this unlimited surface is unaffected by the extension or abstraction of the diagram, which has no position. Each radius, spoke, or ray represents the whole being of an individual consciousness, its intersection with any circumference the operation of this consciousness as that level of reference, each such point of intersection forming the centre of a minor "world," which must be thought of as a smaller circle struck about its own centre on the inner surface of the sphere of which the diagram is a cross section, in a plane, that is, at right angles to the radius or ray that connects the unique centre with the point in question. This unique centre is, like the whole diagram, without position in its ambient, "position" having a meaning only upon or within the circumference, and just as this ambient is unaffected by the presumption of a centre with or without its dependent radii, so the properties of the unique centre once assumed are unaffected by the extension or subtraction of radii. And as the indefinitely numerous points which constitute the surface of indefinitely numerous concentric spheres represent the points of view of individual knowing subjects, so the unique point from which all radii proceed and to which all converge represents an omniscient, supra individual consciousness, metaphysically the First Principle, theologically God in his intelligible aspect, that of the Supernal Sun, or Light, while what we have called the ambient, at once immanent and transcendent, represents the Godhead or Divine Darkness. Strictly speaking, the diagram should have been drawn, not in black on white, but in gold against a black ground, and it is thus in fact that the Vedic *gyotiratha*, "the chariot of light" (= Biblical "chariot of fire"), and its wheels are conceived.

In such a diagram it is obvious that for every point on the outer circumference there is a corresponding and analogous point on the inner circumference, with only this difference, that on the inner circumference

the "points" are more closely "packed" If the circumference of the inner circle be reduced, the same condition holds good In such reduction, there can be no moment at which the "points" of which the circumference (or spherical surface represented by it) is composed can be thought of as annihilated, we can only continue to think of them as more and more densely packed, and finally coinciding in a unity without composition In other words, all of the radii, all individual principles, and in their total extension, are represented at their common centre in *principle*, in an innumerable principle (*tattva*) which is at the same time an altogether simple substance (*dharma*) and possess of a multifarious nature (*svabhāva*), a single point, and yet for each radius its own and private starting point In just this sense, "The notions of all created things (*kāvya* = *kavikarmas*) inhere in him, who is as it were the hub within the wheel (*cakre nābhur iva sṛitā*, RV VIII, 41, 6),² "In him are all beings, and the eye that oversees, intellect (*manas*), spiration (*prāṇah*), and noumenon (*nāma*) coincident (*samāhṛitam*, 'being in *samādhi*'), in him when he comes forth all his children enjoy (the fulfilment of their ends or purposes, by which their will to life is deter-

² Similarly RV X, 82, 6 "Inherent in the nave(1) of the Unborn, in which insist the several worlds as one" (*ajasya nabhau adhī ekam arpitam yasmin viśvān dhruvanān tastih*), or *aja* may be rendered by "Goat," the reference being to the Sun as Viśvakarma, the "All maker," in either case

As to the rendering of *kavyā* by "notions of all created things" Vedic *lav* is "poet" in the sense of the original Greek ποιητής, that is Philo's sense and as the word is applied to God in the New Testament It is as "creator" that the term *lav* is used of the Sun, Agni, and others in RV, while *kavya*, cited above from VIII, 41, 6 is not as in the later rhetoric merely a "poem" but "whatever is made by a *kavi*," whether by way of generation or art If the word *kāvya* in the sense of "poem" also implies a diction, expression and utterance, this corresponds to the Scholastic equation of *rationes* with λόγος (St Bonaventura, 83 *Questions*, q 46, n. 2)

If the Vedic *lavayah* are in a certain sense the authors of the *sūktas*, it is rather as finders or inventors (in the etymological sense of *in venio*, discover) than as composers, theirs is the "prophetic" faculty, and the *sūktas* themselves are of quickening efficacy, all of which is far removed from conceptions of authorship and "literature" nowadays current It is as *lav* that the Sun "releases all things in their kind" (*viśvā rūpān prātī muñcate*, RV V, 81, 2), that is, "frees his comrades from the curse" (*amuñcat nīr atadyāt* RV III, 31, 8), from the bonds of Varuna *carunāt*, RV X, 92 16), from the fetter of Death (*bandhanāt mṛtyor*, RV VII, 50, 2), and because by the mere act of shining the Supernal Sun thus releases all things from darkness to light from potentiality to act he is called, as Pūṣan, the "Son of liberation" (*vimuco napāt*, RV I, 42, 1 and *passim*)

mined);² sent by him, and born of him, it is in him that all this universe is established," AV. XIX, 53, 6-9; and in the same way as the Person, or Man, He is called the "resort of all phenomena" (*rūpīny eta gasyātanaṃ . . . puruṣam*, BṛhU. III, 9, 16).

This inherence in the central consciousness is accordingly the means of a "unified density of cognition" (*ekibhūta prajñāna-ghana*, *Māndūkya Up* 5), a "cognitive pleroma" (*krtsnah prajñāna-ghana*, BṛhU. IV, 5, 13); "He knows the whole speculatively" (*visrami sa vedo varuna yathā dhiyī*,³ RV. X, 11, 1), and *ab intra*, "being provident, even before birth, of all the generations of the Angels" (*garbhe nu sann anv eṣāṃ atedam aham devānām janimāni visrā*, RV. IV, 27, 1),⁴ in other words, his knowledge of things is not derived from them objectively and *post factum*, but from their prior likeness in the mirror of his own intellect. Just as the physical sun enjoys a bird's-eye view of this whole

² AV. XIX, 53, 7, *kālena sarvā nandanti dgatena*, translated above, reflects RV. X, 71, 10 *sarve nandanti . . . dgatena . . . saṁhṛā*, Kāla ("Time," the "Year") replacing Saṁhi (the "Comrade," see Varuna, cf. God as the "Friend" in Śāfi parlance). This variant is omitted in Bloomfield's Concordance.

³ Śāyana's paraphrase is admirable *dhiyā is ātmānurūpayā prajñāyā*, "by his wisdom in his own likeness." *DAI* = *dhyāna* = *contemplatio*. The *dāi* or *dhyāna* of Varuṇa corresponds to the *darśa jñāna* or "mirror knowledge" of the *jñāna dharmakāya*, which in Mahāyāna Buddhism is also a "knowledge of sameness" (*samata jñāna*), e.g. in the *Abhisamayālaṅkāra* (OBERMILLER, in AO IX), and a simultaneous act, cf. *Lamkāraśāstra Sūtra*, II, 115, "Just as waves arise in the sea simultaneously (*yugapatikāle*), as things are seen simultaneously in a mirror or in dream, so is the mind in its own pasture (*cittam svagocare*) I do not agree with Suzuki that this verse is out of place in its context, the idea is, that just as when a breeze springs up, the dawn wind of creation for example, the whole surface of the waters is covered by ripples, which arise all together and not one by one or one after another here and there, so in the world picture the mind sees all things at one and the same time (*yugapatikāle*), while *svagocare*, "in its own pasture" does not mean "in its own sense-fields," but the contrary of this, being equivalent to *svastha-cittāḥ*, *svastha buddhīḥ*, *anayasa cittāḥ*, and such expressions employed in connection with *dhyāna*.

⁴ It is as *visrā veda janimāni* that Agni is called Jātavedas, "comprehensor of the genesis of things," RV. *passim*, and as such that he is identified with Varuṇa, *ab intra* (III, 5, 4), being indeed the "comprehensor of Varuṇa" (IV, 1, 4), and this "lore of genesis" (*jataridya*) which the Brahman knows in X 71 11 is the same things as the "hidden names of the Angels" (*devānām guhya nāmāni* V, 5, 10) as will be evident when we turn to the further discussion of *nama*. This divine providence or wisdom is also spoken of as "counsel" (*kratu*, often like *mayā* and *śaci* met with in pl. and then equivalent to "powers"), e.g. IV, 12, 1 "Thou art a Comprehensor by thy counsel, Jātavedas" (*tara kratvā jātavedas cālīstran*).

earth in its orbit, so the Supernal Sun "surveys the whole" (*īśtam abhicaste*, RV. I, 161, 11), being the eye or *Aussichtspunkt* (*adhyakṣa*) of Varuna or of the Angels collectively (*īdāṃ cakṣur . . . sūryas . . . abhi yo īśtā bhutanāṃ caṣṭe*, RV. VII, 61, 1; cf. I, 116, 1, X, 37, 1, X, 129, 7; VS. XIII, 15, etc.), just as in the Avesta the Sun (*hīaro* = *star* = *sūrya*) is Ahura Mazda's eye, and in Buddhism, the Buddha is still the "eye in the world" (*caḷḷhum loke*). What this eye sees in the eternal mirror is the "world-picture": "The Primal Spirant (*paramātman*) sees the world picture (*jagat-citra*, lit the 'picture of what moves') painted by itself upon a canvas that is nothing but itself, and takes a great delight therein" (Sankarācārya, *Śīātmanirūpana*, 95); "sees all things at once in their diversity and in coincidence," (*abhi ī paśyati* and *abhi sam paśyati*, RV. IX, 74, 2, cf BG VI, 29 30).

Taken in and by itself this First Spirant, without composition (*adiata*), and at rest (*śayana*), is the "living conjoint principle" of St Thomas (*Sum Theol*, I, q 117, a. 1 c), the unity of the "cohabitant parents" (*sakṣitā ubhā mātara*, RV. I, 140, 3, *parikṣitā pītara*, III, 7, 1, etc.) who are innumerable named, but typically "Intellect" (*manas*) and "Word" (*īdā*),* whose conjunction effects what Eckhart calls "the act of fecundation latent in eternity" But this unintelligible unity of the Father-(Mother)[†] belongs entirely to the darkness of the "common nest" or "matrix" wherein all things come to be of one and the same ilk (*yatra visiam bhuvaty ekanidam*, RV. khila IV, 10 and VS XXXII, 8, *sarīe asmin deīd ekairīto bhavanti*, AV. XIII, 4, 20)

Thus, while the divine intellect and the ideas or forms or eternal reasons apparent to it are one simply *secundum rem*, the latter are at the same time manifold *secundum rationem intelligendi sive dicendi* (St Bonaventura, *I Sent.* d 35, a unic, q 3, concl). As Plotinus expresses it (IV, 4, 1) "The Highest, as a self contained unity, has no outgoing effect" . . . But the unity of the power is such as to allow of its being multiple to another principle, to which it is all things[‡]

* *Manas* and *Vāc* as conjoint pair occur in RV, Brāhmanas and Upaniṣads, *passim* *Vāc* is *verbum*, and as in Italian, feminine (*la parola*) Cf Eckhart, "The Father wantons with the Word", "From the Father's embrace of his own nature (= *svabhāva*, *prakṛti*) comes the eternal playing (= *nitya līla*) of the Son"

† AV VIII, 9, 10, 'Who knoweth the *mithunatva* of Virāj?', cf JUB I 54, "They (du) becoming Virāj (s) engendered (yonder Sun)" (*tau virāḍ bhutvā prājanayatām*)

‡ "Having no outgoing effect" Skr *avīśvaminva*

What is represented in our diagram already presumes the diremption (*dvedhā*, BṛhU I, 4, 3) of those that had been closely embraced (*samparivakṣau*, *ib*), that is, of knower and known, subject and object, essence and nature, Heaven and Earth, as indicated by the remotion of the circumference from the centre. This diremption and divine procession (*krama* = *dīta*, *Taittiriya Pratiśākhya* XXI, 16)* is coincident with the birth of the Son (Indrāgni), of Light (*jyotiḥ*), of the Sun, "Savitṛ the creator, who releases the visible forms of all things" (*viśvā rūpāni prati muncate kauriḥ savitā*, RV V, 81, 2), "by the separation of the prior, the latter came forth" (*prathamah āryatatrād eśām uparā udāyan*, RV X, 27, 23). In other words, the act of being implied by the words "I am that I am," "I am Brahman,"¹⁰ although entirely one of self intention, becomes from an external point of view the act of creation, which is at the same time a generation (*prajānana*) and an intellectual (*mānasa*) creation *per artem* (*taṣṭa*) and *ex voluntate* (*yathā iśam*, *lāmya*), for the Son "in whom were created all things" (Col I, 16) is also their form and exemplar, the whole occasion of their existence,¹¹ and it is accordingly that species and beauty are appropriated to the Son, whom as being the Word, i.e. as concept, Augustine calls the "art" of God.¹²

* Conversely. There is no procession of one in *samādhi*: (*kramo nāsti samādhiḥ* *Lakṣāvatāra Sūtra* II 117. *Samādhi* corresponds to *raptus* or *excessus* in Christian *yoga* but as metaphysically a concentration must be distinguished from a religious *ecstasy* in the etymological sense of the latter word viz that of a going outside oneself.

¹⁰ It knew indeed itself that I am Brahman' thereby it became the All (BṛhU I 4 10). This does not of course represent an empirical consideration of one's own mentality as object but is the pure act of being here to be and to know are the same thing. It in no way contradicts Erigena's magnificent words.

God does not know what He himself is for He is not any what and this ignorance surpasses all knowledge.

¹¹ Exemplar means *raison d'être* (*exemplar rationem producentis dicit* St Bonaventura *I Sent* d 31 p II a 1 q 1 ad 3). Idea is the likeness of a thing by which it is known and produced (*ib* d 25 a unic q 1 fund 2). Exemplar implies idea word art and reason (*idea verbum ars et ratio*) idea with respect to the act of foresight word with respect to the act of statement art with respect to the act of making and reason with respect to the act of completing because it adds the intention of the end in view. And because all these are one and the same in God one is often said in place of another (*Breviloquium* p I c 8). From these definitions the reader will be enabled to judge of the propriety of the employment of the terms in translation.

¹² See St Thomas *Sum Theol* I q 39 a 8 the art at accordingly whether human or divine works by a word conceived in his intellect (*per verbum in*

The Son or Sun is thus the "single form that is the form of very different things" (Eckhart, resuming in these words the whole doctrine)¹³ all of which are in his likeness, as he is in theirs—but with this very important distinction necessitated by the innumerability of the unique centre, that while the likeness in the thing depends upon the archetype, the latter in no way depends upon the thing, but is logically antecedent: "The model of all that is, preexistent, He knows all generations (*satahsatah pratimānam purobhuh viśiā iceda janimā*), He smites the Dragon; shining (or 'sounding') forth (*pra . . . arcan*) from Heaven our Leader, cattle-fain, as Comrade frees his comrades from the curse" (*amuñcat nīr atadyāt*, RV. III, 31, 8).¹⁴ The terms "exemplar" and "image," which imply in strictness "model" and "copy" can however be used equivocally, and for this reason a distinction is made between the archetype as *imago imaginans* and the imitation as *imago imaginata* (St. Bonaventura, *I Sent.*, d. 31, p. 11, a. 1, q. 1 concl.). A corresponding ambiguity is met with in Sanskrit, where the distinction must be made according to the context. As *imago imaginans*, the deity is called "primordial omniform" (*agriyam viśtarūpam*, RV. I, 13, 10), "the likeness of all things" (*viśtasya pratimānam*, RV. II, 12, 29, cf. III, 31, 8, cited above), "the omniform likeness of a thousand" (*sahasrasya pratimānam viśtarūpam*, VS. XIII, 41), "the counterpart of Earth" (*pratimānam prthivyāh*, RV. I, 52, 13), "for every figure He hath been the form (*rūpam rūpam pratirūpo babhūva*), that is his likeness that we should regard (*taḍ asya rūpam pratikalśanāya*). it is by his magic-powers (*māyābhik*) that He proceeds in a plurality of aspects" (*pururūpa iyate*, RV. VI, 47, 18). This likeness by which the Father proceeds is the sacrifice—"yielding himself up to the Angels, he expressed a likeness of himself, to wit, the sacrifice, hence one says,

intellectu conceptum, ib, I, q 45, a 6, c) Cf St Bonaventura, *Agens per intellectum producit per formas, quae non sunt aliquid rei, sed idea in mente sicut artifex producit arcam* (*II Sent.*, d 1, p 1, a 1, q 1, ad 3, 4) *et quia multa sunt cognita, et unum cognoscens, ideo ideae sunt plures, et ars tantum una* (ib, q 35, a unic, q 3, ad 2)

¹³ Cf St Bonaventura, *Quia vero (exemplar in Deo) infinitum et immensum, ideo extra omne genus Et hinc est, quod existens unum potest esse similitudo expressiva (=arjyamana) multorum* (*Breviloquium*, p 1, c 8)

¹⁴ Here the divine providence is directly connected with the act of creation (conquest of the dragon, and release of individual potentialities from the darkness, duress, and deformity or evil of the antenatal tomb to light and operation) "Cattle" in RV are unrealised potentialities of every kind, of which the proceeding principles desire to take effective possession

"Yonder world is in the likeness of (*anurūpa*) this world, this world in the likeness of that," a condition that is clearly exhibited in our diagram by the correspondence of circle with circle, point for point. In what manner the ideas are causal with respect to all their contingent aspects will be apparent when we recall that the central consciousness is always thought of as a Light or Sound, of which the contingent forms on any circumference are projections, reflections, expressions, or echoes thrown as it were upon the wall of Plato's cave, or upon the screen of a theatre, with only this difference, that the pattern or lantern slide which corresponds to the "form" or "idea" of the picture actually seen is not merely close to the source of light, but intrinsic to the light itself, so that we meet on the one hand with such expressions as "formal light" (Ulrich of Strassburg) and "image bearing light" (Eckhart), and on the other such as VS V, 35, "Thou art the omniform light" (*jyotir asī viśvarūpam*)¹⁷ "He lent their light to other lights" (*adadhāy jyotiṣu jyotir antah*, RV. X, 54, 6), "Ye, Agnīsomau, found the single light for many", and in the building of the fire altar, the brick laid down "for progeny" and representing Agni is called the "manifold light" (*viśvajyotis*, SB VIII, 4, 2, 25 6)

A subtle problem arises here For what is meant by the assertion that "The Spirant is interminable, omniform, and yet no doer of anything" (*anantas cātmā viśvarūpo hy akartā*, ŚvU I, 9), or as Eckhart expresses it, by the apparent contradiction of the statements that "He works willy nilly" and "There no work is done at all"? In view of this, that all the personal powers may be described as reaching out to all things (*viśvamīva*, RV *passim*, cf II, 5, 2, where Agni *viśvam invati*) what is meant by the assertion "At the back of yonder heaven,¹⁸ what they

¹⁷ In Scholastic philosophy, the nature of the divine exemplarism is constantly illustrated by means of the likeness of light, e g, "which although it is numerically one nevertheless expresses many and different kinds of color" (St Bonaventura, *I Sent* d 35 a unic q 2 ad 2), "Exemplary cause just as physical light is one in kind which is none the less that of the beauty that is in all colors, which the more light they have the more beautiful they are and of which the diversity is occasioned by the diversity of the surfaces that receive the light" (Ulrich ENGELBERT), see my Mediaeval Aesthetic I in *Art Bulletin* 17 (1935), 38 Dante *Paradiso* XXXIII, 82 90 One simple Light that in its depths encloses as in a single volume all that is scattered on the pages of the universe

¹⁸ I e In the world beyond the falcon JB III 268 there the Sun does not shine (MundU II, 2 10 and KU V, 15), in the divine darkness (*tamas*, *passim*), Things belonging to the state of glory are not under the sun' (St Thomas, *Sum Theol*, III, q 91 a 1) One escapes altogether through the

chant is an omniscient word compelling nothing" (*mantrayante divo amuṣya prsiṭhe visvavidam rācam aviśaminvam*, RV. I, 164, 10), and why is the chariot of the Sun, although by nature directed everywhere (*visūvrtam*) also described as having no effect on anything (*aviśaminvam*, RV. II, 40, 3)? These questions have an important bearing on the problems of destiny and free will. As follows the centrifugal procession of individual potentialities depends upon the central unity essentially, their becoming, life, or spiration depends entirely upon the being and spiration of the Primal Spirant, in this sense, that the very existence of individual radii or rays becomes unthinkable if we abstract the central luminous point,¹⁹ and this dependence is constantly asserted, for example in the designation of Agni as "all-supporting" (*visiambhara*)

On the other hand, it is not the single form of all potentialities, making arbitrary dispositions ("Heaven gives no orders"), but the specific²⁰ form of each potentiality that determines each thing's individual mode or character, and gives to it its "proper likeness" (*śarupam*). In other words, God or Being is the common cause of the becoming of all things, but not immediately of the distinctions between them, which distinctions are determined by "the varying works inherent in the respective personalities" (Śaṅkarācārya, on *Vedānta Sūtra*, II, 1, 32, 35); they are born according to the measure of their understanding (*yathā prajñam*, AA II, 3, 2), or as more commonly implied in RV. according to their several ends or purposes (*anta, artha*), "they live dependent on (*upajvanti*) their such and such desired ends" (*yam yam antam abhikāmaḥ*, ChU. VII, 1, 4). So it is said "Now run ye forth

midst of the Sun" JB I, 3), "No man cometh to the Father save through me" (John, XIV, 6), who as the Sun is the "gateway of the worlds" (*lokadvara*, ChU VIII, 6, 6)

¹⁹ In this case, that of *pralaya* absolutely, all things are returned to the condition of potentiality, and even the first assumption in Godhead, that of light or being, has not been made. The individual is then "drowned," losing "name and aspect," and if a Comprehensor is completely enlarged from all necessity without residual elements of existence, or if not wholly and consciously perfected, must await the opportunities of manifestation and experience in a succeeding aeon, when the dawning of another day again effects the Harrowing of Hell.

²⁰ Form, idea, reason, species, truth, virtue and beauty, although not synonymous, are interchangeable terms in Scholastic exemplarism, because one at their source. Species however, in this sense, does not imply a group within a genus, but what is individually specific, and similarly as regards goodness (or perfection) and beauty things being good or beautiful in their kind (and there is only one of each kind) and not indefinitely.

your several ways" (*pra nunam dhāyata prthak*, RV VIII, 100, 7)²¹ "In fine," as Plotinus expresses it (IV, 3, 13 and 15) "the law is given in the entities upon whom it falls, these bear it about with them. Let but the moment arrive, and what it decrees will be brought to act by those beings in whom it resides, they fulfil it because they contain it, it prevails because it is within them, it becomes like a heavy burden, and sets up in them a painful longing to enter the realm from which they are bidden from within," and thus "all diversity of condition in the lower spheres is determined by the descendant beings themselves"

A doctrine of this kind, which makes each creature the source and bearer, not of its own being but of its own destiny (and this is what one means by "free will," although this is in reality a state of bondage, viz to the idiosyncrasy of the individual will) is common to all tradition, and has been everywhere expressed in almost the same way for example, "It is manifest that fate is in the created causes themselves" (St Thomas, *Sum Theol*, I, q 116, a 2), "God's being is bestowed on all creatures alike, only each receives it according to its receptivity" (Tauler, *The Following of Christ*, English version by Morell, § 154, p 135), "As is the harmony, so also is the sound or tone of the eternal voice therein, in the holy, holy, in the perverse, perverse" (Boehme, *Signatura Rerum*, XVI, 6 7), "formal light of which the diversity is occasioned by the diversity of the surfaces that receive the light" (Ulrich of Strassburg), for, as Macrobius says, *unus fulgor illuminat, et in universis apparet in multis speculis* (Comm ex Cicerone in *Somnium Scipionis*, I, 14) We find this point of view also in Islam, the creative utterance, *kun*, "Be," causes or permits the positive existence of individuals, but in another sense (that of mode), they are causes of themselves "because He only wills what they have it in them to become" (Ibnul 'Arabi, as cited by Nicholson, *Studies in Islamic Mysticism*, p 151)

That we do what we must is a matter of contingent necessity (*necessitas coactionis*) altogether distinct from the infallible necessity (*necessitas infallibilitatis*) with which He who acts "willingly but not from will" (Eckhart), and "does what must be done" (*cahrik yat karisyam*, RV VII, 20, 1, cf I, 165, 9 and VI, 9, 3), viz "those things which God must will of necessity" (St Thomas, *Sum Theol*, I, q 45, a 2 c),

²¹ In this connection may be noted KU IV, 14, 'Just as water rained upon a lofty peak runs here and there (*vidhāvati*), so one who sees the principles in multiplicity (*dharmāny prthak paśyan*) pursues after them (*anudhāvati*)

[EDITORS NOTE There is no note no 22]

the individual is then only freed (*mulita*) to the extent that the private will to which he is in bondage consents to His who wills all things alike, a condition implied in RV V, 46, 1, his condition "who hath what he will, for whom spiration is his will, who doth not will" (*apta-kamam atmā kamam akamam*, BU IV, 3, 21), as Boethius expresses it, "The nearer a thing is to the First Mind, the less it is involved in the chain of fate" It is because these considerations can hardly be made intelligible without reference to the concept of the relation of one and many proper to Exemplarism that we have thought it proper to refer to the matter in the present connection

As to our rendering of *atman* in the citation from Tauler, above, "being" or "essence" corresponds to *atman* as the *suppositum* of accidents and *sine qua non* of all modality (*maya*) We have experimented elsewhere with a rendering of *atman* by "essence," but propose in future to adhere to a more strictly etymological equivalent, more especially inasmuch as the *atman* doctrine in RV must be considered in connection with X, 129, 2 *anīd avatam*, equivalent to "at the same time *atmya* and *anatmya*," or "equally spirated, despirated" The word *atman*, derived from *an* or *iā*, to "breathe" or "blow," is in fact more literally "spirit," spirant or spiration, and hence "life"²² This Spirit or Gale (*ātman*, *prana*, *īata*, or *īayu*) is, as may be understood from what has been said above, the only property that can be shared and is thus apparently divided, as Being amongst beings, the breath of life in breathing things, cf BrhD I, 73, "Spiration (*atman*) is said to be the only participation (*bhaktih*) that can be attributed to the three great Lords of the World" (the functional Trinity) In RV X, 115, 1, "The Sun, as being the spirant (*ātman*) in all that is mobile or immobile, hath filled Midhome and Heaven and Earth" (the "Three Worlds," the Universe), in X, 121, 2, "The Golden Germ (*hiranyagarbha*, Agni, the Sun, Prajapati) is the bestower of spiration" (*ātmadā*), Agni in this sense is "a hundred fold spirant (*śatatmā*, RV I, 149, 3), that is he has innumerable lives or hypostases, as many in fact as there are living things (*antar ayuṣi*, RV IV, 58, 11), to each of which he is a total presence (as can be clearly seen in our diagram), although as we have seen, each is but a participant

²² The translation of *ātman* as Self is unsatisfactory in any case and mainly for two reasons (1) that it introduces an altogether unfamiliar terminology one that lends itself to misunderstandings connected with the connotation selfishness and (2) that the reflexive use of *ātman* which underlies the rendering

Self hardly occurs in RV *Atman* is "spirit" as this word is used for example in the trilogy body soul and spirit (*rūpa nāma ātman*)

(*bhakti*) of his life, for though "all is offered, the recipient is able to take only so much" (Plotinus, VI, 4, 3).²⁴ In JB III, 2-3, "Spiration (*ātman*) both of Angels and of mortals, the breath of life (*ātman*) arisen from the sea, and which is yonder Sun"²⁵ may be read in connection with ŚB VIII, 7, 3, 10, "Yonder Sun connects (*samāyate*)²⁶ these worlds by a thread (*sūtre*),²⁷ and what that thread is is the Gale" (*vāyuh*), cf. *ib*, II, 3, 3, 7, "It is by his rays (*rasmibhik*) that all creatures are endowed with their spirations (*prāṇeṣu abhikṛtāh*), and so it is that the rays extend downwards to these spirations" These texts recall RV. I, 115, 1 cited above, and III, 29, 11, "Formed in the Mother, He is Mātariśvan (= Vāyu, Spiritus) and becomes the draught of the Gale in its course (*vātasya sargah*), cf VII, 87, 2 "The Gale that is thy breath (*atma te vatah*) thunders through the Firmament . . and in these spheres of Earth and lofty Heaven are all those stations dear to thee" In RV. X, 168, 4, "This Angel, the spiration of the Angels (*atmā devānam*), Germ of the world (*bhuvanasya garbha*) moves as He will (*yatha vasam*),²⁷ his sound (*ghoṣa*)²⁸ is heard but never his likeness (*rupam*), so let us offer with oblation to the Gale" (*vatāya*)

Similarly in later texts "For that sharing out his spiration, or himself (*atmānam vibhajya*, cf *bhakti* in BṛhD I, 73), He fills these worlds,

²⁴ "All beings are not their own being, but beings by participation" (St Thomas, *Sum Theol*, I, q 44, a 1 c), "Creation is the emanation of all being from the Universal Being" (*ib*, I, q 45, a 4 ad 1)

²⁵ Cf *ib*, III, 33 where the Angel's omniformity (*sarvaṁ rūpam*) is illustrated by the five *exemplata*, "and what his single form is is the Spirit" (*tad etad ekam eva rūpam prāṇa eva*)

²⁶ *Samavāya* is "perpetual co inherence" and in the symbolism based on weaving is illustrated by the relation of thread to the cloth

²⁷ The doctrine of the "thread breath" (*sūtrātman*) recurs in BG VII, 7, cf X, 21

²⁸ "The wind bloweth as it listeth" etc (John III, 8) Cf Prose Edda, *Gylfi*, 18, 'He is so strong that he rears great seas but strong though he be yet may he not be seen, therefore is he surely wonderfully shapen', and Rūmi, "Foamed the sea (*āb*, Skr *ap*), and at every foam fleck, something took figure and something was bodied forth" (XIX in NICHOLSON, *Shams-i Tabriz*), 'The Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters' (Genesis)

²⁹ *Ghoṣā* is to be noted here as the "voice" of the Gale This *Ghoṣā* is the mother of Hiranyahasta, Savitr, the Sun, and one with Vadhrimati and Vāc cf RV I, 116, 13 and VI, 62, 7, where the Aśvins hear the call of *Ghoṣā*, the sighing of the dawn wind (*vasarhā vatah* RV I, 122, 3) of creation the breath of Vāc "Whose breathing is the Gale whenas I take in hand to shake the several worlds" (*vāta eva pravāmi*, etc, RV X, 125 8)

it is said that as indeed sparks from fire and as light-rays from the sun, so from him in the course of his procession (*yathā kramanena*) the spirations and other principles (*prānādyah*) go forth again and again" (*abhyuccaranti punahpunar*, MU. VI, 26). Much later. "That (viz the principle, *tattva*, called Sadaśiva, the 'Eternal Śiva') becomes by inversion (*viparyayena*)²⁹ and in the splendor of its practical power

"By inversion" or "by revolution" (*viparyayena*) involves the notions of the "face" and "back" of God—the Janus symbolism—and is reminiscent of RV IV, 1, 2, "Do thou, Agni, turn round thy brother Varuna" (*bhṛtāram caranam agne ā carysra*), and thus, indeed, "the kingdom is reversed" (*pari dārti rāṣṭram*, RV X, 124, 4), dominion passing from the "Father" or "Elder Brother" to the "Son" or "Younger Brother" (both relations as well as that of consubstantiality are predicated of Varuna and Agni in RV)

It is the "rotation" of this central principle "the axle point on which the eternal substances depend" (*ānim na rathyam amṛtādhi tasthuḥ*, RV I, 35, 6)—Dante's *il punto dello stelo al cui la prima rota va dintorno*—that initiates the revolution of the Wheel of the Year, "mounted whereupon the Angels move round all the worlds" (RB XX, 1) It must not, however, be overlooked that the "rotation" of a point means nothing *secundum rem*, the unique centre, though the prime mover is by no means the *primum mobile*, but in itself immoveable It is only when the radii are projected and circles struck, that is when diremption of essence and nature has taken place, that we are given the two points *d'appui* indispensable for leverage and local motion, and only from an exterior point of view that we can speak of a rotation of the axle point, or distinguish "face" and "back" in the Supreme Identity (*īd ekam*) it is the felly, not the axle-point that actually turns, impelled by the will to life in individual principles That is why at the same time that the Supreme Identity is spoken of as turning from interior (*guhya*) to exterior (*arisa*) operation (*vrata*) at will (*yathā vāsam*), RV. also treats of the separation of Heaven and Earth, that is to say of creation, as being effected by the several desirous principles, whose cocreative activity—the operation of "mediate causes"—is brought forward in the first and subsequent sacrifices, by which the unitary principle is intellectually contracted and identified, as for example in X, 114, 5 "By their wordings they made him logically manifold who is but One," X, 90, 11 and 14, "They subdivided the Person thought out the worlds," and thus in fact by their thousand years' session "expressed everything" (*visram asṛjata* PB XXV, 18, 2) It is just because of the distinction of these two points of view (*secundum rem* and *secundum rationem intelligendi sive dicendi*) that one can ask in *brahmodaya*, as in RV X, 129, 7, whether indeed the world was expressed from within or determined from without

The ontology of RV X, 90, 14, *īolān alālpayan*, and X, 114, 5, *bahudhā kalpayanti*, is preserved in *Lamkācatara Sūtra*, III, 77, "The being of the three worlds is conceptual (*śīlālpa mātram*), without external validity (*bāhyamārthan na vidyate*), it is as a concept that it is seen pictorially" (*śīlālpam drīyate cūtram*).

(*kṛiyāśakty aujñalaye*, cf. *ujñalati* in MU. VI, 26) the form of the universal demiurge of things in their manifested likeness (*īyaktāhāra-viśānusamdhātr-rupam*), and this is the principle called 'Lord' (*īśvara tattvam*, *Mahārīka mañjari*, XV, Commentary);³⁰ virtually identical with the formulation of Philo, according to whom "Two powers are first distinguished (*σχιζονται*) from the Logos, viz a poetic according to which the artist ordains all things and which is called God: and the royal power of him called the Lord, by which He controls all things"³¹

From all of the foregoing passages it is evident that as in Scholastic and Neo Platonic, so also in the Vedic tradition, it is a formal light that is the cause of the being and becoming of all things (as light, the cause of their being, as formal the cause of their becoming), the fontal raying of this primal light seeming to be an actual expression or emanation (*sṛṣṭi*) and local motion (*caranam*, *gati*), although really this Agni even while "He proceedeth foremost, still remains in his ground" (*anv agram carati kṣeti budhnaḥ*, RV. III, 55, 6), "While yet abiding in the Germ, He is repeatedly born" (RV VIII, 43, 9), cf. Plotinus (IV, 3, 13) "abiding intact above, while giving downwards," and Eckhart, "The Son remains within as Essence and goes forth as Person . . other, but not another, for this distinction is logical (Skr *vikalpam*), not real" (Skr *satyam*).

As Plotinus expresses it (VI, 4, 3), "Under the theory of procession by powers,³² souls are described as rays"³³ In other words, the ani-

³⁰ Kashmir Series, XI, Bombay, 1918, p 44, *rūpam* is here *imago imaginans*. Other instances of the persistence of the exemplarist concept in later literature may be cited in the *Kādambarī* (Parab's ed, Bombay, 1923, p 10) where King Sudraka is compared to God 'whose abundance (*vasata*, cf Vedic *Vasu*, *Vasīṣṭha*) displays the likeness of every form' (*prakṛtita viśvarūpālīter*), and in *Sakuntalā*, II, 9, where the heroine is so beautiful that she seems to have been "intellectually created by Brahmā" (*manasā kṛtā vidhinā*), to be that is rather a divine idea than a mundane actuality.

³¹ Bréhier *Les Idées philosophiques et religieuses de Philon d'Alexandrie*, Paris 1925, p 113 Two powers, 'the spiritual and temporal, *brahma* and *kṣatra*'

³² "Powers" in Skr *śaci śakti*, *svadha vibhūti*, etc "It is the manifestation of their (the *devas*) powers that their names are various" (BrD I, 71)

³³ Cf MU VI 26 as cited above In Christian iconography, in representations of the Annunciation the Spirit (dove) moves on the path of a ray that extends from the Supernal Sun to the Virgin while in representations of the Nativity a similar ray (which is in fact coincident with the axis of the universe, the trunk of the tree of life, Gnostic *stauros*, and the "one foot" of the Sun) connects the Bambino with the Sun Even in the case of ordinary conceptions the Spirit is

mating (*jñāta, codana, sāta*) principle is both a living and a vocal power, and the light of the world *Āyu*, "Life," and *Viśvāyu*, "Universal Life," are constant epithets of *Agni*, who is "the one life of the Angels" (*asur eklam deiānām*, RV. I, 121, 7) and "the only guardian of being" (*bhūtasya . . . pātir ekaḥ*, ib. 1), and manifests himself as Light (*jyotiḥ, bhāna, arka*, etc.), whether of the Fire-flash or the Supernal Sun. As in John, I, 1-3, *In principio erat verbum, et verbum erat apud Deum, et Deus erat verbum . . . Omnia per ipsum facta sunt . . . Quod factum est in ipso vita erat; et vita erat lux hominum*"*

This equivalence of life, light, and sound must be taken account of when we consider the causal relationship of Vedic *nāma*, "name" or "noumenon" to *rūpa*, "phenomenon" or "figure," which is that of exemplary cause to *exemplatum*; for while *nāma* involves the concept primarily of thought or sound, *rūpa* involves the concept primarily of vision. Not that light and sound are strictly speaking synonymous, for though they refer to one and the same thing, they do so under different aspects, but that the utterance *Fiat lux* and the manifestation *Lux erat* by no means imply a temporal succession of events, the utterance (*vyāhṛti*) of names and the appearance of the worlds is simultaneous, and strictly speaking eternal". Thus we find in JB III, 33 that "The Sun is sound, therefore they say of the Sun, 'He proceeds resounding'" (*ya aditya svara eva saḥ, tasmad etam adityam āḥus, svara eṣiṭi*) the humming of the world wheel is the music of the spheres. It is in fact hardly possible to distinguish the roots *śar*, to "shine" (whence *surya*, "sun") and *śr*, to "sound" or "resound" (whence *svara*, "musical

the animating power, St. Thomas, *Sum Theol*, III, q 32, a 1 agreeing with KBU III, 3, 'It is spiration (*prāṇa*), verily the conscious Spirit (*prajñātman*) that grasps and quickens the flesh"

* According to a variant text, cf AUGUSTINE, *Confessions*, VII, 9, *quod factum est, in eo vita est, et vita erat lux hominum*, i.e. "There is life in what was made, and this life was the light of men" See also ΓΕΝΕΣΙΟΥ, *Verbum, Lux, et Vita, Le Voile d'Isis*, 39th year, 1934, p 173, and P. MUS, *Le Buddha paré, BEFEO* 1928, p 236 note 4, "la voix et la lumière deux manifestations connexes d'une même nature transcendente" It may be noted that in RV X, 168, 4, cited above, one and the same verb *śṛṇuṣṭe*, "is heard," is employed in connection with both sound and appearance, while alternatively in I, 164, 44, one and the same verb *dadṛśe*, "seen," is similarly employed

** That is to say "now", that "now" of which a temporal experience is impossible, being only of a past and a future, and where becoming never stops to be. We have discussed elsewhere (*The Rg Veda as Land Nama Bók*) the proposition enunciated by Sayana and others that the Veda deals only with what is eternal (*nityam*), and shall return to the subject

note") and also in some contexts to "shine" The like applies in the case of root *arc*, which means either to "shine" or to "intone," and to its derivatives such as *arā*, which may mean either "sheen" or "hymn" There is also a close connection, and was probably an original coincidence of the roots *bhā* to "shine" and *bhan* to "speak" Even in English we still speak of "bright" ideas and "brilliant" sayings

The shining of the Supernal Sun is then as much an "utterance" as a "raying", he indeed "speaks" (*mitro bhruvanah*, RV III, 59, 1, VII, 36, 2), and what he has to say is "that great and hidden name (*nama guhyam*) of multiple effect (*purusprk*) whereby thou dost produce all that has come to be or shall become" (RV X, 55, 2)—"The Father spoke himself and all creatures in the Word, to all creatures in the Son" (Eckhart) The name or form of the thing is thus prior, prior that is in hierarchy rather than in time, to the thing itself, and is its *raison d'être*, whether as pattern or as name, and it is accordingly as an expression (*srsti*) or utterance (*vyahrti*) that the thing itself is manifested or evoked, "in the beginning this universe was unuttered" (*avyahrti*, MU VI, 6)

In the concluding paragraphs of the present essay we shall accordingly assemble certain of the Vedic texts in which the doctrine is explicit or implicit that the utterance of a name is of creative efficacy For example, "He by the names of the four (seasons) has set in motion his ninety coursers, as a rounded wheel" (RV I, 155, 6), viz the Wheel of the Year, as made up of four ninety day seasons, it is "by those four titan names immaculate (*asuryani namadabhyani yebhik*), that he well knows, that thou, Indra hast performed all thy mighty deeds" (*harmāni cakārtha*, RV X, 55, 4, cf III, 38, 4), it is after these hidden names that the maker of all things names, that is creates the Angels being *devanam namadhah*, RV X, 82, 3, it is by recourse to Agni that these Angels "get for themselves those names by which they are worshipped sacrificially, and thus contrive their own well born embodiments" (*nāman dadhre yajniyany, asudayanta tanvah sujatah*, RV I, 72, 3), "it is inasmuch as he "knows the distant hidden names (*apicyā veda namani guhya*) that Varuna propagates the multiplicity of notions of created things (*lavayā puru pūsyati*), even as Heaven (i e Sun) propagates their aspect" " (*rupam*), which "notions of created things"

"Here the sequence of ideas corresponds to that implied in the Scholastic dictum the soul is the form of the body

"As in RV V 81 2 where the Sun *vivā rāpāni prati muncate* He illumines (*bhādayati*) these worlds incarnadines (*ranjayati*) existences here (MU

(*lātyā* = *lavīlarmāni*, see Note 2) "inhere in him as hub within the wheel" (RV. VIII, 41, 5 and 6). The productive activity of the cocreative principles is similarly nominative (*nāmadheyam dadhānah*, RV. X, 71, 1); "What was the bovine virtue (*salmyam goh*) of the Bull and Cow, that they measured out by names (*a nāmabhīh mamire*), making a manifested-image in it" (*nī . . . mamire rūpam asmin*, RV. III, 38, 7), "Then verily they recollected (*amanīat*) the distant name (*nāma . . . apīcyam*, admirably rendered by Griffith's 'essential form') of Tvaṣṭr's Cow" (RV. I, 84, 15), "When he (the Sun) upstood, all things him adorned, who moves self-luminous, indued in glory; that is the Bull's, the Titan's mighty form, it is the Omni-form who takes his stand upon his aeviternities" (*maḥat tad vṛṣṇo asurasya namā, ā viśvarūpo amṛtani tasthau*, III, 38, 4, where Viśvarūpa must be Tvaṣṭr, and *amṛtani*, pl, contrasts with an implied *anantatā* in or as which the Asura lies recumbent, *ante principium*), "The Son (the Sun) in Heaven's light deter-

VI, 7), "This supremely pure splendor of the impartible essence illumines all things at once the patent of his power, resplendent in luminous detail" (Eckhart)

"Cf CHU VI, 1, 4, "Modification is a matter of wording, a giving of names to things" (*vācdrambhānam vīlāro nāmadheyam*, reminiscent also of RV X, 125, 8, where the Word, Vāc, speaks of herself as *arambhāmānā bhuvanani*, *ārambha* has been defined as "mental initiation of action") It is on the basis of the magical efficacy of enunciation that the employment of words of power in ritual depends for example, PB VI, 9, 5, "By saying 'born' (*jātam itī*), he brings to birth" (*jījanat*), and ib, VI, 10, 3, "In saying 'lives' he puts life into them that live." Cf *Lamkāratara Sūtra*, Ch VI, p 223, "When names are enunciated, there is the manifestation of appearance (*nimittābhivyājanam*), there is concept" (*vīkīpah*)

The doctrine of ideas, inseparable from that of exemplarism, recurs in traditional teachings at all times As remarked by Gilson, "Le mot *idée* remonte à Platon, mais la chose elle-même existait avant lui, puisqu'elle est éternelle On doit d'ailleurs supposer que d'autres hommes les avaient connues avant lui, de quelque nom ils les aient désignées, car il y eut des sages antérieurement à Platon et en dehors même de la Grèce, et il n'y a pas de sagesse sans la connaissance des idées" (*Introduction à l'Étude de Saint Augustin*, 1931, p 25) The doctrine for example appears already in the Sumerio-Babylonian conception of creation as a terminology or determination, for "the Babylonians regarded the name of a thing as its reality

to name a thing practically means in their theology to determine its essence" (LANGDON, *Sumerian Epic*, 1915, pp 39-40, cf *Semitic Mythology*, pp 29, 259) In the Clementine Homilies, in connection with the doctrine of the True Prophet, similar to the Indian "Eternal Avatar," we find with reference to Adam's calling of things by their names, "He himself, being the only true prophet, fittingly gave names to each animal, according to the merits of its nature, as having made it"

mines the Father Mother's third hidden name" (*dadhāti putrah pitroḥ apicyam nāma trīyam adhī rocane divah*, IX, 75, 2, where *dadhāti* . . . *nāma* is the same as to be *nāmadhāh* as in X, 82, 3 as cited above), and all this is at the same time a creative recollection in the Platonic sense, as in RV X, 63, 8, where the Visve Devāh are "mindful of all that is mobile or immobile" (*visvasya sthatur jagatas ca mantavaḥ*). It is "by wordings" (*vacobhik*) that they "think Him out as manifold who is but One"³⁸ (RV X, 114, 5), that He indeed appears at all depends upon the ritual incantation, "And sundry sang, the brought to mind the Great Chant, whereby they made the Sun to shine"⁴⁰ (*arcanta eke mahi sāma manāta*, etc, RV VIII, 29, 10), "by an angelic utterance they opened up the cattle fold" (*vacasa daivyena*, etc, RV. IV, 1, 15)⁴¹

The "names" or noumena of things are, moreover, everlasting, and in this respect unlike the things themselves in their contingent manifestation. "When a man dies, what does not go out of him is his name (*nāma*), that is endless (*ananta*), and inasmuch as what is endless is the Several Angels, thereby he wins accordingly the endless world" (*anantam lokam*), BrhU III, 2, 12, in other words, his name is "written in the Book of Life" From the point of view of the desirous principles,

³⁸That this is possible depends on his Protean nature, who is "omniform" (*viśvarūpa*, *passim*), and is "man made" in the sense that he assumes the forms that are imagined by his worshippers

⁴⁰"For that God is God he gets from creatures . . . Before creatures were, God was not God" (Eckhart)

⁴¹Intellect being identical with its noumenal content, the intellectual creation so often referred to in Vedic tradition is essentially the same thing as a creation by the utterance of a name or names. The intellectual creation is typically *per artem*, as for example in RV I, 20, 2, "they wrought by intellect" (*tataḥśur manasā*), where root *taḥ* implies the use of an axe on wood, viz that "wood from which they fashioned Heaven and Earth," RV X, 31, 7. The intellectual operation is moreover strictly speaking a conception, what is formulated in the "heart" by the application of *manas* to *ēdo* is literally a generation and a vital operation, as in BrhU I, 5, 7, "The Father is *manas* (intellect), the Mother *ēdo* (Word), the Child *prāna* (life)" In RV X, 71, 2 there may be noted the expression *manasā ēdam aḥrāta*, *manasā* *ḥr* being parallel to *haste* or *panau* *ḥr*, to "marry," where *ḥr*, to "make," has a value comparable to that of "make" in the modern erotic vernacular. Cf St Thomas, *Sum Theol*, I, q 45, a 6 c where the artist is said to operate by a word conceived in his intellect (*per verbum in intellectu conceptum*), that is like the Father and Divine Architect, *per artem* and *ex voluntate*, both with knowledge and with will, the consciousness of the artist being in either case a conjoint principle, and the "work" (*karma*) the artist's child.

in *potentia* but eager to be in act, the possession of a "name" and corresponding entity is naturally the great desideratum,⁴² and what they most fear is to be "robbed of their names," cf RV V, 44, 4, "Kṛivī in the forest steals away their names" (*kṛivī namani prāṇane musyati*).

On the other hand, it must not be overlooked that individuation and identification are specific limitations, implying the possession of only a particular ensemble of possibilities to the exclusion of all others "Speech (*īac*) is the cord, and names (*namani*) the knot whereby all things are bound" (AA II, 1, 6) Liberation (*mukṭi*), then, as distinguished from salvation, is something other than a perpetual and ideal being still oneself and as it were a part of the world picture, liberation in the fullest sense of the word is a liberation not merely from phenomenal becoming, but from any noumenal determination whatever⁴³ The cycle that must for the Wayfarer begin with the audition or the finding of a name must for the Comprehensor end in silence, where no names are spoken, none is named, and none remembered There knowledge-of, which would imply division, is lost in the coincidence of knower and known, "as a man locked in the embrace of a dear bride knows naught of a within or a without" (BṛhU IV, 3, 21), there "none has knowledge of each who enters of each who enters, that he is so-and so or so and so" (Rumi), the prayer of the soul is answered, "Lord, my welfare lies in thy never calling me to mind" (Eckhart) If what of the Supreme Identity is manifestable appears to us to be contracted into variety and individualised, the doctrine of Exemplarism, common to both the Eastern and the Western forms of a common tradition, exhibits the relation of this apparent multiplicity to the unity on which it hangs, and apart from which its being would be a pure nonentity, and furthermore, inasmuch as the last end must be the same as the first beginning, the way is pointed out that leads again from multiplicity to unity, from the semblance to reality As in AA II, 3, 8 (3, 4), "The Makers, laying aside the Yes and No, what's 'blunt' and what is veiled of speech," have found their

⁴² Hence the distress of the Devas at Agni's hesitation in RV V 51 and their corresponding fear when the Buddha who is the same as Agni *uṣarbudh* hesitates to set in motion the Wheel of Order by which the Way is to be opened for them to proceed

⁴³ No longer fed by form or aspect (*nāmarūpād-vibhuktāḥ*) the Comprehensor reaches thus the heavenly Person beyond the yon knowing the ultimate Brahman he indeed becomes the Brahman (*Mundaka Up* III 18 19)

⁴⁴ I.e. abandoning all dialectic cf BṛhU III 5 "laying aside both innocence and learning then is he a Silent Sage" *Kṛdro* and *uśāntiṣṭu* rendered tentatively

quest, they that were held in bond by names are now beatified in that which was revealed, they now rejoice in what had been revealed by name, in that in which the host of Angels cometh to be one, putting away all evil by this spiritual power, the Comprehensor reaches Paradise”⁴⁴

by “blunt” and “veiled” seem to imply *pratyakṣam* and *parokṣam*, all that is formal, no longer significant for one to whom the content of all form is immediately present.

“The text is difficult, but there can be no doubt that Keith correctly explains that it means “they rose above mere names to the unity of *brahman* or *prajña*” Cf. RV *khila* IV, 10, *yatra viśram bhuraty ekaniḍam*, “Where all abides in one nest.”

the Kashgar) showing a Prakritic form where the other has its "correct" Sanskrit equivalent. We assume that as a rule the Prakritic forms, wherever they occur, are more apt to be original.

For an understanding of the language of the verses, a correct analysis of the meter is important. On this I must refer, in lieu of extended discussion, to an article contributed to a volume shortly to appear in honor of Professor Kuppaswami Sastri of Madras. Here I shall only note that while the quantitative schemes of the meters are very rigidly adhered to, in attaining this end the language permits arbitrary lengthening and shortening of any vowel *metri causa*, and this is specially common with final vowels. Original Sanskrit diphthongs may similarly be shortened *e* (and possibly *ai*?) to *i*, and *o* to *u*. In this paper I shall distinguish forms which seem to be used only or chiefly for the sake of the meter (using the abbreviation "m c")

I shall use for the names of Prakrit dialects the same abbreviations as in PISCHEL's *Grammatik*, except that I use Ap for Apabhraṃśa, as less apt to be ambiguous than Pischel's A.

References are to page and line of the KERN NANJIO edition of *SP* and of LERMAN's edition of *LV*. Occasionally I refer to the *Bibl Ind* or Calcutta edition of *LV* ("Calc"), and to the new Tokyo edition of *SP* (of which at the time of writing I have seen two parts) as "WT" (WOGIHARA and TSUCHIDA, the editors). By "Weller" I refer to F. WELLER's dissertation, *Ueber die Prosa des Lalita Vistara*, Leipzig, 1915.

In my *BSOS* article, I showed that the formal declensional categories of Sanskrit have been to some extent confused in this dialect, as in some Prakrits (and as a result, primarily, of phonetic changes in Prakrit, with some analogical extension). This is most notably true of the distinction between masculine and neuter forms, but it is hardly less true, in the verses, of that between nominative and accusative forms. This general fact must be kept in mind in interpreting the forms listed below. Here I must add that there appear to be cases in *LV* (not, so far as I have noted, in *SP*) in which the "stem form" of words of this declension, in -a, is used (not only for nom and acc sg, dual, and pl, which is standard in Apabhraṃśa, but also) for any oblique case of the singular. The number of instances so far noted is to be sure, small, and the corruption of the *LV* ms is so great that one might be tempted to suggest emendation of all of them. But the forms usually occur in verses and sometimes in positions where no "regular" form would be metrically possible. Since meter, in these texts, is very rigid, and may be relied on as a definite criterion, I find it hard to doubt the reality of the phe-

nomenon It has no parallel in any recorded Prakrit, not even in Ap, and I confess that I am hard put to it for a reasonable explanation In the ablative, -a might be regarded as a metrical shortening of -ā (Prakritic for -at), which actually occurs (below) But in no other oblique case can -a be explained as a phonetic development of any known Sanskrit or Prakrit ending If it be suggested that it is a sort of analogical generalization of the ending -a as historically established in the nom, acc, voc, and abl cases,—in short, a generalized singular form with loss of any case distinction,—this would imply a stage like that of the modern vernaculars, most of which have (at least for many nouns) only one form in the singular It is a little hard for me to believe in so extreme a form of this phenomenon at such an early date Yet, as stated above, something approaching it seems to be indicated for the nom acc cases

Since these oblique-case forms in -a should be regarded as a group, it will be more convenient to list them here, all together, rather than separately under the several cases The following are all that I have so far noted, all from LV Instr 191 3 (verse) *ārogya dhig viridhairyadhī-parahatena*, “fie upon health, which is afflicted with all sorts of diseases” (note adjective *hatena*, with *arogyā*, and cf, in the preceding line, the precisely parallel *dhig yauvanena* “fie upon youth”) The regular form would be metrically impossible—Abl 163 20 *tat sadho puratara ita sikhram nīkramyā* “so, O saint, go forth quickly from this excellent city” (Skt *puratārād itah*), and 164 11 *nīkramya puratara ita sikhram* (both these in verses)—Gen 47 20 (verse) *yaiac ca garbhī iasate yavaḥ jaramarana cantalarah prasutah* “while he dwells in the womb and before he is born as Ender of old age and death”, *maranasya* would be metrically impossible, but a conceivable emendation would be *maranacantalarah* (such sandhi is quite allowable in this dialect) 109 4 (verse) *suiyaktam jinaratna jambunīlaye dhar maharasyodbhahah*, “clearly in the home of the jambu there is birth of the Jina jewel, the Mine of the Law” (in Asita’s hymn, *jinaratna* cannot be voc, nor anything but gen, *ratnasya* metrically impossible)—Loc 166 6 (verse) *tahī nrpa* (all mss and both editions) = *tasmin nrpe*, emendation to *nrpī* would be possible And twice, according to all mss, in prose 71 5 *na khalu punar bhīṣato mayadevī bodhisattva kuṣigate gurukāyatam samjanīte sma*, “while the Bodhisattva was in her womb”, and 409 12 *drsta eta dharmā saṁsat*° (so mss, Lefmann emends foolishly, see Weller, *ad loc*, if any emendation is to be made, both these passages had best be emended to *bodhisattvā* and *dharma*

respectively, and this is what Weller proposes, but the parallels quoted above make me doubtful)

We shall now take up seriatim the case forms of this declension which occur, other than the regular Sanskrit forms (all of which are likewise known to this dialect) Except as specifically noted, it is to be understood that the "Prakritic" forms, that is all that depart from Sanskrit grammar, are found *only in the verses, not in the prose* When they occur in prose, this fact will be specifically stated Irregularities which concern only the peculiar (Prakritic) sandhi of the language will, as a rule, be mentioned only when there seem to be special reasons for doing so For instance, any final vowel is (in the verses) liable to be elided before an initial vowel, hence such endings as *en'* and *-āy'* for the instr and dat sg *ena* and *-āya*, they may be regarded as morphologically regular Sanskrit forms, and will therefore not be specifically recorded

Nom sg masc. The various sandhi forms which in Skt. represent the theoretical ending *as* are all common But they are not always differentiated according to the nature of the initial of the next word in the same way as in Skt Namely

1 As in most Pkt dialects, the ending *o*, which in Skt occurs only before sonant consonants and *a*, is sometimes generalized and used also before other vowels, before surd consonants, and before a pause Ex *SP maro sa* 63 6, *samarpito lām* 111 6, *raho idrśako* 91 2, *LV śabdo* 80 15, *nirdhavitō* 92 11 (both at end of lines)

2 A shortening of this *o* is the ending *u*, which is very common, before any initial without restriction Chiefly *m c*, not in prose, but in a metrically indifferent position occasionally, *utpannu SP* 177 9 (initial in an anuṣṭubh), *samayu LV* 162 10 (at the end of a line, to be sure in a meter normally requiring a long final syllable, possibly therefore to be emended to *samayo*, but there is no *v l* recorded) Reported by Pischel only for *Ap* (where it is very common) and *Dhakkī*, also common in the language of the "Prakrit Dhammapada" (Dutreuil de Rhins ms) Ex *SP satkaru* 93 3, *kalpu* 68 1, *sthītu* 88 1, *vāsu* 96 6, *LV priyu* 46 13, *gaṇavaru* 56 16

3 Even commoner than *u* is the ending *a*, to be regarded as phonetically derived from Skt *as* (*-ah*, *as* etc) by Prakritic loss of the final consonant It is common in *Ap* and occurs *m c* in *AMg Mg* Ex *SP saddharma* 68 12, *uccara* 85 14, *vimukta* 92 8 *LV nāsti* *sattva yo daridra* 76 1, *samartha* 29 3, *divja* 165 17 Chiefly, and in

SP exclusively so far as I have noticed, in positions where the meter requires a short (Apparent exceptions in *SP* are rare and always to be regarded as textual corruptions, e g 61 9 *sarīa srūṇiyana*, where we must read *sarrah* or *sarīo* or *sarīā*, since the following initial *sr*° is necessarily pronounced as a single consonant, so that *sarīa* is unmetrical) *LV*, however, apparently shows it a few times in prose Weller 44 quotes four instances, one of which is certainly to be rejected, *LV* 377 10 *parinirvātu bhagatan parinirvātu sugata* has no nom, but two vocatives (note *bhagatan!*), altho the verb in 3d person, this illogically blended construction is not uncommon, both in Vedic (*Vedic Variants* I §§ 293, 332, III §§ 324, 333), and in late post-classical Skt (see EMEVEAU, *Jambhaladatta's Recension of the Vetālapañcāśimsati*, xxii) But the other three are more convincing Twice (86 7 *madāpagatah*, for *mada apa*°, and 239 7 *dharmādhigatah*, for *dharmā adhi*°) we might consider the possibility of secondary crasis, ā for a(h) + a, against this, however, we must count the precisely similar *smṛti pratilabdā* 86 8, which immediately follows *madāpagatah* and shows similar lack of h in an i stem nom (Calc reads *smṛtiḥ* against all mss) And no such theory would explain 438 20 *mahāīśipulya bodhi*° (Lefmann's word division must be ignored here as very often) That the ending -ā, just as in Ap, had some currency apart from metrical requirements seems further indicated by the sporadic occurrence of -ā, rather than ah or o, when the meter requires a long For a nom sg masc ending -ā can most naturally be explained as a lengthening *metri causa* of -a Namely

4 -ā, probably lengthening of -a m c, occurs rarely In *SP* I have noted only *apuriadharmā srūṇītya adya āścaryabhūto hi tathāgatanām* 308 11 The endings of the two adjectives prove that °dharmā is singular, not plural Three mss read °dharmā, but this is metrically impossible (since the following *sr* was pronounced as a single consonant), and we must admit the edition's reading, supported by the Kashgar recension and three Nepalese mss, for the more usual *dharmo* or *dharmah* This is confirmed by *LV* examples *asahayū nara vrajate 'dvītyo śakāharmā phalānugata viśaḥ* 175 10, "without companion a man goes (at death) attended by the fruits of his own deeds" (all mss °gata, Calc °gato), *ksana upasthītaḥ* 219 4, "the moment has arrived" (so all mss, this time kept in Calc, while Lefmann emends to *ksano*), probably also *anuttara yo bhāra (= abhārah) ragasudanah* 219 22, "who hast become the supreme destroyer of passion" (*anutt*° may possibly, but less probably, be voc) —Another conceivable explanation of these noms in -ā

would be that they are analogically taken over from the voc in *a*, this seems to me less likely

5 The AMg Mg nom sg ending *e* (for general Pkt *o*) is extremely rare In *SP* I know of no instance of a noun, one or two (not always certain) cases from pronouns or pronominal adjectives are quoted in my article in *BSOS* (above) In *LV* I have found the following clear case *anyatra suri* (so read with *v* 1 for *ed bhuri*) *bodhisattva* (nom sg) *brahmakalpasaṃnibhe* 74 4, "(no one could digest this) except the Lord Bodhisattva, like unto " The forms are certainly nouns and unless we emend to **nibho*, no other interpretation is possible, there is no *v* 1

Voc sg masc Besides the regular *a*

1 *a* is common, even in metrically indifferent positions, so at the end of lines in *SP* (thus situated in the *SP* examples quoted), where quantity is indifferent It is general Pkt and is explained by Pischel (71) as due to *pluti* Ex *SP jñāna uttama* "O best of Jinās" 36 9, *satapunyaśākṣana* 162 12, *LV natha* 12 10, *deva* 78 11, in 234 11 ff a long series of vocs, nearly all in *a*, in Gopa's apostrophe to the departed Bodhisattva Altho it cannot be called a case of metrical lengthening, I have not found, so far, a single occurrence in the prose of *SP* or *LV* Weller 44 erroneously interprets *marṣa* *LV* 61 16, 226 4 (he should have added 39 8, 209 3) as voc sg But, tho addressed to a single person, the form is an honorific plural This is indicated, first, by the fact that no other word than this ("dear Sir") is so used, and secondly by the fact that the true reading is *marṣāḥ* (with most mss), before *s*, at 209 3, probably this is also meant at 39 8 (before *m*) and 61 16 (before *t*), only in 226 4 does *mārṣā* (addressed to a single person) occur before a surd

2 Furthermore, *LV* (I have not noted any cases in *SP*) occasionally seems to use nom forms (*-as*, *u*, whether *-e* is questionable) as vocs So *ha laṅṭhaka sujāta mama bhartu sahāyakaś caityā līa* (read *līa*, *rr c*) *nīto* 235 7, "O noble (horse) K, companion of my husband, where have you taken (him)?" All mss *sahāyakaś* (Calc **ka*, which is metrically impossible) A nom cannot be construed, for it would then have to be an epithet of the Bodhisattva (the subject of *nīto*), and in that case the gen sg *bhartu* could not depend upon it, and could then not be construed at all—*sūru* or *śuru* 171 8, "O hero!", seems to be the true reading despite some variation in the mss, it can scarcely be construed otherwise than as voc—More doubtful is *śrāṭhīare* 193 16,

interpreted by Foucaux (and the Tibetan) as *voc* (if so, it is the AMg nom in -e, above, used as *voc*), but it seems possible to take it as *loc*, "in the (company of the) excellent charioteer", a *voc.* addressed to the charioteer is really rather unexpected here

Acc. sg masc, and nom.-acc sg nt As in Skt, these forms seem to be identical, so far, at least, I have found no form used for one that is not used for the other also The regular Skt forms, -am or -am, are common, but are not differentiated quite as in Skt, in that the ending with anusvara occurs quite standardly even before vowels, for metrical reasons (when a long syllable is required) so SP *īharam anu*° 61 10, *duhham idam* 86 9, LV *param asokam* 163 19, *vyākaranam rseḥ* 111 14, etc This is properly a matter of sandhi rather than morphology, cf the line *latham imam adbhutam idṛśam te* SP 313 5 (scanned ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~) Otherwise

1 -u is common, as in the nom masc We might be tempted to regard it as a nom form used for acc, in view of the frequency of confusion between these cases elsewhere But u occurs for other final -am familiarly enough (e g *ahū = aham* SP 62 15 and often), and on this ground Pischel (351) regards it, possibly rightly, as a phonetic development of the Skt. ending Its dialectic occurrence is the same as that of the nom masc u It seems to occur only m c. and is never found in prose Ex SP *dharma* 93 12, *asayū* 62 14, *jñānu* 93 10, LV *narū* 168 16, *īṣādu* 91 17, *danu dattu* 53 1, *buddhakaryū kṛtū* 48 13

2 -a, even commoner than the preceding, phonetic reduction of the Skt form, with dialectic distribution as in the nom masc, even more than there, it is almost limited to use *metri causa* Ex SP *dharma* 177 3, 236 14, *sarira* 26 8, *jñāna* 302 6, LV *sugata* 46 9, *rasa* 165 6, *sukha* 42 15, *apunya* 42 11 Like the preceding (u), of course limited in general to occurrence before consonants, but before vowels, where -am would do as well metrically, in LV 175 22 *nadikūla u a satalūlam*, "like a sandy river bank" (here the adjective *satalūlam* proves the forms being nom, that *kūla* retains its ordinary neuter gender), possibly also in LV 76 6, if we may accept Lefmann's reading *saukhyā agra*° (but it is apparently based on only one ms, A, the best ms, Calc °yam) It occurs otherwise in verses where the meter is quantitatively indifferent in SP 237 9 *atmabhāta prabhasāram*, and according to the ed in SP 254 3 *vīrya* (so the Nepalese mss, the Kashgar reading, see LA VALLEE POUSSIN, JRAS 1911, 1073, rearranges the text in such a way that *vīrya*, not °yam, is metrically necessary) In prose the form is exceedingly

rare, and possibly to be emended to *am* (cf however the same form in the nom masc., here, perhaps by accident, no form in *-ā* has been noted). No occurrence has been found in the prose of *SP*, in that of *LV* only the following 404 10 and 19, *dharma desitam*, printed by Lefmann as one word, Calc and one ms *dharmam de°* in line 19—413 4, *vitāna samalamkṛtam*, *gaganatāla samalamkṛtam*, and 413 6 7 *dharmacakra pravartayatv*, certainly *dharmacakra*, and pretty surely *vitāna* and *gaganatāla*, must be independent noun forms (not to be joined with the following words as in Lefmann), and it follows that we must either emend them to end in *am* or assume nom acc nt forms in *a*. In 380 4, where the mss have *ladacit sukha prāptam pūrvam*, Weller (ad loc) would read *sukha* separately (nom sg nt), I suspect that the true reading is *sukham praptapūrvam*. In 19 12 Weller is clearly wrong in taking *jati*, *jarā*, *vyadhī*, and *marana* as separate noms *jatiprajñāyātē* etc are denom verbs ("there is [arises] consciousness of birth," *jāti:prajña*, etc)

3 o, the ending of the nom sg masc, seems indubitably, albeit rarely, used also as acc sg masc and nom acc sg nt an example of the widespread formal confusion of these two cases and genders, to which allusion was made above. No cases noted from *SP*. In *LV* *ko'tra jati viśmayo janeya* 152 6, "who here would make astonishment (be astonished) that he is swift?" (acc masc), and in the same line, *karōtha gauravo'smin*, "make respect for him", acc nt—*naṣkramyasabdo 'nūvicarayanti* 219 18, "meditate on the word (sound) of (the Bodhi sattva's) departure from the world," acc masc (Calc *sabda* but all mss °do)—*na ca mana* (so all mss) *kṣubhito* (end of line) 165 16, "and your mind was not disturbed," nom nt, the same phrase repeated 166 1, 6, etc—*nagaram vyakulu bhītatrastamanaso* 193 10, "the city was perturbed, with mind frightened and alarmed," nom nt (here possibly masc because of thought of the people, *jana*, of the city?)

[4 In *LV* 178 8 *siṅgamṛtādiaram uttamām*, the second word seems necessarily to modify the first, and all mss are said to read so, Calc however *uttamam*, and I find it hard to doubt that this is the true reading]

Instr sg Besides the regular *ena*

1 *enā*, with lengthened final vowel, only m c, and so far as I have noticed not in *SP*, but fairly common in the verses of *LV*. Ex *iarenā* 57 21, *cirenā* 78 5, *īryenā* 162 4, *-ratena* 168 6

2 *ina*, m c. for *ena* (so in *Ap*) *LV* 151 8 *ekinaiso* = *eken*^o (*elena* + *eso*)

3 *-a*, "stem form" see above, p 66 67

Dat sg I have found only the regular Skt form Weller 44 alleges the ending *-āyāi* (as in the feminine declension), but I think he is wrong In *LV* 31 21 the ed has *nīhsargāyāi*, but the true reading is undoubtedly *nīhsargatāyāi*, from stem in *ta*, so the best mss (*A*) read, and this accords with the numerous abstracts in *ta* found in the context (and elsewhere), added to nouns which are already abstract, standard Sanskrit would not tolerate such formations but they are common in *LV* Weller's other examples are from *LV* 397 6, 401 3, 13, and 19, in all of which he would read *dharmacakrapratīartanayāi*, Lefmann's text is inconsistent, reading *°īartanatayāi* in the first, *°īartanayāi* in the others The mss vary in all four passages, generally between *°nayaī* and *°natayāi*, but in 401 19 between the former and *°naya* The evidence does not clearly support the form *°nayaī*, but even if it did, we should not be obliged to connect it with the stem *pratīartana*, a fem stem *pratīartana* is known even in standard Skt (see *BR* s v)

Abl sg Besides the regular *-at* in its various sandhi forms

1 *-a*, Prakritic for *-āt*, as in *AMg* *M JM* Rare, I have noted only the following *SP* *ajatatva* 281 6 (but *Kaśhgar* mss *°tad*), *anyatr*^o *upāyā* 46 12 (no v l), "except for a means", *merutala* *'nupātayed* 449 1, *LV* *nanyatra* *ślamadhurī* 42 19, and in prose, *manuṣṣyandhatīa* *jada* 19 19, for *manuṣya(h)* *andhatīa*, which Weller 18 would put into the text by emendation

2 *-a*, "stem form", possibly by metrical shortening of the preceding, see above p 66 67

3 *-ata(h)*, *-āto* *-atu* The regular ending of most Pkt. dialects (where it appears as *-ao*, *-ado*), representing *-a(t) + tas* Note that it is not found in Pali, which has *-asma* *-amha*, the pronominal ending Fairly common (about as common as the regular Skt. ending) in the verses of *SP*, rarer in those of *LV* not found in prose We should expect the relation between the several forms of the ending to be the same as that between *-aḥ* and *-o* (metrically long) and *a* and *u* (short) in the nom sg masc, but the mss do not actually justify the assertion that *-ata* and *-atu* are used merely as metrical shortenings of *-ātaḥ* and *-āto* The various forms seem to be used interchangeably when the meter

is indifferent, and also independently of sandhi, the initial of the following word has no bearing Ex *SP asangañjanatu acintiyatah* 62 6, *traidhatukato bhayabhavavatah* (Kashgar mss °tu, metrically indifferent) 91 10, *amukatu nagaratu* 115 8, *sadevakato* (metrically indifferent, ed emends to °katah, but all Nepalese mss °kato and Kashgar mss °katu, one of which must be kept), *lokat samaratu sabrahmakatah* (Kashgar mss, by lect fac?, *samarac ca sabrahmakac ca*) *sarvesa sattvana ca antikatah* (Kashgar °katu, metrically indifferent) 119 2 3 — *LV sihanātu* 194 22, *samskrtatah* 195 12, 196 2, *sayato* 230 11, *puravarato* 235 10

4 *ato*, *atu*, with short *a* in penult The former (very rare and not in prose) might be considered a regular Sanskrit form (Whitney 1098b), but is probably in fact only a metrical shortening of the preceding I have noted only *naciratu* *LV* 230 14 and *nacirato* *LV* 237 10, both = *nacirat*

Gen sg Besides the regular *asya*

1 *asya*, with lengthened final *m* *c*, occurs in the verses of *LV* (I have not noticed a case in *SP*) *nrapasya* 80 14, *ratanasya wa* (read probably *tha*) *yasya* (for *yasya*) 109 8

2 *a*, "stem form", see above, p 66 67

Loc sg Besides the regular *e*

1 *i*, quite common *m c*, and once in a metrically indifferent position *kṣayakāh ca desayet* *SP* 341 7 (anustubh, only one ms °hale) This shortening is characteristic of *Ap*, cf *Pischel* 85 Ex *SP lok* 64 6, 85 14, 92 12, 93 13 etc, *saddharm* 69 1, *akasi* 87 12, *LV prasadi dharmocay* *sinhasani* 27 17, *tribhavi* 46 1

2 *asmin*, *asmim*, or *m c asmi* The pronominal ending, transferred to nouns as often in *Pkt* When a long syllable is required, or when the meter is indecisive (as at the end of a line, or in the first half of an anustubh), the form is regularly (probably always) *asmin* or *asmim*, these two forms seem to be indifferently used, the distinction being purely graphic as far as I can see Ex *SP bodhimandasmin* 30 16, *nirvrtasmin* 253 15, *astapadasmin* 146 3 When a short syllable is required, the ending is *asmi* *SP dīdarasmi* 86 4, *hastasmi* 147 12, *LV grhatarasmi* 50 9, *gaganatalasmi* 50 10, *puratarasmi* 54 9

3 *esmi(n)*, differentiation between the two forms as in the preceding This form has not been recognized, either for hybrid *Skt* or for

any Pkt, literary or inscriptional. The evidence for it, however, is in my opinion indubitable, and I think we must admit it as a loc ending of the protocanonical Pkt, taken over in hybrid Skt. It is easily explained as a blend form of the regular *e* with the pronominal ending *-asmin* (above). It occurs very commonly in the mss of the *Mahatastu*, tho systematically excluded by Senart from his edition (see his Introduction, I, xvii), despite the fact that he noted its frequent occurrence in *LV* also. To be sure the Calc edition of this text usually prints *e'smi(n)*, as if the pronoun *asmin* were present (rather than a case ending), added to a noun form in *e*. The editors of *SP* do likewise, or print *asmi(n)* instead of *esmi(n)*, and usually the mss themselves vary. But *esmin* is much too common to be emended out of existence, and in some cases it is impossible to assume a pronoun *asmin*. E.g., *SP* 88 1, where read *caccaresmin*, apparently with all Nepalese mss (the note seems to quote their reading as *cacar^o*), the Kashgar reading is quoted apparently as *ca(c)care*, which is unmetrical, leaving the line a syllable short, the ed emends to *catarasmin* without ms authority (so also WT). Also *tatra nisesanesmin* *SP* 114 13, where *tatra* makes a pronoun (*a*)*smin* highly improbable, and where all Nepalese mss have *esmin* (ed with Kashgar mss *-asmin*). Other *SP* cases where I believe *esmi(n)* is the true reading are 64 6, 30 16, 254 13, 255 12, 273 5, 26 5, 114 2, 127 11 and 12. In three of these cases (254 13, 255 12, 273 5) the Kashgar fragment printed by La Vallée Poussin (*JRAS* 1911, 1073, 1076) supports the reading *esmi(n)*. *LV* cases (in the first four it is implausible, if not impossible, to assume a pronoun *asmin*) *ekarathavaresmin* 80 9, *gaganesmin* 81 3, *ksititalesmin* (so read with most mss, at end of a line, ms A **smi*, followed by Lefmann) 153 10, *dharañitalesmin* 194 15, *gehesmin* 201 12, *nabhesmin* 233 16, *puresmin* 136 7, etc.

4 -a, "stem form", see above, p 66 67

Nom. acc dual Besides the regular *-au*, I have noted a few forms in *a*. We must, of course, not think of preservation of the old Vedic alternative ending *-ā* (which would be very unlikely, the dual being extinct in Prakrit generally). Rather these are plural forms (with *-a* for *-a = -as m c*) used for dual as in Prakrit generally, and often in our language. Indeed the only reason for listing these forms specially is that they occur in close juxtaposition to "correct" dual forms in *-au*, this shows that the plural form was felt to be quite correct also as dual. *LV candrāsurya nabhātū bhūmī patītau sayyotīśālamīrtītau* 194 11 (the

two participles in *-au* modify *candrasurya*), *hastau chinna tathauva chinna caranau* 194 13 "(she saw) her hands cut off and her feet cut off" Meter is of course involved, but *a* cannot be regarded as a metrical reduction of *au*, rather, when a short final is required, the metrically shortened plural form is used as dual

No other dual forms except those regular in Skt. have been noted for this declension

Nom. pl masc Besides the regular sandhi resultants of Skt *as*

1 *-a*, without regard to the following sound, and even at the end of a line The *SP* edition inconsistently emends some of these cases, against all mss, to *-āh*, tho it allows others to stand so *'nyasrāṭhā* 93 9, all mss (ed °*lah*), *durbalā* 95 9, all mss (ed °*lah*) The edition allows the ending to stand with the mss at e g 95 6 (*lana*) and 9 (*daridraka*), 97 12, 127 2 (*gulmā*), 222 12 and 13, 273 11 It is, of course, the normal Prakrit ending Examples in *LV* verses *gandharīā* 11 19 (end of line), *gunopapeta* 29 4 (ditto), *visālaprajñā* 29 11 (ditto), *isīdārakā* 74 15 (before *su-*) I have not, however, noted a case in the prose of *SP* (for 66 4 *aprameyāsamīkhyeyacintyatulyāmāpyā* etc is pretty certainly a compound rather than a series of noms) In the prose of *LV* it is rare but a few cases seem well attested in the mss *īsarjīā sma* 67 22, *-pramukhā sta-* 159 17, *yathartukā prāsādāh* 186 9 (in these three all mss with text, Calc reads *-āh*), in fusion with a following initial *a*, *manusyāndhatīā* (for °*ya andh°*) 19 19 (Calc differs), *pañcalāpi bhadrā* 408 22 (but here the best ms *A* reads *pañcalā*, omitting *api*)

2 *-a*, as in *Ap*, only in *e*, metrical shortening of the preceding, very common in the verses Ex *SP* *īmukla* 92 9, *mukla* 92 10, *lālaka* 91 7, *LV* *trpta* 37 3, *akāna apīya śodhātāh* 63 6, *nagna* ~ 1 16, *jina* 161 21 The editions frequently print such forms as if compounded with the following words, which is bad editing Often the final vowel is fused with an initial vowel of the next word (e g *SP* *śattīcha* 86 10, *etīdpsītra* 86 13), in such cases we are doubtless to understand that the uncombined form would have ended in *-ā*

3 *e*, the pronominal ending transferred to nouns, not recorded in Prakrit and rare here (cf next paragraph) No example noted from *SP*, *LV* *te sarīdāre na sātā tatratāh* 176 13, "these compounds do not exist in reality" Cf also *LV* 223 15 *chīlyanta atgim-aṅge*, "various limbs were cut off", so Lefmann with the best ms *A* the only

Voc pl masc Besides the regular Skt ending

1 *a*, as in the nom, without regard to sandhi *LV yadrsatattva bhuta* (at end of line) 47 5

2 *a*, again as in nom, metrical shortening *SP kulaputra* 86 9, addressing a group (Kern, note to Transl, supposes that one of the group is addressed, most implausible) — *marsa idam* 175 3

3 *aho* Luders, in Hoernle, *Manuscript Remains* etc, 162, takes this as the ending of Mg and regards it as proof that the "protocanonical Prakrit" was Mg In my *BSOS* article I have pointed out that it is rather to be identified with Ap, which has the same ending (in the form *aho*, *ahu*) Ex *SP kulaputraho* 255 11, 253 1, *avusaḥo* (to be read with Kashgar recension, so also the next two) 378 1 (prose), *kumārakaho* 73 6 (prose), *kulaputraho* 270 12 (prose) *LV amaresvaraho* 47 5 (no v l)

Acc pl masc

1 For the regular ending *an* we often find *ām* written especially in the verses of *LV* This is perhaps to be regarded as only a slovenly writing for *an*, it occurs chiefly before consonants, but also sometimes at the end of a line (*LV* 49 12 *ātmaḥhāvam*, to be sure three mss °*vā*, Calc °*vān* without ms support) Ex *SP sthūtam nisannām sayitam* , 362 14, *buddham pi* 371 5, *LV acintiyām bo°* 54 4, *amanusam no* 75 15

2 *-ā* occurs, not very commonly, and chiefly in verses, but occasionally, it seems, in the prose of *LV* It is probably best regarded as the nom form used as acc (cf the following paragraphs, and the use of acc forms as nom, above) Ex. *SP cakravatā* 355 5, *buddha ca bodhim ca prakasayamī* 47 12, *īśamaya* (so all mss, ed em °*yan*) 50 9, *ānuśāṇā* 394 5 (at end of line), *LV varṇa guṇām* (so read) 47 11, *anātma nirīkṣatā yoniso imā dharmā* 37 12 These all in verses The prose cases (all *LV*) are 382 1 *śakṣatā* (?Foucaux's ms A °*(ān)*), 30 22 *aprameyāsamlhyeyā gananāsamatīkrāntān bodhisattīān*, 4 7 8 *tan aprameyāsamlhyeyā gananāsamatīkrāntakalpātīkrāntān buddhā* (so all mss, em Lefmann to *buddhān*) *bhagavatāno 'nusmarantī sma* (cf Wel ler's note, which properly suggests taking the adj °*samlhyeyā* as a separate acc pl but fails to note that all the mss have likewise *buddhā*)

3 *-āh* the nom form used as acc (with usual sandhi variations) *SP* 54 8 *prasāṇḍa samsārī niruddha dūrge magnāḥ punaḥ* (so ed !)

duḥkḥaparamparāsu (the three adjectives all agree with *sattīān*, acc., in

preceding, ed note calls them "ungrammatical"), 355 5 *sarrās* (all mss, ed em °va) *ca cakravāda sa pasyati*, 9 3 *purnah*, *Laukavatara Sutra* 6 5 *apsaratargas ca (pratigrhna)*, where ed note suggests emending to °gans, *LV* 42 21 *dravyambaras ca purusan* (Calc. °barāns, with out ms authority), 70 15 *deva pasyī manusas ca manusa amanusam*, "the gods looked upon men, and men upon non humans", 165 9 *tyajī tiayī dhanamanikanakah* (so all mss and Calc, Lefmann emends to °la) In prose (not noted by Weller!), *LV* 180 5 *buddhadharmas camulhikaroti*, all mss and Calc., Lefmann emends to °mans

4 -a, m c, shortening of -a, much less common than in the nom, doubtless because it is to be regarded (like -ā) as a primarily nom ending Not found in prose, but in verses before vowels as well as consonants Ex *SP asīa edalan* 10 12, *dīpa tathaita* 11 10, *sampidita* 48 10, *LV jhīma upasyaita dīya atmabhāyam* 49 12, *priyasuta* 165 10, *guna* 167 3 Sometimes, when a vowel follows, a hiatus bridging consonant is inserted, as often between vowels in Pali and Prakrit *śāla m-atra putrān SP* 86 5 (all mss)

5 e Tho this is the regular Prakrit ending for this case, it occurs in our dialect very rarely (never in *SP* so far as I know) The usual theory is that the Pkt ending is borrowed from the pronouns, and that must be, directly or indirectly, its origin here (of course even in the pronouns it can only be a secondary transfer from the nom) *LV ślesayatiā krame* 94 8, *pūre nimittasupine imi adrsāsi* 196 12, *mulha puspale* 201 19

6 i, m c. for the preceding *LV gehi* 240 18 (all mss, Calc *geham*, unmetrical), *naraganī* 233 9 (? acc pl, but several mss. with Calc. °gana)

7 u? Very dubious, not supported by convincing evidence in the mss If sound, it would be another transfer from the nom, where this form (originally sg) seems to be used as pl (above) In *SP* 88 1 we should probably read *nirgata*, with Kashgar mss and WT, for *nirgatu* (*dārakān*) In *SP* 44 11 probably read *kaśaṭa tān* with m^s K' of WT (Kern Nanjio understand *kaśaṭu* as acc sg of a noun, but an acc. pl adjective with *tān* seems required)

8 -āna (-ānā, quantity of final vowel determined by meter) seems to occur once or twice as acc. pl *LV* 196 15 *so a lśāsi ca karāc caranād dhatānā mahasāgarabhi catubhiḥ jala lolayanti*, "and he saw waters from the four oceans struck from his hand and foot, overwhelming (the surroundings)", a gen pl seems impossible for (*d*)*hatānā* —*SP* 323 13

sarīans ca sattvana tathaiwa cāham, WT emend to *sattvan pi*, which is too violent to be plausible, yet it seems that we certainly have an acc pl Cf, from an *i* stem, *SP* 383 12 *upalambhadrstīna*, which is certainly most easily taken as acc pl The most likely explanation of these forms is from the analogy of *n* stems, which in our dialect may be declined as *a* stems on the basis of either the strong or the weak stem, e g *murdhena* instr sg *SP* 336 7, but *murdhnena* *SP* 93 2, so *mahatmam* acc sg *LV* 47 9, *janme* loc sg *LV* 27 20, etc At the same time such *n* stems also show the (properly nom pl) endings *-anah* and (m c) *ana* in the acc pl *jātidharmanah sattvan* *LV* 226 19 (this is prose!), *atmana nivarīa yantah* *SP* 196 6, *paribhavitātmana jīnendraputran* *SP* 12 9 So, by the analogy of such doublet forms as *atman* and *ātmana* (both acc pl), we seem occasionally to have e g *sattiana* by the side of *sattvan*, by proportional analogy If the form *drstīna* is really acc pl, it would be a further operation of this analogy

Nom acc pl nt Besides the regular Skt form

1 *a* is very common, as sporadically in various Prakrits, especially AMg Pischel regards this as the Vedic ending I think Hemacandra 1 33 was better advised in considering such forms "masculine", it matters little whether one formulates the phenomenon as a "change of gender" or as transfer of the masc ending to the nt declension Ex *SP* *bala* 62 2, 30 11, *kotisata c' aneka* 91 1, *LV* *roṣatālyā* 43 3, *nayuta vinita* 48 13 14, *vahana* 78 18, 79 6 No case has been noted in the prose of *SP*, and tho Weller 45 quotes half a dozen cases from the prose of *LV*, most of them are doubtful or erroneous *LV* 84 1 *sahasrā(h)*, before *ye*, is a masculine adjective, with *devaputrāh*, as in normal Skt at least of the epic (Wackernagel III, p 373) The same form 226 15 In 256 17 *īarsā(h)* is also masc, even normal Skt shows the word as either masc or nt, and the occurrence of the nt ending in the preceding line is no counter argument, our language shows such shifts in adjoining passages frequently In 321 6 *krīdītā(h)*, before *a*, is a fem pl adjective, going with the subject *lāścit*, so Tib interprets it In 396 17 *atīhṛantāīarnā(h)* is masc, construed *ad sensum* with *deīaputrāh* implied in *deīaputrasatasahasrānī* Of all Weller's alleged cases, the only one which has any plausibility is 351 11 *parījñātā sattīacarītā*, and even this might perhaps be construed as nom sg of an abstract in *tā* from the stem *carī* (also *carī*) "course of conduct"

2 *-a*, shortening of the prec. Tho not recognized in Pischel, it is

very common in Ap, Alsdorf 57 records the Kumārapalapratibodha as showing it 26 times, to only four times each for -āi and -ai. Ex *SP saptaḥa trini paripurna* 54.13, *ratrimdira* 62.9, *yanala* 87.7, *LV -sahasra* 11.20, *puspa* 49.8, *īahana kṛta sajja* (so divide) 79.16

[3 *e*, in *angam-ange* *LV* 223.15, the ending is of course masculine, but since *anga* is regularly neuter, it may be mentioned here.]

Instr. pl Besides the regular ending

1. -ai? Is read quite often by Lefmann in his edition of *LV*, but I have noted hardly a single case where the majority of the mss support him (see e.g. *Crit App* to 236.9 and 18, 237.8), and I regard this as merely a matter of bad editing. That individual mss of the *LV* should occasionally omit the final consonant is quite to be expected in view of their general imperfections. In *LV* 93.2 and 5 *gandhodaḥai* is, indeed, read by most mss, but the best one, A, has °le, and a loc sg would be syntactically possible.

2. -i? If correct, this could only be explained as a metrical shortening of -e, which would be Prakritic for -ai(ā). But in the single instance noted it is probably an editorial blunder. *LV* 123.3 reads in Lefmann *gasyā lakṣaṁ kḍyā cīratāḥ purīmasubhaphalāḥ*, if this be accepted it could only mean "whose body is adorned with the Signs, the fruits of former merit." But all mss except A read *lakṣana*, which must doubtless be accepted (as nom pl) "who has the Signs (and) a body adorned by the fruits of former merit."

3. -ehi. Very common in both nouns and pronouns (but never in prose). It corresponds to the regular Pkt. -ehim, which of course is to be connected with the Vedic -ebhis (cf. the next paragraph). But in Pkt. -ehi occurs regularly only in verses where the meter requires a short final, or (in AMg JM) also sometimes in prose before enclitics (Pischel 368), otherwise -ehim. The curious thing is that -ehim seems never to occur in our language, even when the meter requires a long final, in that case either the final i is lengthened (*tehi* *SP* 194.8, I have not recorded any case from a noun or adjective stem perhaps by oversight), or the ending -ebhis (-ebhiḥ, -ebhir) is used. The evidence suggests that the protocanonical Prakrit differed from all recorded Prakrits in making its regular instr. pl. ending *ehi*, without final nasalization. Ex *SP dantehi* 85.12, *putrehī* 87.4, *anyamanvehi arthehi* 12.14 (note that the meter would permit *anyamanvehir*), *LV cala-calehi* 172.6, *puṇyehi* 235.4

4 *ebhī*, the regular Vedic ending, see the preceding paragraph Regularly used when absolutely final in verses, (in the form *ebhir*) before vowels, and before consonants when the meter requires a long syllable, not noted in the prose of *SP* or *LV* according to the editions, but once the Kashgar ms of *SP* recorded by Thomas (Hoernle, *Manu script Fragments* 135) has *samebhī ca bodhisattvebhī(r)* for *ed samaś ca bodhisattvair* 328 9 Not very common even in the verses of *SP*, but commoner in *LV* Ex *SP dhvajebhīh* 89 2, *natebhīr jhallamallebhīr* 280 6, *LV divyasinhāsanebhīh* 80 19, *gunebhīr* 111 13, *ābharanebhīr* 123 4, *sarvapriyebhīr* 230 14

5 *ebhī*, apparently only as shortening m c of the preceding, yet note the next paragraph! Ex *SP anyebhī sutrebhī na tasya cinta* (so read with Kashgar recension) 99 3, *LV gunebhī* 46 18, *kramatalebhī* (so, as one word) 94 17, *pratyayebhī* 177 17, *devebhī* 224 3

6 *ebhī*, if correct, could only be metrical lengthening of the preceding which would imply that *ebhī* must have had some independent standing aside from metrical requirements, for in the one place where *ebhī* has been noted so far, the next word begins with a consonant so that the more regular *ebhir* would have the same metrical value This is *LV* 169 22 *turiyebhī* But strangely enough this form spoils the meter, which rather requires the regular Skt ending *air* The only variants recorded are *turiya* and *turiyabhī* (on this cf the next paragraph), both of which are equally bad metrically Evidently little reliance can be placed on this dubious passage

7 *abhīh*, so far noted only once *LV* 172 4 *ratnabhīh* at the end of a line Three mss are recorded as reading *ratnabhīh*, otherwise no v l It seems to be a metrical substitute for *ebhīh* possibly suggested by the analogy of *n*-stems (*namabhīh* etc) It can scarcely be considered a phonetic reduction, *e* to *a*, at most we should expect *ratnībhīh* if this were the case

Dat abl pl only the regular Skt form has been noted

Gen pl Besides the regular ending

1 *-ānam* only before vowels and only m c Ex *SP manuṣṇanam* 68 10 *dvīpādānam* 53 8 *sartajinānam* 193 1, *LV sattīanam* 219 3

2 *-āna*, also only m c, but before vowels and consonants alike in the former case with hiatus Ex, before consonants *SP sugatāna* 61 8, *bālāna* 87 6, *mṛdulāna* 89 5 *LV saḥyāna* 76 3 *puṇyārthilāna* 223 10

Before vowels *SP pañcāna* 83 3, *balana* 99 4, *LV tatropavistana* 27 19, *mānuṣana* 115 1

3 Further, the whole last syllable of the ending may be elided before a vowel, leaving -an'. Strictly, this elision did not take place *per saltum*, rather, *anam* was first reduced to -*anam* (the regular Pkt ending, not found so far in our dialect) or -*ānam* (as above), and thus to -*āna* (above), which, by usual Pkt sandhi, may become -an' before a vowel. Ex. *SP sugatan'* *īha* 359 3, *prakasayantan'* *īha* 229 9 (for Skt *prakāsayatam*, transferred to a-declension)

4 Hardly to be connected with the preceding are a couple of cases in which the ending -an or -ām seems to occur before consonants. Rather, these must be supposed to be formed on the analogy of consonantal stems, or more specifically stems which in Skt are consonantal stems and in our dialect, as in Pkt, show forms of both declensions thus leading to confusions like this (e.g. participles like *prakasayant*, quoted just above, show gens pl. of the types *prakāsayantanām* or *°yatānam*, by the side of the regular Skt *°yatam*, this could lead to sporadic *nayanam*, *gālam*, by the side of the regular forms *nayanānam*, *gātānām*, by proportional analogy). The only examples so far noted are *LV* 163 14 *dasadiggatam jīnottamanām*, "of the noble Jinas in the ten directions", and 49 16 *prekṣatu* (for *°tam*, see below) *nayanān* (doubtless merely orthographic for *°nam*) *na casti tṛptim* (nom l), "and there is no satiating of the eyes as they look". No other interpretation is possible.

5 -ānu? Since -u appears to occur as phonetic reduction of -am or -am (see above under -u as acc. sg.), -ānu could stand for -*anam* or -*anam*, from Skt -*anām*. We may compare, from a consonantal stem, *prekṣatu*, for *°tam*, quoted just above. But no certain instance has yet been found. The most likely case is in *SP* 324 10, where ed. has *tristāna*, but apparently with only one ms., the majority of the Nepalese mss. have *°lānu*, the Kashgar reading is not given.

Loc. pl. only the regular Skt form has been noted.

THE BOMMŌKYŌ AND THE GREAT BUDDHA OF THE TŌDAIJI

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The late Professor James H. Woods was profoundly interested in the problems of Buddhist mysticism and at the time of his death was conducting research preparatory to the publication of some notes on Japanese Buddhism left by his friend William Sturgis Bigelow. He had undertaken the study of Japanese, and was familiarizing himself with the *Bommōkyō* 梵網經 or *Brahmajālasūtra* which occupies such an important place in the development of the Japanese Tendai sect 天台宗.

It is unnecessary to speak here in detail of the role which this sūtra has played in China. De Groot¹ has published a study of this text and Dr J. R. Ware is contributing some interesting notes in the present volume. The importance of this sūtra is revealed when, for instance, we go through the numerous commentaries which are mentioned in the introductory notes of the Japanese translation of this text². In the last few years, several articles have been published by Japanese scholars concerning this sūtra and particularly its relation to the *Avatamsakasūtra* or *Kegonkyō* 華嚴經³.

¹ J. J. M. DE GROOT *Le code du Mahāyāna en Chine* Amsterdam 1893 (YKAWA)

² *Kokuyakusshōkyō* 國譯一切經 Ritsubu 12 律部十二 p. 307. The translation of the *Bommōkyō* as well as an introduction with explanatory notes has been made by Kato Kanjō 加藤親澄. On page 311 91 titles of different commentaries on this sūtra are given.

³ *Bommōkyō no Keisō* □□□の形相 by Ōno Hodo 大野法道 in the *Taishō daigaku Gakuhō* 大正大學學報 vol. 5 1934. The author explains the origin of the composition of this text and says that the *Bommōkyō* is a sort of development of the *Kegonkyō*.

Bommōkyō Seiritsukō □□□成立考 in the *Ryūgoku Daigaku Ronsō* 龍谷大學論叢 1913.

Bommo bosatsu-shōkyō Wakai □□菩薩戒經和解 by KAMITA Taishū 神谷大周 in the *Shūkyōka* 宗教界 March 1913 vol. 9.

Bommōkyō no Genmitsutaiben ni tsuite Yo no Waku wo toku □□□の顯

The *Bommōkyō* exercised considerable influence on Buddhist art during the Tempyō period (A D 725-794) and especially on the iconography of the statue of the Great Buddha in the Tōdaiji at Nara.¹ We do not know exactly when it was brought to Japan,² although interest in the

密對辨に就て世の惑を解く by TAKAOKA Ryūshin 高岡隆心 in the *Kōya sanjisho* 高野山時報 January, 1914

Bommōkyō no Honyaku ni tsuite □□□の翻譯に就て by TAKAOKA Ryūshin 高岡隆心 in the *Kōyasanshō* 高野山時報 January, 1914

Bommōkyō no Dōtōkushūgi □□□の道德主義 by TOMIYAGA Shiten 富永紫天 in the *Koyasanshō* 高野山時報, July, 1917

Bommōkyō ni okeru Jioji no Tsūmō □□□に於ける自於自の罪 by TANSEI Jitsuei 丹生實榮 in the *Shūkyō* 宗教, August, 1897

Bommōkyō no Sōgō ni tsuite □□□の相好に就て by Tōryū sei 東流生 in the *Shimmyō yōdan* 四明餘霞, 1899

Futatabi Bommōkyō no Sōgō ni tsuite 再び□□□の相好について by HAYASHI Tōryū 林東流 in the *Shimmyōyōdan* 四明餘霞, 1900

Bommōkyō sanjū hōmatsu ben □□□三重本末辨 by UEDA Shōhen 上田昭遍 in the *Kajiwelā* 加持世界 2 vol, 1902

Bommōkyō wo yomu □□□を読む by MATSUMOTO Bunsaburō 松本文三郎 in the *Shūkyō* 宗教 February, 1896.

Bommō Yōraku nikyō no Seiritsu Nendai to sono Kyōri to ni tsuite □□環珞二經の成立年代と其教理とに就て by MIYASHIRO Nobumasa 宮城信雅 in the *Tetsugakukenkū* 哲學研究 7 vol 1922

Professor B MATSUMOTO 松本文三郎 in his work on the Buddhist canon *Butsuden Hikyōron* 佛典批評論 on pp 401, 402 indicates that the *Bommōkyō* is not mentioned in the *Ch'u San Tsang Ch'i Ch'i* (*Shutsusan-ch'isshū* 出三藏記集) in which are enumerated all the works of Kumārajīva, whereas there is the preface of Seng-chao 僧肇 (died A.D. 414) stating that this sūtra was translated by Kumārajīva. It is probably because this text was not very well known during the Liang dynasty (A.D. 502-557) that Seng-yu 僧祐 (A.D. 444-518), the author of the *Shutsusan-ch'isshū* does not mention it. SHINO Benkyō 椎尾辨匡 in his *Bukkyō Kyōden gaisetsu* 佛教經典概説 p. 367 states that the vocabulary used in the translation of the *cittadhāmi* 心地 is different from the one used elsewhere by Kumārajīva. After giving several other reasons as to why it is difficult to admit that the *Bommōkyō* is a translation of Kumārajīva, SHINO Benkyō concludes that probably it is a work done by some pupils of Kumārajīva about the middle of the fifth century A.D.

* TAKI Seichi 滝精一 Tōdaiji Daibutsu no Konryū ni tsuite 東大寺大佛の建立に就て in the *Kyōgokudōgaku Ponsō* 龍谷大學論叢 1924

ADACHI Yasushi 足立康 Tempyō Jidai no Tōdaiji Daibutsu ni tsuite 天平時代の東大寺大佛に就て in the *Kokko* 國華 1934

* OMURA Seigai and YAKANO Gishō 大村西崖, 中野義郎 *Shinon Taisōkyō Bussōkaidai* 日本大藏經佛世解題上卷 p. 549 "This sūtra was imported into our country at an early date" Mr. IANIDA Masaku 石田茂竹 in his re-

Vinaya sect (Ritsushu 律宗) is of old date. In A D 588, the Japanese nun Zenshin 善信* went from Japan to Paikche 百濟 for ordination and the study of the *Vinaya*, and after three years she returned. Her pious act had, however, no effect upon the propagation of the *Vinaya*. In A D 653 the Japanese monk Doko 道光 (died A D 694) received an imperial order to go to China to study the *Vinaya*. After twenty five years he returned and wrote a book *Dshibunrisshō Senrokumon* 依四分律抄撰錄文. From this work we learn that Doko followed the Hinayana doctrines 小乘四分律 and that he brought to Japan the tradition of the Nanshan branch 南山宗 of the Chinese *Vinaya* sect.⁷ He brought with him also the *Gyōjishō* 行事鈔*. Doko is considered in the history of Japanese Buddhism as the first monk who brought the *Vinaya* from China and established this sect in Japan.

Nevertheless, more important was the coming in A D 736 to Japan of the Chinese priest Tao hsuan (Dosen 道璿),* who brought with him commentaries on the *Avatamsaka* and the *Vinaya*. The Emperor granted

markable book *Shakyō yori mitaru Narachō Bukkyō no Kenkyū* 寫經より見たる奈良朝佛教の研究 (Nara Buddhism as viewed from the copies of sūtra written in Japan) *Toyobunkō ronsō* vol 11 東洋文庫論叢 gives on p 22 the list of sūtra which existed in Japan during the years 552-707 and the *Bomōkyō* is not mentioned. Consequently it must be after this date that this text became known in Japan.

* Zenshin 善信 (born A D 574) was the first Japanese nun, the daughter of Kuratsukurinobe Sukuri Shiba Tatto 鞍部村主司馬達等 who was of Chinese origin. She became a nun at eleven and was the first Japanese subject to enter religion. After returning from Korea in 590 she lived in the Sakurai temple 櫻井寺. The year of her death is unknown. Cf pp 708-709 J. WASHIO 鷺尾順敬 *Nihon Bukka Jimmei Jishō* 日本佛家人名辭書 (1911).

* HASHIKAWA Tadasu 橋川正 *Nihonbukkhyōshi* 日本佛教史 p 50.

* This is the abbreviated title of the *Dshibunrisshō sanhanhōketsugyōjishō* 四分律別繁補闕行事鈔, the work of the well known Chinese monk Tao hsuan 道宣 (A D 596-667) written during A D 626-630. Cf *Taisō daizōkyō* 大正大藏經 vol 40 for bibliographical notes. *Bussō kaisetsu Daijiten* 佛書解説大辭典 4 226.

* Tao-hsuan known in Japanese history as Dōsen, was born in China in Hsü chou 許州. In the Ta fu hs en temple 大福先寺 at Loyang he met the two Japanese monks Ei ei 榮睿 and Fushō 普照 who had been sent by the Japanese court to China to study Buddhism. They invited Dōsen to go to Japan to teach the *Vinaya*. He accepted and arrived in Nara in A D 736 in company with a Japanese embassy which was returning home. He was a friend of Kibi no Makibi 吉備真吉備, the well known Japanese scholar who according to the *Genkōshakusho* 元亨釋書 (大日本佛教全書) 16 190 wrote his biography but it has been lost.

as a dwelling the Santoin 西唐院 in the Daianji 大安寺 There
 n used to read and expound the *Bommōkyō*¹⁰ as well as the *Gyōjisho*
 ng the last years of his life, he wrote a commentary on this sutra,
Bommokyosho 梵網經疏, in three chapters¹¹ This is probably
 earliest mention of the teaching of this sutra in Japan In A D
 Dosen received from the emperor the title of Master of the Vinaya
 sushī 律師) The founder of the Japanese Tendai sect, the well
 rn priest Dengyō Daishi 傳教大師, considered that Dosen held the
 t orthodox mahayana Vinaya doctrine¹²
 here is another source showing how profoundly this sutra was
 erated in Japan In A D 753, the *Bommōkyō* was read in all the
 : important temples, and in the following year in all the provin
 temples "In A D 757, the Empress Koken 孝謙天皇 issued an
 nance concerning this sutra which she ordered to be expounded from
 15 to V 2 in all provinces The Retreat (ango) [安居, *arsa*] was
 egin on the following day (V 3) (Shoku Nihongi, Ch XX, p 319
 日本紀) The Genko Shakusho calls this kokki (國忌, usually
 ounced koki) 'national mourning,' for the preceding Emperor, in
 case Shomu Tenno, who died in A D 756, V 2, in the 12th month
 that year the Empress requested 62 priests to expound the Bommōkyō
 behalf of the soul of the deceased Emperor On the anniversary of
 death 1500 monks were entertained in Todaiji The Genko Shakusho
 s too that this sutra was expounded in anticipation of the Retreat"¹³
 A D 753 is a very important date in the history of Japanese Budd
 m In this year, there came to Japan the Chinese monk Chien-chên
 Ganjin 鑑真),¹⁴ who was welcomed in the Todaiji by Dosen and two
 er monks Ganjin, being strongly supported by the Imperial family,

¹⁰ 常誦梵網 P 190 *Genkōshakusho* 元亨釋密 (大日本佛教全書)

¹¹ HAZAMA Shiko 拾慈弘 Daianji Dōsen no Chū Bommōkyō ni tsuite 大安
 道瑠の註梵網經に就て in Nara 寧樂 Nos 4 and 5

¹² TOKIWA Daijō 常盤大定 Dengyō Daishi no Hōshō Dōsen no Nihon Bukkyō
 jō ni okeru Ichi wo semmei suru 傳教大師の法祖道瑠の日本佛教史上
 かける位置を闡明する Nara 寧樂 No 10 p 11

¹³ *Ancient Buddhism in Japan* by H W DE VISSER, p 574

¹⁴ In occ dental publications this priest is sometimes called Kanshin This is
 rong however, because the names of Buddhist monks should be read in goon
 音 which in this case is Ganjin On this influential monk cf TAKAKUSU
 楠順次郎 Le voyage de Kanshin en Orient (74° 754) par Aomi no Mabito
 enka: (779) BEFEO 28 Ganjin was the first Buddhist monk who establ shed
 Japan a commandment altar (Kaidan 戒壇) and began the ordination of
 uddhist monks

soon displaced Dōsen. The latter, probably on the pretext of illness, retired to the Hisoji 比蘇寺 in Yoshino, and after several years in retreat, died in A D 760¹⁵. The *Vinaya* tradition was continued by Ganjin, who is also considered one of the patriarchs of the Tendai sect.

Bommōkyō doctrines as well as Buddhist concepts in general profoundly influenced the political ideas of the Emperor Shōmu 聖武天皇. This Japanese sovereign felt that the government should be organized in conformity with this Buddhist text, where it is said that Locana produces one thousand great Śākya, who are in their *nirmāṇakāya*, from each of these Śākya come forth millions of small Śākya, who simultaneously are preaching in all the millions of worlds. In this same way the Emperor occupies in Japan the supreme rank, corresponding to Locana Buddha, the imperial will is transmitted to the thousand officials, who in the government organization can be considered representatives of the Emperor, as the thousand great Śākya are of Locana. The subjects are compared to the millions of Small Śākya¹⁶. That the Emperor Shōmu identified himself with the central deity is revealed by the fact that after the *Silasamadana* 受戒 ceremony he took the Buddhist name Jōman 淨滿, which is nothing other than the Chinese translation of the Sanskrit name Locana¹⁷. It was this sovereign who erected the Great Buddha and thus represented in sculpture a passage from the *Bommōkyō*¹⁸.

In a few words the origin of the Great Buddha of the Tōdaiji is as

¹⁵ ISHIZAKI Tatsujī 石崎達二 *Narachō ni okeru Godaisan Shinko wo ronji Tōdaiji Daibutsu Zokenshiso no ittan ni oyobu* 奈良朝に於ける五臺山信仰を論じ東大寺大佛造願思想の一端に及ぶ in the *Shigakuzasshi* 史學雜誌 41 (1930) speaks (p. 1353) of the strong probability that Dōsen influenced the erection of the statue of Locana.

¹⁶ TSUTSUI Eishun 筒井英俊 *Tōdaiji Konryū Shiso* 東大寺建立思想 *Nara Bōan* No 1.

¹⁷ KITAGAWA Chikai 北川智海 *Tōshōdaiji Konryū narabi ni sono Zobutsu Seigi* 所招提寺建立并に其の造佛精義 *Tōyōbijutsu* 東洋美術 19 11 the chapter *Kondo Honzon Roshanabutsu* 金堂本尊盧舍那佛 mentions also the Great Buddha of the Tōdaiji and the fact that the Emperor Shōmu after receiving the commandments 受戒 took the Buddhist name Jōman.

¹⁸ ONO Gemmyō 小野玄妙 *Gazukaisetsu Bukkyō bijutsu kōwa* 畫圖解説 佛教美術講話 p. 614 515 says that Locana Buddha of the Tōdaiji is the Buddha mentioned in the *Bommōkyō*. The same statement is also made in his article especially devoted to a description of the lotus petals *Tōdaiji Daibutsu Rempen no Kokuga ni miyuru Bukkyō no Sekaisetsu* 東大寺大佛蓮瓣の刻畫に見ゆる佛教の世界説 *Kōkōgakusasshi* 考古學雜誌 5 513 (1914). Cf. also his *Bukkyō no Bijutsu oyobi Rekishi* 佛教の美術及び歴史 ch. 8 878 883 and 915.

follows In A D 740, when the Emperor went to the Chishiki temple 知識寺¹⁹ and addressed prayers to the main deity, a mystical revelation indicated that he must erect in the capital a huge statue of this same deity, which was none other than *Locana Buddha* 盧舍那佛 sitting on the lotus throne and expounding the *Bommōkyō*²⁰ It was claimed that this Great Buddha would protect all Japan from epidemics, storms, and other evils²¹

In A D 743, the 15th day of the 10th month, the Emperor promulgated an ordinance saying that his vow as a great bodhisattva 大菩薩願 was to make a huge statue of *Locana Buddha* Five days later the work of preparing a place for it was started in the Kogaji 甲賀寺,²² and at the end of the year 744 the central pole 骨柱 and the frame were in position so that the casting could begin²³ During the fifth month of the next year the capital was established in Nara and all the necessary materials which had been prepared in Kogaji, even the temple itself, were transferred to the eastern district in Nara and the temple was renamed *Konshōji* 金鐘寺²⁴ The casting of such a huge

¹⁹ A temple in the Ōkata district 大縣郡 of the Province of Kōchi 河内國 and is known in Japanese history chiefly in relation to this visit of the Emperor Shōmu Cf YOSHIDA Tōgo 吉田東伍 *Dainihon Chimei-Jisho* 大日本地名辭書 p 323

²⁰ NISHIOKA Toranosuke 西岡虎之助 *Varachō* 奈良朝 *Sōgō* 諸宗 shiki 綜合日本史大系 vol 2 (1926) Cf p 603 sec 9 on the erection of the Tōdaiji Tōdaiji no Konryū 東大寺の建立

²¹ There is no doubt that Chinese cave sculpture influenced the Japanese imagination and inspired the erection of this statue Cf ŌYA Tokujō 大屋徳城 *Nihonbuddhōshi no Kenkyū* 日本佛教史の研究 p 101 This miscellany includes a special article on Tang and Nara Buddhism 唐朝の佛教と寧樂朝の佛教 of which the subheading is The *Locana Buddha* of the Fêng hsiên temple at Lungmên and the *Locana Buddha* of the Tōdaiji at Nara 龍門奉先寺の盧舍那佛と奈良東大寺の盧舍那佛

²² This temple was in the Kōga district 甲賀郡 in the Province of Ōmi 近江國

²³ KATORI Shūshin 香取秀真 Tōdaiji Daibutsu no Shūzō ni tsuite 東大寺大佛の鑄造に就て *Kokka* 國華 Nos 379 330 gives many details about the technique of the moulding and casting of this large statue as well as of its gilding

²⁴ NISHIOKA Toranosuke op cit (note 20) vol 2 603 gives the different names of the *Konshōji* 金鐘寺 The name was later changed to *Kongōmyōji* 金光明寺 and very soon since it was in the eastern part of Nara it was called Tōji 東寺 and also Tōdaiji 東大寺 The other names were abandoned and the temple preserved only the last name. The abbot of this temple was Ryōben 良辨 (639-773), a well known Japanese monk of the Avatamsaka school He was the religious counsellor of the Emperor Shōmu and one of the promoters of the erection of the Great Statue In 760 he was ordained "bishop" (sōjō 僧正)

statue presented many technical difficulties and the statuaries succeeded in their work only after eight attempts. It was finished in 749, but was not yet gilded. The Japanese authorities were anxious to find the precious metal in Japan itself in order to gild this great statue with national gold. At the beginning of the year 749 gold had been discovered in northern Japan. The Emperor Shōmu was extremely glad of this event and in the fourth month went to Tōdaiji accompanied by his family and many officials.²⁵ This same year the Emperor Shōmu abdicated in order to devote himself to Buddhism. The statue was partly gilded, but many details were not yet finished and the hall was not yet built. It was only on the ninth of the fourth month of the year 752 that the ceremony of the "opening of the eyes" 開眼 was performed with exceptional splendor. The abdicated Emperor Shōmu, his consort the Empress Kōmyō, the reigning Empress Koken, the Crown Prince, other members of the imperial family, as well as all the court and other officials took part in this display. All wore their magnificent costumes. The priests also were

Prof J TAKAKUSU (*BEFEO* 28 31 32) has a long note on Ryōben, spelling his name Rōben and giving the year 722 as the date of his death. J WASHIO in his *Buddhist Biographical Dictionary*, pp 1194 1195, reads this name in "goon" Ryōben and indicates the dates which I have given.

²⁵ SANSOM, G B, *Japan, A Short Cultural History*, pp 125, 126

"The Emperor proceeded in state to the Tōdaiji, entered the front part of the Hall of the Image of Roshana and took up his position facing north towards the image, the position of a subject in audience with his sovereign." It was during this ceremony that "The Minister of the left advanced to address the Buddha in the sovereign's name

"This is the Word of the Sovereign who is the Servant of the Three Treasures, that he humbly speaks before the Image of Roshana

"In this land of Yamato since the beginning of Heaven and Farth, Gold, though it has been brought as an offering from other countries, was thought not to exist. But in the East of the land which We rule, the Lord of Michinoku, Kudara no Kyōfuku of the Junior Fifth Rank, has reported that in his territory, in the district of Ōda, Gold has been found

"Hearing this we were astonished and rejoiced, and feeling that this is a Gift bestowed upon us by the love and blessing of Roshana Buddha, We have received it with reverence and humbly accepted it, and have brought with Us all Our officials to worship and give thanks

"This We say reverently, reverently, in the Great Presence of the Three Treasures, whose name is to be spoken with awe"

In the expression "the Sovereign who is the Servant of the Three Treasures" the word servant corresponds to the Japanese word "yakko," which is used in the original text and can also be translated "slave." This phrase was much criticized by Japanese nationalistic minded scholars

clad in gorgeous robes After the official ceremony, the work on the Todaiji was continued, and it took some decades before all the subordinate buildings were completed

The Great Buddha²⁸ is the Great Enlightened, he is the essence of Buddha in the *Dharmadhatu* (world) He is represented sitting on the lotus throne and preaching His legs are crossed in Indian fashion, the left leg passing in front of the right The left hand lies on the left thigh in *Abhayamudra* 施無畏印 and the right hand is raised in *varadamudra* 滿願印²⁹ The text of the *Bommokyo* says³⁰ "You, all Buddha's children hear me attentively, think well (about my words) and make your conduct conform to it I have practised already for hundreds of incomputable kalpas the qualities (of bodhisattvas) and the stages (of perfection), and taken them as my guide At the beginning I abandoned the worldly 凡夫 [life] and attained *samyak sambodhi* I am called Locana. I dwell on the lotus throne which contains the worlds 世界 and oceans³¹ This throne is surrounded by one thousand petals Each petal being a world, it makes one thousand worlds I metamorphose myself producing one thousand Śākya, conforming to the one thousand worlds Further, on each petal which is a world there are a hundred million Sumeru, a hundred million suns and moons, a hundred million worlds 天下 each in four parts, a hundred million Jambudvīpa, a hundred million Bodhisattva Śākya who are sitting under a hundred million bodhi trees, each of them preaching the qualities and stages of a Bodhisattva about which you have just inquired Each Śākya of the remaining nine hundred and ninety nine Śākya produces thousands and hundreds of millions of Śākya, who do the same The Buddhas on the thousand petals are transformations of myself, and the thousands and hundreds of millions of Śākya are the transformations of these thousand Śākya. I am their origin and my name is Locana Buddha."

This great Buddha in the Todaiji is represented sitting on a lotus

²⁸ The statue is 53 feet high and was several times restored after being broken and damaged by an earthquake in 805 and later by fires during the civil wars in A. D. 1180 and in A. D. 1567 A part of the trunk and legs and a few petals of the lotus are all that remain from the original statue As a work of art it is not of high standard having been almost entirely repaired in 1691 by inferior artisans

²⁹ Oyo Gemmyō 小野玄妙 *Butsu no Kenkyū* 佛像の研究 p. 91

³⁰ *Tenkō Tenkyō* 大正大藏經 24. 097 and DE GROOT op cit (note 1) p. 16

³¹ The grammar of this passage is obscure but the Japanese engraver has understood it thus.

throne³⁰ On each petal of the lotus flower is represented one of the thousand great Śākya who are the emanations of Locana In spite of the two fires and the destructions, several original petals of the Buddha's throne are still preserved, and we can see and study the engraved pictures³¹ On the upper part of the petal is engraved the picture of the Great Śākya, who is sitting on a throne and preaching On his right and left stand several Bodhisattva who are listening to his sermon To the right and left, over the head of the Great Śākya, are engraved clouds where are pictured his manifestations 化佛 kneeling on lotus flowers Under his throne is represented the Grand Chilocosm 三千大千. The engraver has depicted it in twenty-five bands Here are engraved houses and Buddha heads, in other words, this is the picture of the millions of worlds with the millions of small Śākya and their Pure Lands 淨土 At some places in the uppermost band there are no Buddha heads, this is to represent the *arupya-dhatu*, the formless world 無色界. Lower bands represent the world of forms—*rupa-dhatu* 色界. Still lower bands are divided with vertical lines to represent the world of desires, *kama-dhatu* 欲界 In the lowest part of the petal is engraved the Sumeru world 須彌世界,³² and on the bottom of the petal is engraved a sea In the middle of the Sumeru world is represented Mount Sumeru (called in Japanese Shumizan or Sumizan 須彌山, sometimes also Myōkōzan

³⁰ The following analysis is based on ONO Gemmyō (see note 18), *Bukkyō no Bijutsu oyobi Rekishi* (The History of Buddhist Art), p. 892 where he gives the table of these three worlds and the names of deities stating that temporarily he follows the *Bussotoki* 佛祖統紀 ch. 31 (*Taisho Tripiṭaka* 49.302) This text could not influence directly the iconography of the great Buddha because it was compiled in 1269 (cf p. 311 *Buddhist Bibliographical Dictionary* 佛書解説大辭典) The list given in ODA's *Buddhist Dictionary* 織田得能, 佛教大辭典 p. 607, differs from the list given by G. ONO, whom I follow The same list is given in the explanatory note on the iconography of these engravings in an article entitled "Daibutsu Rempen Gezō Sekaizu 大佛蓮瓣華藏世界圖 in the Nara 京樂 14, p. 181, from which I have taken many details

³¹ The engravings of the petals are reproduced in the following publication *Tōdaiji, Ōkagami* 東大寺大鏡 pl. 19 is a picture of a whole petal with its engravings, pl. 20 represents one of the thousand Great Śākya, pl. 21, the bodhisattvas who are surrounding the Great Śākya A picture of a petal is also given in ONO Gemmyō's *Bukkyō no Bijutsu oyobi Rekishi* (History of Buddhist Art), p. 608, ill. 62 Fragments are represented in the *Kokka*, No. 184, p. 75 and in No. 202, pp. 599 and 600

³² ONO Gemmyō, *Bukkyō Bijutsu* (1921) 佛教美術 (Miscellany on Buddhist Art) has a chapter on the iconography of Mount Sumeru 須彌山古圖考 (204-276), in which he quotes several Buddhist sūtra and gives many interesting details

妙高山) This mountain has four terraces. On the first terrace live the Yakṣa called in Japanese Kenshu 堅手, on the second terrace live those Yakṣa called Māladhara (in Japanese Juman 持鬘), and on the third terrace live those named Ganga (in Japanese Gokyō 恒橋). They are all subjects of the four celestial kings 四天王 who live on the fourth terrace. On the east lives Dhṛtarāṣṭra (in Japanese Jikokuten 持國天), on the south, Virudhaka (in Japanese Zōchō ten 增長天), on the west, Virūpākṣa (in Japanese Komoku ten 廣目天), and on the north, Vaiśravaṇa (in Japanese Tamonten 多聞天). On the peak of the mountain is the abode of the thirty three gods, which is called Trayastriṃsa (in Japanese Toriten 忉利天³³). In its middle is located Sudarsana, city of the gods (Zenkenjo 善見城) where lives Śakra, the prince of the gods (Taishakuten 帝釋天).

The four celestial kings and the thirty three gods form the terrestrial group (in Japanese Jigo 地居, Sanskrit, *Bhūma*) in the *lāmadhātu*. To this same *dhātu* belongs also a group of four classes of deities called *Āntarīkṣāśin* (in Japanese Kugo 空居). The first is called *Yama* (in Japanese Yamaten 夜摩天), the next, *Tuṣita* (in Japanese Tosotsuten 兜率陀天), the third, *Sunirmita* (in Japanese Rakuhengen 樂變化天), and the fourth, *Paranirmitaśaśarata* (in Japanese Takejizanten 他化自在天). These are the six classes of deities of the world of desires—*lāmadhātu* (in Japanese yokukai 欲界), which are represented by the artist.

Above this world is another called the *Rupadhātu* (in Japanese Shikakai 色界) in which are found eighteen classes of deities, which are arranged in four groups of meditation (in Japanese Shizen 四禪). The first group contains three classes: *Brahmapariśadya* (Bonshuten 梵衆天), *Brahmapurohita* (Bonhoten 梵輔天) and *Mahābrahma* (Daibonten 大梵天). The second group contains the following three classes: *Paritābha* (Shokoten 少光天), *Apramanasubha* (Muryojoten 無量淨天), and *Ābhastara* (Kooten 光音天). The third group also contains three classes: *Paritāsubha* (Shojoten 少淨天), *Apramānābha* (Muryokoten 無量光天), and *Subhaktisna* (Henjoten 徧淨天). The fourth group contains nine classes ————³⁴ (*Fukuanten* 福愛天), *Punyaprasaia*

³³ ODA Tokunō *Buddhist Dictionary* p. 1103 explains that *toriten* 忉利天 is in Sanskrit *Trāyastriṃśa* the heaven of the thirty three divinities. On page 607, he gives a table of the three *dhātu* with all the deities and their names in Sanskrit which he takes from the *Abhidharmaśāstra* 俱舍論世間品三界義 and which is not the same as the one followed by the Japanese artist.

³⁴ The *Mahāvaiyapatti* (SAKAKI 3085 3108) groups these classes into four medi

(Fukushoten 福生天), *Bṛhatphala* (Kōkaten 廣果天), *Atṛha* (Musōten 無想天), *Atapa* (Muhonten 無煩天), *Atapa* (Mujukuten 無熱天), *Budṛśa* (Zengenten 善現天), *Sudarśana* (Zenkenten 善見天), and *Akanisṭha* (Shikikū-kyoten 色空竟天).

Above this world are the four divisions of the *arūpadhātu* (Mushikikai 無色界) called: *Ākāśānantyāyatana* (Kūmuhensho 空無邊處), *Vijñānānantyāyatana* (Shikimuhensho 識無邊處), *Ākiñcanyāyatana* (Masō-yūsho 無相有處), and *Nāivasamjñānāsamjñāyatana* (Hisōhishisōsho 非想非非想處). This world is not represented by the artist because it is a world without forms (*arūpa*) and cannot be reproduced graphically.

These engravings on the bronze petals of the lotus throne of the Great Buddha represent the different degrees²⁵ through which a being passes from the *Kāmadhātu* to the *Rūpadhātu* and continuing further on attains its salvation.

Mount Sumeru is represented surrounded by seven golden mountains (Shichikonzan 七金山) called: *Yugandhāra* (Yukendara (jisō)) 踰健達羅 (持雙), *Isādhara* (Ishadara (jijiku)) 伊沙駄羅 (持軸), *Khadiraka* (Kachiraka (tanmoku)) 羯地洛迦 (楡木), *Sudarśana* (Sotatsurishana (zenken)) 蘇達黎舍那 (善見), *Aśvakarṇa* (Aonbakuna (baji)) 頽滋搏判奈 (馬耳), *Vinataka* (Binataka (zōbi)) 毘那怛迦 (象鼻), and *Nimindhara* (Nimindara 尼民達羅). Beyond these seven golden mountains are located the four continents 須彌四洲: in the south, *Jambudvīpa* (Senbushū 瞻部洲) of triangular form; in the east, *Videha* (Bidekashū 毗提訶洲) shaped in the form of a half-moon; in the west, *Aparagodānīya* (Kudabishu 犍陀尼洲) circular in form; in the north, *Uttarakuru* (Guroshu 俱盧洲), which is a square. Each of these continents has two subsidiary continents. Beyond these is the mountain *Cakravāḍa* (Tetsurinizan 鐵輪圍山), which constitutes the end of the world. This

tation-stages plus a brahma-stage 淨梵地. For the *Fukuaiten* given by Ono and the author of the note in the *Nara* (see note 30), this glossary gives *Anabhṛaka* 無雲天.

²⁵ The *Mahāvīyutpatti* in 3103 puts both *Muhonten* and *Mujukuten* under the name *Atapa*.

²⁶ O. ROSENBERG (O. Розенбергъ, Проблемы буддистской философии, Петроградъ 1918), p. 234, discusses in detail the problem of the three *dhātu* saying that to the first degree *kāma-dhātu* belong all beings except the humans, that the second degree is divided into four meditations of which each has several classes. The third degree *arūpa-dhātu* also has four mystical degrees in which the highest beings are permanently located. Rosenberg indicates also that the eighteen classes of the *rūpadhātu* have nothing to do with the eighteen *dhātu* which represent the individual stream of life (*santāna*) in the different planes of existence. Cf. Th. STCHERNIAK, *The Central Conception of Buddhism and the Meaning of the Word "dharma,"* p. 97, London, 1923.

mountain together with Mount Sumeru and its seven golden mountains form the nine mountains between which are located the eight oceans. Into these eight oceans empty the eight rivers 八功德水, of which one is a salt water river emptying into the sea located between the mountains Cakravada (Tetsurinizan) and Nimindhara (Nimindara), the seven others are of fresh water.

Mount Sumeru is square, its north side golden, the east, silver, the south, *Vaidurya* (lapis lazuli 吠瑠璃 Beiruri), and the west *Sphatīka* (crystal 頗胝迦 Hachika). The color of the southern side is reflected in the sky of Jambudvīpa to the south where we are living, consequently our sky is blue. In the north of Jambudvīpa are located the three fold black mountains (Sanjū no kokuzan 三重の黒山), then the great snow mountain Himavat (Daietsuzan 大雪山), and the mountain with the perfumed water Gandhamadana (Kosuzan 香醉山). Between the last two there is a large pond 大池水 called Anavatapta (Munetsuno 無熱惱). From this pond four large rivers flow to the four directions: towards the east from the mouth of a silver ox empties the river Gangā (Kogaga 鞞伽河), towards the south from the mouth of a gold elephant empties the river Sindhu (Shindoga 信度河), towards the north from the mouth of a crystal lion empties the river Sitā (Sitaga 徒多河), and towards the west from the mouth of a lapis lazuli horse empties the river Oxus (Bakusuga 縛菟河). The pond Anavatapta (Munetsuno) is represented on the lotus petal in the upper part of Jambudvīpa. Beneath it is engraved the bodhi tree with Śākya and a divinity on either side. On the right of Sumeru is engraved the moon, and on the left, the sun. In the ocean is engraved a dragon.

The statue of the Great Buddha, as I have said, was inspired by the passage translated above from the *Bommōkyō*, the details on the petals inspired by other sūtra and sastra are there to show the relation of the whole world from here below up to the great Enlightened Deity. The whole artistic conception of this statue can be understood only if we are familiar with the different Buddhist texts on which the complicated iconography of this Japanese religious art is based. Moreover, during the Tempyō period (A.D. 725-794), Buddhist ideals were closely related to the political ideas of the leading personalities, and the great statue of Locana was the spiritual symbol of the state organization.²¹

²¹ TSUJI Zennosuke 辻善之助 *Kokushi ni okeru Seikyō Kankei Jo-setsu* 國史に於ける政教關係序説 in *Shakkyōkenkyū* 宗教研究 10 (1933), pp. 40 and 41 mentions the Emperor Shōmu who tried for the sake of national prestige to have the biggest statue of Buddha in the world. Inscriptions of this period state that this and all other statues were erected for the benefit of the Japanese nation.

CONFUCIUS' CONVICTION OF HIS HEAVENLY MISSION *

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In Book II, Wei Chêng 爲政, Chapter IV, of the *Confucian Analects* is the following phrase

“The Master said ‘At fifteen I had my mind bent on learning At thirty I stood firm At forty I had no doubts At fifty, I knew the decrees of Heaven At sixty my ear was an obedient organ (for the reception of truth) At seventy I could follow what my heart desired without transgressing what was right’”¹

Confucius died at the age of seventy four, 2414 years ago The other opinion is that he died at the age of seventy three, but the difference arises from the two different ways of counting age As a matter of fact, it is the same age There exists also an opinion that he died at seventy two, which is based on the fact that he was born a day *keng tzü* 庚子 in the tenth moon of the 21st year of Duke Hsiang of Lu 魯襄公 Since this was after the winter solstice 至冬, the following year was considered to be the birth year of Confucius Moreover, only full years are counted, therefore, the result is an age of 72 I shall not enter into a detailed discussion of these three opinions, because it is merely a question of calculation, which does not interest me now

At the end of the paragraph quoted from the *Lun yü* we read “At seventy I could follow what my heart desired,” which clearly shows us that these words were said by Confucius after he was seventy and not long before his death There are two interpretations of this phrase, one of them considers it a statement of real fact, the other, a supposition of something possible The first explains these words as really uttered by Confucius himself, because he was conscious that his Virtue 德 had progressed and developed to genuine greatness and perfection In other words, Confucius was aware that by means of mental effort and training he had arrived at the perfect realization of his personality The other

* Translated from the Japanese by S. Ellsæff

¹ Pp 146 147, James Leoox, *The Chinese Classics* Ist, 1893

opinion supposes that the Virtue of Confucius or his personality, had no development, no mental progress, no realization, because it was perfect and complete from the beginning

These two different explanations are the result of the varying definitions of the term "Saint" 聖 Confucius during his own life was considered a saint by many people and soon after his death was venerated as such by all It was only to him that the term saint was applied In a later period, they did not call him Confucius but just The Saint and it was understood that Confucius was meant Some people considered that a Saint, and especially a Saint like Confucius was a special gift of Heaven In other words people thought that one became a Saint not by mental effort and self perfection but one was born a Saint by the special grace of Heaven Under such a definition a Saint is no match for us He is an ideal which we can only behold Such a Saint has no reason to enjoy progress of Virtue and the realization of personality Consequently, the development of Confucius' Virtue in periods of ten years, as described in the *Lun yü* would not be a real fact In this case, Confucius has spoken about something which was not a real fact as if it had been one, and thereby has deceived people But a Saint does not lie and deceive If we consider Confucius a Saint created by the [grace of] heaven, then he has [such a great] personality that he would not teach disciples They would venerate him from the bottom of their hearts, but would never dare to make an effort to learn under him Accordingly, this theory supposes that Confucius brought himself down [to earth] and during a time made an effort to train himself, and consequently became a Saint and explained the order of the progress and mental training of his Virtue and became the example for the mental training of his disciples That is the essence of the Hypothetical Theory

It is difficult to accept this opinion *The Doctrine of the Mean* 中庸, discussing the Saint, considers that from the point of view of knowledge a Saint is formed in three ways some are born with the knowledge [of those duties], some know them by study, and some acquire the knowledge after a painful feeling of their ignorance² From the point of view of practise the Saint possesses also three ways he practises [it] with a natural ease practises [it] from a desire for its advantages, and practises [it] with strenuous effort (安行, 利行, 勉

² 或生而知之, 或學而知之, 或困而知之。LEGG, *Chinese Classics* I' The Doctrine of the Mean ch 20 § p 407

行). The three classes of knowledge 知 and of practise 行 may also be combined. "be born with the knowledge and practise it with a natural ease 生知安行, acquire the knowledge by study and practise [it] for its advantages 學知利行 and acquire the knowledge after a painful feeling of ignorance and practise it by strenuous effort" 困知勉行

In the *Chung-yung* it is said: "But the knowledge being possessed it comes to the same thing" "But the achievement being made, it comes to the same thing"³ Be born with the knowledge and practise it with a natural ease is to be a Saint who is formed by Heaven. This is not the only way, however, for Sainthood can be attained by acquiring the knowledge through study and then practising it, as well as by acquiring the knowledge after the painful feeling of ignorance of it and then practising it with strenuous effort. Accordingly, a person may become a Saint by his own effort and mental training and as long as a person becomes a Saint, he is equal to every other Saint.

The desire of Mencius was to have studied under Confucius, and he says that he follows in his footsteps and venerates him extremely, but he never said that the personality of Confucius could not be learned. On the contrary, in many passages of his works we read that the personality of the Saint must be taken as a model. The Confucianists of the Sung dynasty, although they said one must follow the Saint, still felt that it was impossible to follow his high example. Thereupon, they came to consider the words which I quoted at the beginning of this article as hypothetical. Lu Chiu yuan 陸九淵, hao Hsiang-shan 象山, (A. D. 1140 1192) who lived at the same time as Chu Hsi had his theory that there is no difference between the Heart 心 of a Saint and that of an ordinary man. He explained that the Saint is a person who acquired early clearness of the Fundamental Heart, while an ordinary person is one who still has not grasped his Fundamental Heart. If an ordinary person would grasp it, he would immediately become a Saint. Lu Chiu-yuan, I think, was trying to warn and undeceive his countrymen, since they had a strong tendency to consider it very difficult to obtain Sainthood. Let us set aside for a while the other Saints, and, if we could decide whether the Virtue of Confucius is heavenly grace or not, let us listen not to the words of later writers but to the words of Confucius himself.

Among the statements made by Confucius regarding this problem is

³ *LENGER, Chinese Classics, Ist, The Doctrine of the Mean, ch. 20, 9, p. 407*

the following 我非生而知之者。好古敏以求之者也。“I am not one who was born in the possession of knowledge, I am one who is fond of antiquity and earnest in seeking it there”⁴ The disciples of Confucius and others in explaining Confucius say that he pronounced this phrase probably as an apology because people were claiming that he was born in the possession of knowledge To say, “I am not one who was born in the possession of knowledge” before somebody has spoken about it might smack of self publicity Scholars ordinarily like to consider Confucius a modest person and there is nobody who thinks of him as a self vaunter Moreover, if we read the *Lun-yü* through we shall find nowhere a tone of self publicity Accordingly, as I already said, we must consider that the phrase, “I am not one who was born in the possession of knowledge,” was pronounced probably because someone had said, “he [Confucius] was born in the possession of knowledge”

Others think that Confucius said it out of humility If Confucius thought in his mind that he was born in the possession of knowledge and loudly denied it, then he deceived himself and others, this would not be modesty, but a crime Such a thing could in no case have been done by Confucius Therefore, we believe in the Confucian words that he was not a Saint who was born with the knowledge and practised it with a natural ease, but a saint who acquired the knowledge by study and practised it for its advantage On account of this we consider the words quoted at the beginning of our article as the true words of Confucius His Virtue gradually developed and progressed and his personality gradually took shape, and finally his Virtue became perfect and his personality complete I think that Confucius, remembering during his old days the order of the real facts of his mental progress and development, mentioned it as a genuine fact.

I would like to explain here my personal views on this phrase about knowing at the age of fifty the decrees of Heaven In the older commentaries⁵ we read K'ung An kuo 孔安國 said it is to know the end and the beginning of the decrees of Heaven 知天命之終始也. but the meaning of this phrase is not very clear Huang K'an 皇侃 in his commentary 義疏 (6th century A D) explains these terms by saying the decree of Heaven means one's lot of poverty and success 天命謂窮通之分也 If we quote the words of Wang Pi 王弼, he says [He] knows that he is not practising the Way at all 知道終不

⁴ *Lun-yü* Book VII ch. 19 *Loose, I*, p 201

⁵ I e., those of Han to T'ang times

行也 If we follow this explanation, we have to admit that whether Confucius practised the Way and established his personality as well as whether he did not practise the Way and thus got into difficulties was nothing more than the result of the decrees of Heaven. In other words it was not the result of a free personal will, but of a mighty will which surpasses that of man. The conclusion will then be that when Confucius became fifty years old he learned that finally he did not practise the Way. The Japanese Philosopher Butsu Sorai 物徂徠 (1666-1728) also at fifty considered himself old and it was then that he was appointed a high official 大夫. But Confucius at fifty had no position and naturally was not a high official. That is why he understood at his age that already he was not practising the Way. If we accept these commentaries we have to believe that before fifty Confucius used much energy in order to have an opportunity to practise the Way. We cannot admit that Confucius made no effort and finally perceived that he would not practise the Way. In the latter case the problem would be: Before becoming fifty did Confucius or did he not spend his energies in practising the Way? If we examine the biography of Confucius we see that before fifty he was an official, he traveled 遊歷, and he was interested in education, that is all. Confucius was an official, but, as it is said in the *Shih Chi* 史記 and in Mencius he was at one time a subaltern official in charge of the public fields 牛羊 and, as Mencius said, it happened when Confucius was young and because his family was poor Confucius served in order to have a salary and not to administer other people. This service had nothing to do with practising the Way. As for his travelling, it happened only twice, the exact circumstances, however, are unknown. I think it must have been when Confucius was about 35-36 years old. Once he went to the state of Chou 周 and once to Ch'i 齊.

When Meng Hsi tzu 孟僖子 the principal minister of Lu 魯大夫 died, his two sons the elder Mêng I tzu 孟懿子 and the second Nan kung Ching shu 南宮敬叔 became disciples of Confucius, and it seems that it was on the recommendation of Nan kung Ching shu that Confucius went to Chou. He was interested in going to the imperial capital to make investigations for he had been studying government affairs for many years. Thus this voyage was a purely academic one for the purpose of study. But we do not know if it was during this year or at some other moment that Nan kung Ching shu became his disciple. As for his next voyage when Confucius went to Ch'i, we also know nothing

work, and did not attract to himself the more capable people of the whole country. Finally, it can be said, he realized that it was entirely hopeless to try to practise the Way and abandoned it. I feel, however, that there was no reason for abandoning this hope. If we turn back to Confucius' biography we still see that at the age of fifty-two he was in the service of Lu as provincial governor. At fifty-four he became a high official of its central government and during several years he participated in the political affairs of Lu. This is precisely what is meant by "practising the Way." At fifty Confucius understood, say the commentaries, that finally he would not "practise the Way," but after this it turned out that he did. But is it not a contradiction to state that he abandoned all attempts to practise the Way and that later it turned out that he did practise it? This abandonment, continue the commentaries, was nothing more than the realization that his design was balked and his efforts finally null and void. But I think that anyone who has not yet made an effort to practise the Way will for no reason experience such despair at the beginning of his attempt. That is why I feel that we do not need to follow the older commentaries. Chu Hsi, explains the phrase "At forty I had no doubts" 四十而不惑 by the circumlocution "entirely without doubts concerning the fitness of things" 於事物之所當然皆無所疑, and the next phrase, "At fifty I knew the Decrees of Heaven," Chu Hsi explains by saying "'Decrees of Heaven' means the Heavenly Way determining the nature of things by flowing into [them]. This is the reason for the fitness of things" 天命即天道之流行而賦於物者, 乃事物所以當然之故也。

These comments by Chu Hsi are quite difficult. If we try to interpret them more clearly, the expression "fitness" 所當然 would be "the Way of men," for instance, the love between parents and children 父子之親, or the Rightness between lord and vassal 君臣之義, or the distinction between husband and wife 夫婦之別. The phrase "why fit" 所以當然 is the main current which has its origin in the Way of men, namely, the human character. The phrase "at forty I had no doubts" means that at forty he knew the Way of men and the phrase "at fifty I knew the decrees of Heaven" means that he knew the character of the main current of the Way. Hereupon in the minds of the disciples arose the doubt: it took him ten years in order to know that the Way is founded on human nature. Is it such a difficult thing to know that the current which has its origin in the Way is human nature? Even Chu Hsi gives us the impression of being a little annoyed with

this question, for he answered "Let it stay as it is. The Saint told us that it took him ten years, we have to take these words as they are." But I think that Chu Hsi's opinion lacks clarity. If we admit Chu Hsi's interpretation of this phrase, we cannot admit that Confucius during his voyages and peregrinations, when he was several times in danger, preserved self-possession and said that since Heaven did not take his life nobody could take it. It would seem that Confucius was boasting. How can we say that Confucius did not "practise the Way" in Lu, and at the same time say that having found no opportunity to practise the Way in several States during his voyages, he came back to his country when old and wrote his books. Such an interpretation would not conform to the facts. It is impossible for me to follow Chu Hsi's explanations.

If it is difficult for me to accept the older commentaries as well as the later ones, how are these statements to be interpreted? Confucius said of himself, "I am one who is fond of antiquity and earnest in seeking it there".* It is true Confucius was a man devoted to study. In other questions he was full of modesty, but he was never modest in his devotion to study. He always spoke of himself as a person fond of learning. His genius surpassed the average man. The learning which Confucius mentioned in saying "At fifteen, I had my mind bent on learning"† does not correspond to what we mean today by learning. He meant learning to acquire self-cultivation 修己 and rule people. Self-cultivation is conforming to the doctrine established by the Saint, the learning of the practise of the Way and of Virtue. In other words to build a perfect personality and accomplish one's ego. To rule the people means by the power of a perfect personality and through the government and education to perfect the Virtue of everybody in the State and in making perfect one's own personality to achieve a universal accomplishment. Self-cultivation infallibly enters into the ruling of people, and the ruling of people is based infallibly on self-cultivation. The learning of self-cultivation and the ruling of people was what Confucius desired and what he ordinarily meant by learning. The very fact that as a boy of fifteen he fixed this learning as the goal of his whole life shows that Confucius was not an ordinary young man. To what degree Confucius was diligent in learning is shown by the following facts mentioned in the *Tso Chuan* and quoted erroneously in Con-

* Cf. note 4. Hat'ori's quotation reads 信而好古又敏以求之。

† *Lun-yü* Book II ch. 4.

Confucius' biography in the *Shih Chi*. If we follow the text of the *Tso Chuan*, it is said that Duke Chao 昭公 of Lu in the third month of the seventh year [of his reign] went to the State of Ch'u 楚 with Mêng Hsi tzü in his suite. Conforming to the customs of those times, when the lord of a state went to another country there were various ceremonies of welcome or farewell in all the countries through which he passed as well as in the country of his destination. On such occasions all the important officials 大夫 of the suite assisted in the ceremonies and ritual. But Mêng Hsi tzü had little knowledge or even no knowledge at all of rites and ceremonies and he was unable to assist his lord. This created difficulties. It seems that it annoyed Mêng Hsi tzü profoundly and in the autumn, when he came back to Lu, he organized a course on ceremonies. Men who possessed a knowledge of them were admitted without consideration of their social standing or age. Confucius also took part in this short course. That he highly distinguished himself among the other experts is due to the fact that, in spite of his youth, he was 18 years old, he was deeply versed in ceremonies and rites and all eyes turned upon him. Mêng Hsi tzü noticed Confucius and made a confidential investigation regarding him. He learned that Confucius came several years before from Sung 宋 and was of Sung aristocracy. Sung was the name of a principality given to Wei tzü Ch'ü 微子啓 by king Wu 武 of Chou 周 after Yin had been destroyed, because Wei tzü Ch'ü was of the royal family of Yin. The remotest ancestor of Confucius would be king T'ang 湯 of Yin, the nearest, descendants of Wei tzü Ch'ü. Among these descendants were two who were well known for their virtue, but both of them had high titles. Mêng Hsi tzü got all this information concerning Confucius, but for 17 years kept it to himself, thinking that Confucius was still young and later the time would come when he would call him for state service. The years passed and it was in the seventeenth year after the course was held on rites and ceremonies that Mêng Hsi tzü died. When he felt that his end was near, he called his minister and spoke to him in detail about Confucius, saying that he had no doubt that Confucius would become prominent and that he would like his two sons to become disciples of Confucius. These are the two disciples mentioned above. Mêng I tzü and Nan kung Ching shu. At this time Confucius was 35 years of age. When he was fifteen he devoted himself to learning and but four years later was already noticed by Mêng Hsi tzü. That shows us that to his inherited superior talents Confucius added a profound devotion to learning. Thus, it was after 35 years of experience that he claimed to know the Decrees of Heaven.

What are these Decrees? I would say that during thirty five years Confucius made a strong effort to improve and train himself and the result was that he was conscious of a full endowment of Virtue. This consciousness was the result of his effort to practise "a profound belief in antiquity and an earnest seeking of the Way." That is all, and there is nothing more to say. But Confucius himself did not think about it in such a way. It is true the strong effort which he displayed was not done unconsciously and moreover it was not a mere habit or inertia. Confucius was clearly aware of it and, knowing it, believed in it. But he did not believe that he was provided with Virtue merely because of his personal effort. Why did he not believe it? This is not a problem which can be resolved by arguments, but, rather, a problem which concerns the feeling of Confucius himself. If we say Confucius himself did not believe thus, there is no possibility for other persons to argue against us. If we suppose that Confucius' Virtue did not depend exclusively on his personal effort, then naturally we come to the problem on what it did depend. Confucius believed himself that his Virtue depended on the grace of Heaven. Sometimes when Confucius speaks about Heaven he means an impersonal Heaven, but in this case it is a personal one, a Heaven which is the Lord of human beings. Heaven is the most equitable one and Confucius believed that it would not give its grace just to anybody. If this most equitable Heaven has given its grace to him there must be some special reason for it. From the remotest time there were not a few saints who had received the grace of Heaven. They all were representing Heaven and ruled people on account of Heaven. Moreover, the people were educated by them. But what was Heaven's aim? Confucius believed that the Doctrine was in obscurity and the Way unpractised for a long time because there had been no Saint for many hundreds of years since the death of Wên Wang 文王 and Chou Kung 周公, to whom Confucius in his heart paid deep veneration. Therefore, during many hundreds of years the people did not enjoy a quiet life. It is hardly possible that Heaven, the lord of human beings, himself profoundly human and virtuous, would conceal the Way, would let the world perish while he looked with indifference upon the people trusted to him who are unable to continue their lives. That is why Heaven finds and charges a suitable man to make clear the Way and to install peace for the sake of human life. I consider that Confucius was the man who received from Heaven such a mission. I think that Confucius believed himself that he was provided with the Virtue enabling him to be charged with this mission. And I think also that the meaning

of the phrase "to know the Decrees of Heaven" is nothing other than the profound belief of Confucius that a mission to clarify the Doctrine and to practise the Way was bestowed on him by Heaven

Now I shall try to give two or three reasons for such an interpretation. Confucius, leaving the state of Lu intended to go first to Wei 衛. When he came to a place called I 儀 on the border of this state an official of Wei asked to meet him, and through the disciples had a conversation. Just before going back this official said to the disciples "My friends, why are you distressed by your master's loss of office? The kingdom has long been without the principles of truth and right, Heaven is going to use your master as the bell with a wooden clapper"⁸ The words of this official during his conversation with Confucius must have profoundly affected the Master's self-confidence. During his travels Confucius went to Sung. When a high official there, a *ssü ma* 司馬 whose name was Huan T'ui 桓魋 tried to kill Confucius, the Master said "Heaven produced the virtue that is in one Huan T'ui—what can he do to me?"⁹ If there were no special reason for uttering such words, nobody would say them, otherwise, it would be mere boasting and bluff, of which Confucius was incapable. That is why I think that Confucius himself believed that he was invested with a mission from Heaven. In a place called K'uang 匡 the people, through a misunderstanding, attacked Confucius and he was in great danger, but, after the misunderstanding was cleared up, the matter was settled peaceably. At this time Confucius said, "After the death of king Wên was not the cause of truth lodged here [in me]? If Heaven had wished to let this cause of truth perish, then I, a future mortal should not have become associated with the cause of truth. While Heaven does not let the cause of truth perish, what can the people of K'uang do to me?"¹⁰ In this sentence the words "cause of truth" are the translation of the Chinese word *Wên* 文 which here means Way 道, and further when he says "This cause of truth" he means also this Way 斯道. King Wên died and the Way lodged in Confucius. He received the Way because Heaven did not like to let this Way perish. As long as Heaven did not let this Way perish, the life of Confucius would not be taken away by the people of K'uang. This phrase shows us clearly that Confucius had confidence in the mission which was lodged in him by Heaven. These three passages from the

⁸ *Lun yü*, Book III, ch. 24. LEGGE, p. 164

⁹ *Lun yü*, Book VII, ch. 22. LEGGE, p. 202

¹⁰ *Lun yü*, Book IX, ch. 5. LEGGE, pp. 217-218

Analects can be explained if we bear in mind the idea of a mission from Heaven, and I think that my explanation of this mission is correct. Yet how could this mission be carried out merely by clarifying the Way and by establishing education and peace in the government? To carry it out Confucius needed a rank *fu*, but a rank is something given, and not something that one seeks. Furthermore, a father's or a lord's order can not be left in suspense, still less the mission of Heaven! But to carry out this mission rank was needed. This was Confucius' dilemma, yet I think Confucius did not feel any uneasiness about it, because he thought he had to create himself the occasion to carry out his mission. He thought that, since the mission was lodged in him, Heaven would give him the opportunity also to carry it out. And I believe that Confucius, *thinking this, waited quietly the opportunity*. Three years after, as he expected and as I have already stated, he became a provincial official and had an opportunity to practise the Way on a small scale. The results being very good, he finally became a high official of the central government and had an opportunity to practise the Way in the State of Lu. But at this time the political conditions in Lu were not very favorable for practising the Way, and the first thing which Confucius had in mind was to improve and reform those conditions. He started his reform work and was near to achieving success when political conditions took such shape that he saw there was no hope of continuing, and he left Lu. As long as Confucius believed that he had received this mission from Heaven he had to try every means to carry it out and there was no reason to abandon it just because he was unable to do it in Lu. He felt that as long as he lived he ought to make an effort to carry out this mission. After his departure from Lu, he went to another state. But wherever he went he had no opportunity to practice the Way. Late in life he came back to Lu.

The Way is the Way of men and while human beings exist the Way ought to be explained. But the long effort of Confucius was not crowned with success, and feeling that he was unable to make known this Way during his lifetime, he thought that he ought to do it after his death, for if the doctrine of the Way were to be buried together with his body it would be unpardonable in the eyes of Heaven. That is why Confucius in the last years of his life compiled his works and left them to the world. If Confucius had had the opportunity to accomplish his aim and practise personally the Way, the whole country probably would then have been at peace. But in that case I think it would have been

impossible for Confucius to write his books and leave them to posterity. For this reason, even we who are not Chinese bask in his Virtue. The scholars of a later generation called him the uncrowned king 素王. Confucius felt that he must have a rank in order to carry out his mission, but he never thought of becoming a lord. He considered that in order to carry out his mission he had to assist a king. But here arises a problem, though Heaven lodged in him this mission, it did not give him the possibility of accomplishing it. Is this not a contradiction? Heaven's utter limitlessness and its aims cannot be measured and known by men. Therefore, even if we call it a contradiction we cannot blame or censure Heaven. Confucius had not the slightest doubt of the will of Heaven and, doing his best, reposed in the decrees of Heaven. He had no disappointment and no regret. No matter that during his life he was unable to explain clearly the Way, he had constantly the great aspiration that he would do it after his death.

If we do not explain the whole life of Confucius and his personality from the point of view of the phrase "to know the Decrees of Heaven," then we shall be unable to understand it. The life of Confucius took a new turn at fifty when he became confident of his mission from Heaven. This fact must be taken into consideration when we explain the life of the Sage. The personality of Confucius is very gracious, but it has a foundation of extraordinary power, and although cool and quiet it contains extraordinary zeal and enthusiasm. The origin of this power and of this zeal is nothing more than the confidence in his mission. If we do not understand the meaning of "to know the Decrees of Heaven" we cannot study Confucius. We cannot require that everybody study the Decrees of Heaven in the way in which Confucius believed in them, but if everyone, conforming to his position, would know the Decree of Heaven, would it not be sufficient to be a disciple of Confucius?

CHU HSI'S THEORY OF KNOWLEDGE

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If not an axiom, it is at least a reasonable presumption in the theory of knowledge that ways of knowing must vary with the nature of the objects to be known. The knowledge of colors and sounds occupies eye and ear as the knowledge of a mathematical theorem does not, knowledge of mental states, whether our own or those of others, calls for a quite different mode of attention, to which Bergson in recent years has given the name of intuition.

It is a direct application of this principle that if anything like mentality or purpose is a factor in the wider world, what we call 'scientific procedure' would not be likely to discern it. Such a factor might also elude 'intuition,' so far as this function is occupied with observing our own minds and with ordinary social intercourse. It would not be unreasonable to suppose that some disciplinary preparation of the organ of perception would be necessary in order to apprehend it.

This is the essential consideration accounting for much of the characteristic tenor of the theory of knowledge in Oriental thought. The arts of knowledge must be governed by the nature of the world we live in. Given a Hindu or a Buddhist type of metaphysics, then some form of Yoga, or physical moral propædæutic, would be a natural prerequisite for insight.

An excellent illustration of this is found in the paper on "Integration of Consciousness in Buddhism" contributed by Professor James H. Woods to the volume of "Indian Studies in Honor of Professor Charles Rockwell Lanman." The paper is based upon a passage in Dharmapala's comment on *Visuddhi Magga*¹ in which there is proposed a theory of the higher reaches of knowledge.

Preoccupied as a Buddhist must be with the fact of change, Dharmapala accepts the view that the passing events can have no substantial reality. "If we ascribe entity to them, we distort life." But, he reflects, change presupposes some unity, and what one seeks as the highest prize of

¹ Book vii, 203

knowledge is an insight into this unity. Now there is an ideal being, the Tathagata Buddha, to whom this unity is evident. The Tathagata is not disturbed by transition, he understands its laws. He perceives the numerous things in the world, and recognizes their attractive qualities, but knowing also their mortality, he is not tempted to seize on any of them as his good. he is like the lotus, not disattached, not swept away by the current, and yet on the other hand not fascinated, not under illusion, unspotted by the world. he overcomes the world by comprehending it.

But of what value to the ordinary mortal is this ideal insight of an ideal being? It is this, according to Dharmapala, that the ordinary being, without reaching for himself a final fullness of insight, may discern the Tathagata, and thus be assured that the final attainment he seeks, is indeed possible, because it has been reached. But how is one to discern the Tathagata? Clearly not by the senses, nor by the ordinary means of observation. A prior self discipline is required, consciousness must be 'integrated', and to this end a rigorous self control must run through all behavior.

Without the control of conduct no equipoised mental events. Without poise no insight. When one discerns the order of things one discerns Him. When one discerns Him one is aware of the coherence of existence.

One is presumably looking for objective knowledge,—highly general knowledge, to be sure, but definitely within the realm of objective truth,—How do things ultimately cohere? In the path of this quest, we have this curious interposition of the Tathagata, whom, it is said, we must first know. This to us cryptic proposal may be interpreted, in terms of more general categories, somewhat as follows.

Things and events are not merely additive items whose sum makes up the world, science reveals them as parts of a single system, Nature. Now 'Nature' is a term of hope, rather than of scientific achievement, the final synthesis of the laws of change is never reached. Before we reach this elusive physical unity, the question recurs which in western thought we supposed we had banished—perhaps the ultimate order of things is less an order of fact than an order of meaning or value! We appear driven to assume a teleological structure in things as a condition of completing our scientific labor. The Buddhist, never wholly succumbing to anthropomorphism, provides this teleological element by invoking a quasi personal being as a symbol of the nature of the final coherence of things, and then develops a special branch of his theory of knowledge for the perception of this being.

In this generalized form, the doctrine of Dharmapala is typical of a widespread tendency in Oriental theory of knowledge. It appears, strongly marked, in Chu Hsi, in whom strands of Buddhist thought fuse with a vigorous re-interpretation of Confucianism. It is of peculiar interest in his case, because this remarkable thinker of the twelfth century, the most systematic of Chinese philosophers, was also closer than any other before our own century to an anticipation of what we now call 'scientific method' and tend to invoke as the whole of wisdom in the business of knowing.

I. CHU HSI AS RATIONALIST AND AS EMPIRICIST

Dr. Hu Shih has designated the period running roughly from 1100 to 1600 A. D. as the Rationalist Age of Chinese Philosophy, including therein both Chu Hsi and Wang Yang-ming 王陽明. The contrast implied in the term 'rationalistic' is a contrast with the mystical tendency of the Buddhist schools, particularly the Ch'an 禪 school, which sought for its followers a sudden, personal, ineffable enlightenment. In reaction against this esoteric obsession which had begun to appear to Chinese common sense as a meaningless mystification, the Sung Confucianists went boldly at the business of presenting an explicit system of the world,—a system which reason could aid in discovering as well as in expressing and defending.

This does not mean, however, that to the Sung Confucianists the universe could be reasoned out without appeal to experience. And as between Chu Hsi and Wang Yang-ming, Chu Hsi might fairly be described as an empiricist. In his theory of knowledge he repeatedly insists on the necessity of much observation as a basis for any important insight into 'principles'. It was in this sense that he interpreted the demand of "*The Great Learning*" for the "*investigation of things*".

He gives many evidences of being himself a keen observer of nature. His notes on the likeness and differences between man and the other animals are remarkable.

In our sense of heat and cold, of hunger and repletion, in the love of life and shrinking from death, and in the instinctive seeking for what will benefit and shunning of what will be prejudicial,—all this is common to man with other creatures. (But) the diversity of Law is seen in the existence among ants and bees of the relation between sovereign and minister in which there is manifested no more than a gleam of Righteousness, or in the existence among wolves

and tigers of the relation between parent and child in which there is manifested no more than a gleam of Love²

It is not the case that man as the being possessed of the highest intellect, stands alone in the universe. His mind is also the mind of birds and beasts of grass and trees. Man, however, 'is born endowed with the *Mean* the attribute of Heaven and Earth.'³

Chu Hsi quotes the last sentence from Yang Kuei shan (1053-1135). The sagacity of the passage may be measured not alone by its easy acceptance of biological continuity underlying difference, but by its identification of the differentia of man. Biologically, as we now see, the peculiarity of man turns out to be the *balance* which exists among his instinctive propensities,⁴ a balance which fits him for hesitation and reflection and thus for the influence of ideas upon his behavior. As the Sung philosophers expressed it, very accurately, he "is endowed with the *Mean*"

Chu Hsi observes things not solely for the sake of collecting interesting items of information, but for the sake of discerning the 'principles' they embody. This also is wholly in accord with the spirit of empirical science. It has much in common with Bacon's interest in discovering the 'forms' of phenomena, through the collecting and tabulating of instances of likeness and difference. Chu Hsi presents no rules for discovering the 'principles', there is nothing in his work corresponding to the 'methods of induction' of Bacon or Mill. It is well to remember, however, that these methods are not what their name implies, since no rule for induction has ever been given by any logician. The various methods, so called, are merely ways of assembling phenomena in the hope that relationships may become salient, but the perception of those relationships is still a work of mother wit, for which no rules can be given. Chu Hsi simply insists that all effort to observe must be attended by thought.

In the 'investigation of things' and the 'perfecting of knowledge' even though the response to environment be natural and easy, how can there be neglect of thought in approaching any matter?

In what sense, then, can Chu Hsi be regarded as a 'rationalist'? He

² 'Conversations' J. P. BRUCE *Philosophy of Human Nature by Chu Hsi* 58f. This invaluable book which will be much referred to will be designated hereafter as *P H N*.

³ BRUCE *P H N* 61.

⁴ HOCKING *Human Nature and its Remaking* p. 65.

⁵ BRUCE, *P H N* 265.

sought 'principles' and a system of them—so does every scientist. But Chu Hsi may deserve the name rationalist in this sense, that he leaps at once to the ultimate principles. His intermediate structure of classified knowledge is very sketchy. And in the 'principles' which he finds, there is reason to believe that his eyes have been guided by another than the scientific mode of vision.

I need do no more than recall what some of these 'principles' are. What he finds in every living thing is a union of the primary duality, *Li* 理 and *Ch'i* 氣, Life-charter and Substance, neither of which can exist without the other. *Ch'i* (which Bruce translates *Ether*) is a subtle all-pervasive quasi-material entity, capable of local variation, of degrees of density and of resistance to the pure control of the spiritual principle, *Li*. So far, this is not a bad set of categories for scientific use, especially if we translate *Li*, with Bruce, as 'Law'. But *Li* has a pedigree which may disqualify it. It must be understood as one of four manifestations of the Ultimate Being, these four to be taken in a descending order. They are *T'ien* 天, Heaven; *Ming* 命, Heaven's Decree, which is at the same time the Vocation, *Bestimmung*,⁶ of the creature; *Hsing* 性, the Nature of the thing; *Li* 理, the individualized embodiment of the Nature, i.e., the Life-charter of the individual being. *T'ien* and *Ming* can be regarded as the active, transmitting function, *Hsing* and *Li* as the receiving function. These functions are two aspects of the same continuous activity: for Heaven is always engaged in its decreeing of destiny, and things are always showing signs of an impressed Law, the *Hsing* or Nature of the species, contained in the *Li* or Life rule of the individual. This activity and this receptiveness, taken together, constitute what we may call the life of *T'ien*, or the manifestation of *Tao* 道, the Ultimate Order of the World, which for Chu Hsi is a moral order.

With this pedigree, *Li* can hardly fail to be less a biological Life-charter (though it is this) than a moral Life-charter, an admonition of what the individual ought to become as a moral being.⁷ It is this

⁶ Zenker's translation. The German term here seems peculiarly apt.

⁷ The translation 'Law' for *Li* is defective since it fails to convey the individualized quality, which for Chu Hsi is characteristic. In this respect, 'Charter' is better.

Zenker's term 'Form' is still wider of the mark, though he defends it in a learned footnote (*Geschichte der chinesischen Philosophie* II Bd., S 253 n). He seems to me quite right in rejecting McClatchie's translation as Fate, though this too may carry the needed individualized connotation. But he appears to overlook the fact that the *Li* of Chu Hsi's cosmology is intentionally distinguished

alteration from the factual to the ethical point of regard, in his list of 'principles' that gives them, from the scientific quarter, an *a priori* character; in this sense we may provisionally accept the epithet 'rationalist' for his epistemological attitude. We shall return to this question in our third section. For the moment, let me point out further relations between Chu Hsi's theory of knowledge and the current conception of 'scientific method.'

from the Li of common usage. It is quite a different character. The Li of common use, which Legge translates 'propriety,' is 禮, the cosmic Li of Chu Hsi is 理. Chu Hsi uses Li in its usual sense in his traditional list of the cardinal virtues, commonly translated Love, Righteousness, Reverence, Wisdom. The term for Love is Jen 仁, more accurately translated Fraternity or Human Reciprocity, the term for Reverence is Li 禮, a sensitive regard for the fitness of things verging toward etiquette in social observance, or the good form which arises from perfect tact. This is clearly a quality of the subject, whereas the Li which is received through the heavenly activity is for the subject an objective reality. Zenker's effort to unite 'propriety' with the cosmic Li is thus radically mistaken. If 'Form' were to be used for Li, it would have to be in the strictly objective Aristotelian sense, and with a note of obligation which Aristotle's Form does not convey.

On the evolution of the concept of Li, I may quote parts of a letter from Professor Lin Tsai Ping, March 1932.

"The Confucianists of the Han Dynasty usually explained the word 'Li' by 'T'iao li' (order, system), or 'Wen li' (streaks). For instance, Ch'eng Hsuan in his commentary on Li Chi 禮記 (the Book of Rites) said 'Li' means 'Fèn' or division (classification?). And Hsu Shên 許慎 in his *Shuo Wen* Etymological Study of the Chinese Language said 'The original signification of Li means to work on jade.' Tuan Yü tsai in his commentary on *Shuo Wen* said 'Li means to divide and analyze.' Chang Hsing fu in a book called *Shuo Wen Fa I* said 'Originally Li means to work on jade' and the words 'Shun' (obedient) and 'Shih' (right) are both defined by the word 'Li.' So we can see that 'Li' means order or system.

"Then in the Book of Rites, in the chapter on Music there is a sentence which reads like this:

"When Li is externally manifest (in the conduct of the ruler), the people never fail to accept and follow him' (Li Chi, p. 63, l. 10).

"Ch'eng Hsuan in his commentary explained the above in this way: 'Li here means that which regulates conduct.' In these words we can see that 'Li' here is made to mean behavior (etiquette), and in reality this import is still derived from the sense of 'order, system and streaks,' and therefore they are objective."

(The word 'streaks' which occurs in Professor Lin's exposition refers to the fine lines of cleavage just faintly visible in jade, indicating its structure, and guiding the tool of the workman.)

"As to the relation of 'Li' with the mind, there is a passage in Mencius, saying:

II CHU HSI AND SCIENTIFIC METHOD

Science, in its present guise, is both empirical and rationalist; we have come to recognize that these two contrasting directions of thought are not incompatible. And Chu Hsi, as we have seen, buzzes close to the idea of a scientific investigation. His insistence that there can be no Li without Ch'i,—or very roughly speaking no Form without Matter,—hence no 'Pure Form' in the Aristotelian sense, directs his attention always to the 'things'. It is always in *rebus* that ideas and principles of order have to become manifest. This is the essence of the empirical spirit.

But the motivation of Chu Hsi is not the motivation of modern science

“What do the minds of men agree in approving?

They agree in approving Li and Yi (rightness).’

“The significance of ‘Li’ in ethics can be seen from the passage in the chapter on Music in Li Chi, which reads

“There is no limit to the influence exerted on men by things. When man fails to control his likings and aversions, “things” dominate him, and he becomes as it were transmuted into a “thing.” When man has become thus transfigured he has extinguished in himself the heavenly Li, and impoverished his own desires’ (p. 47, l. 6)

“The Confucianists of the Sung Dynasty accepted all the three meanings of Li above mentioned. They frequently mentioned Li and Yu (desire) side by side as antithetical.

“The new interpretation of ‘Li’ introduced by them is this. They gave it a metaphysical signification, but at the same time did not regard it as a transcendental entity beyond the physical phenomenon. The various interpretations given it may be classified in two categories

“(1) ‘Li’ means the intrinsic nature of things or why things are what they are. For instance, Chêng I said, ‘All that appear before our eyes are things, and everything has its “Li.” This is the reason why fire is warm and water is cold. It is also “Li” that makes the particular relations between fathers and sons, kings and their subjects what they are.’ Chu Hsi said

“There is nothing in the universe but motion and quiescence alternately following one another without interruption. This is called ‘I’ (change). And there must be a Li governing this motion and quiescence. This is the so-called Tai Ch’i (the Great Absolute).’

“(2) ‘Li’ means ‘what ought to be.’ For instance, Lu Chiu Yuan said

“We are endowed with everything and nothing is wanting. So if occasion calls for compassion we would naturally show our compassion and when occasions require us to feel ashamed, we would naturally feel ashamed.”

“In conclusion I wish to point out the fact that although there are quite a number of interpretations for the idea ‘Li’ expounded by the Chinese philosophers yet all of them emphasize the objectivity of ‘Li.’ Whether I am right in this opinion, I submit it.”

Bacon—typical here of the scientific spirit,—sought principles for the sake of the control of nature. Chu Hsi was interested not at all in the mastery of nature, but rather in self mastery and the right ordering of life. There is a strain of almost Buddhistic finesse in his persistent efforts for the precise definitions of his leading categories, but, for him, as for the Orient generally, neither science nor metaphysics is pure theory,—detached speculation, they are an integral part of the definition of a right way of life.

This carries with it another difference. 'Scientific knowledge' as we understand it today, has a peculiar relation to a democratic organization of society. It belongs to every man. For scientific knowledge must be verifiable, that is to say, anyone who can comply with the conditions of observation may discover its truth for himself. No peculiar genius, no esoteric insight, no aesthetic or moral preparation are demanded in order to note an eclipse or to determine the effect of carbon on the tensile strength of steel. Hence the important truths of science lend themselves to dissemination through the schools, they become popular possessions. Wherever there are new national systems of education, 'scientific knowledge' is playing, and should play, an increasing rôle.

The traditional scholarship of China and India stood in strong contrast to this. Not only did it demand peculiar gifts, but in many of its higher reaches, as we have seen, it called for a special moral discipline. One who achieved it set himself apart from other men. Not that others were forbidden to follow—on the contrary, at least in China the way stood open to all—but it was recognized that the excellent things were in their nature difficult, and therefore rare. Scholarship became the mark of an aristocratic group.

Now to Chu Hsi and his school belongs the signal merit of showing China a way out of this invidious contrast. Chu Hsi holds to the aristocratic tradition in this sense that he in no degree mitigates the difficulty of knowing the special objects with which he is concerned. Since ethical conditions are involved, they cannot be put on the scientific highroad.

But he also saw that unless scientific truth is the whole truth—as it is not—it will not of itself satisfy any human mind. For no truth is sufficient for men or nations but the whole truth. The obvious utility of scientific knowledge, and its easy spread through a democratic society, would constitute no reason for displacing any sort of valid knowledge—ethical, metaphysical, aesthetic, literary, psychological—which may lie outside the scientific border.

The issue, then, is whether this further knowledge can be made generally accessible. This Chu Hsi believes possible. The importance of this position will justify a separate and closer examination of the ethical conditions of knowing as conceived by him.

III THE ETHICAL CONDITIONS OF INSIGHT

The severe strictures upon Buddhism which abound in the writing of Chu Hsi may be a measure of how much he was influenced by Buddhism. He frequently directs his shafts against those practices of meditation, or 'still sitting,' which especially characterized the Ch'an school.

This school, which in Chu Hsi's time was the chief vehicle of the 'Nothingness' cult of the Prajna paramita tradition, had transformed the notion of the Yoga. In its original form Yoga could be roughly described as an intense effort to create the conditions for perfect mental self-control, beginning with a thoroughgoing muscular control of the body. The Ch'an school made of it an art of mental self-cancellation, attempting to induce an attitude of fortunate receptivity in which a sudden uncommandable enlightenment may occur,—an enlightenment in which the emptiness at the heart of all phenomena is transparently manifest. The kinship between this ideal and the paradoxical Nothingness of Tao has been frequently pointed out, and the teachers of the Ch'an sect, said to have received thanks from their students for "having taught them Nothing" are not far from the Taoist picture of the sage, who "conveys by silence his instruction." Hu Shih regards Ch'an Buddhism as the beginning of the Chinese conquest—both by assimilation and by reduction to emptiness—of Buddhism, the invading metaphysical monster.

Chu Hsi, however, is not prepared wholly to dismiss the meaning of meditation. Consider his criticisms and observe what remains.

Its physical aspects he regards with undisguised disfavor. Still-sitting is simply incompatible with a useful life, and there is something abnormal if not ludicrous in the bodily rigor

Consider the teachings of the Buddhists on rigid posture and hard discipline,—holding a dusting brush with the hands erect, carrying water and fuel. "4

The mental direction is wrong: the meditators are concentrated on themselves, they are aiming at complete self-transparency, but the true object of knowledge is the outside world.

The 'heart' here appears as individual mind and also as cosmic mind. It would not be unjust to Chu Hsi to suggest that his conception of the cosmic rôle of Mind is comparable with that of the "Heart of Bodhi" in this Sutra, nor is it far away from the generalized function of the Tathagata, as we drew it at the outset from the passage discussed by Professor Woods. Indeed, Chu Hsi, in trying to express how the One appears in the many things, makes use of the common Buddhist Hindu simile of the moonlight on the water.

As the heart of the Tathagata is not born and does not perish it mirrors itself in all things as the moon on the water.¹²

With these substantial agreements in the quasi mental nature of the cosmos, in its secondary categories, there might be expected to be *rapprochement* in the corresponding theory of knowledge.

At first glance, this *rapprochement* is not marked. We find Chu Hsi falling back on pre-Buddhistic imagery in his effort to indicate a method for the knowledge of the 'principles', he makes a great deal of the quantitative and spatial notion of "extending the mind" which he finds suggested in Mencius, and in the Doctrine of the Mean.

Mencius had said "By developing our mind to the utmost, we understand our own nature and know Heaven." In the Doctrine of the Mean it is said that "When the mind is enlarged it can enter into everything throughout the universe. The mind of the man of the world rests within the narrow limits of the senses."¹⁴ Chu Hsi so thoroughly adopts this figure as to say that "All other distinctions are lost in this distinction between greatness and littleness."¹⁵ His notion of the mental is through out strongly tinged with the physical. The word 'spiritual,' which implies perhaps the farthest remove from the material is still, with him, a matter of ethereal fineness as of a ghostly body, rather than a matter of pure thought. Consider this passage:

The Mind is most spiritual. So fine is it that it penetrates the very point of a hair or the smallest blade of grass and I become conscious of them. So great is it that there is not a single place from nadir to zenith or within the four points of the compass where it is not present. (Then with an analogous assertion of extension in time which does not involve the physicalizing of mentality.) Back through the countless ages of the past or forward through the unknown periods of future time my thought reaches to the end of them the very moment it pro-

¹² *Ghanavyūha Sūtra* quoted by H. HACKMANN *op cit* 347

¹⁴ BRUCE P. H. N. 178

¹⁵ *Ibid*

ceeds from my Mind. It is unfathomable in its spiritual intelligence, most in tangible, most spiritual and marvellous in its orderliness! ¹⁶

This is only to say that Chu Hsi—as is not surprising—is pre Cartesian in his categories. He has not made the radical distinction between the mental and the non mental. In the eyes of certain contemporary philosophers, who consider that Descartes did his cleavages too well, this may rank as a merit. I believe, however, that while the Cartesian dualism, like all other dualisms, has to be overcome, the cleavage can only be cured by being first clearly seen, so that the Cartesian stage has been gone through in every philosophical tradition, sooner or later. In any case, the first conception of metaphysical knowledge which we find in Chu Hsi is that of a semi physical penetration of the object, a sort of outward expansion of the mental reach, very swift if not instantaneous.

But Chu Hsi is not bound by the letter of his own metaphors. He had gone too far with Buddhism to be a contented naturalist in his theory of knowledge. In the 'enlargement of the mind' there is a qualitative change to be achieved. It carries with it an ethical 'enlargement,' an attainment of 'magnanimity,' of freedom from petty self absorption or self-concern. His predecessor, Chou Tun-i, had already indicated as stages in the Knower's Progress, a series of formidable personal attainments,—'nobility,' 'sagehood,' 'sainthood,' heavenly character,—which perhaps may have served as a fair exoteric substitute for the ten stages of elevation devised by esoteric Buddhism as a condition for final insight. But with his gift for finding the central things in the psychology of character, Chu Hsi was less concerned with the stages than with the essential quality running through them all. This quality is Sincerity or Truthfulness, the unselfishness of the mind. Confucius had remarked that without Sincerity, neither Righteousness nor Propriety had any grounding, and on this account we often find Sincerity appended as a fifth to the traditional scheme of four virtues. To Chu Hsi, however (as for Gandhi), Truthfulness is not so much another virtue as the soil in which any virtue whatever must grow, and any progress in attaining objective truth.

The enemy of clear insight, he frequently designates simply as 'desire,' which is consistently opposed to 'Li.'

When man's mind is empty and still it will follow naturally that it is pure and clear. When it is clouded by creaturely desire it is sunk in the deepest darkness.

They indeed observe and contemplate the Mind, and yet with it all, we can not in their company attain to the moral ideal of Yao and Shun, simply because, not recognizing the Divine Law, they regard Mind alone as ruler, and thus there is no security against falling into selfishness. This accords with a saying of our predecessors that the sages regard Heaven, the Buddhists regard Mind, as the foundation of things.*

In an almost Kantian turn of thought, he condemns the effort to learn of the Mind (if that were our object) by direct introspection, for this would suppose that there are two Minds, one to observe and one to be observed,—“as if the mouth were to gnaw the mouth, or the eye to gaze at itself”

The certainty of a development of selfishness in this self absorption seems to Chu Hsi clearly to defeat whatever moral purpose it may entertain. “The selfishness of ordinary men, and the self concentration of the Buddhist, are one and the same selfishness.”**

But the chief difficulty is in their misconception of the object to be known. It is one thing to direct the effort of knowledge to a transcendent absolute, another to direct it to a self which dissolves into nothingness, still another to direct it to the ‘principles’ which are in the things. It is only the last which is legitimate. When meditation ends in a trance, and cannot say what it perceives, it acknowledges itself to be on a false scent.

“‘By the art of Meditation to enter Tao’ means that when thought reaches the point that its stream is cut off, Divine Law is perfectly manifested. This again is incorrect. True thought is Divine Law, its continuous flow and operation are nothing else than the manifestation of Divine Law. How can it be that we are to wait till the stream of thought is cut off before Divine Law is manifested? If the Buddhist really apprehends Divine Law, why must he act contrary to and confuse, cut off, and destroy all these, beclouding his own mind, and losing his true knowledge of himself?”***

This is beautifully clear and emphatic. It expresses Chu Hsi’s predilection for the concrete, for knowing things *in rebus*. He can quite properly appeal to Mencius for a much directer statement of the necessary ethical prelude to knowledge, “Hold fast the Mind, and preserve it,”—by which Chu Hsi understands “not that we are to sit in rigid posture and preserve a manifestly useless intelligence” (or to reduce

* *Ibid*

** BAUCE P II A 254

*** BAUCE, P II A, 301 f

intelligence to uselessness), but rather "not allowing the doings of the day to fetter and destroy the natural goodness of the virtuous nature"

But these criticisms of meditation are not by any means a complete view of Chu Hsi's actual theory

For in the first place, his metaphysics is not so far from the positive aspects of the contemporary Buddhism as from the negations of the Ch'an school. He, too, had his mysterious and absolute unity, the T'ai Ch'i of his predecessors which "is called the Infinite, because it has no relation to Space and Form. It penetrates the entire universe so that there is nothing in which it is not, yet no one hears the sound of its voice: it is invisible and not to be perceived by any of the senses"¹¹. There are at least two ways of dealing with an unnameable Absolute, one is to put oneself into an equally unnameable state of mind, plunge into the dark, and emerge speechless. The other is to acknowledge the existence of this ultimate unity, and the experience thereof, the *taihati* of the Buddhist, and then, since one can do no more with them, give one's attention to the plural aspects of the world. Chu Hsi prefers the latter alternative: he indicates the place for a monistic resolution of his cosmic dualism of Li and Ch'i, and then occupies himself with the plurality of *second principles*. Among these second principles in some what ambiguous relations to the rest, is Mind in general, Hsin 心, which corresponds in the universe to the Mind of the individual man. Of this Mind we see clearly only this, that it is referred to repeatedly, following the dictum of Shao Yung (1011-1077), as the *envelope* (or Platonic Receptacle?) of the Nature, Hsing

Compare now with this vague conception, a few lines from the Suran gamma Sutra, one of the earliest known in China in which the Tathagata Buddha is represented as speaking to a great assemblage, expounding the nature of the Universe. Two things appear to them through his discourse: first, that

Each one's heart is coextensive with the universe: seeing clearly the empty character of the universe as plainly as a leaf or trifling thing in the hand and, second

That all things in the universe are all alike merely the excellently bright and primeval heart of Bodhi: and that this Heart is universally diffused and comprehends all things within itself.¹²

¹¹ Heinrich HACKMANN *Chinesische philosophie* 346 f

¹² S. BEAL, *A Catalogue of Buddhist Scriptures from the Chinese* 343

The 'heart' here appears as individual mind and also as cosmic mind. It would not be unjust to Chu Hsi to suggest that his conception of the cosmic rôle of Mind is comparable with that of the "Heart of Bodhi" in this Sutra, nor is it far away from the generalized function of the Tathagata, as we drew it at the outset from the passage discussed by Professor Woods. Indeed, Chu Hsi, in trying to express how the One appears in the many things, makes use of the common Buddhist Hindu simile of the moonlight on the water.

As the heart of the Tathagata is not born and does not perish it mirrors itself in all things as the moon on the water.¹²

With these substantial agreements in the quasi mental nature of the cosmos, in its secondary categories, there might be expected to be *rapprochement* in the corresponding theory of knowledge.

At first glance, this *rapprochement* is not marked. We find Chu Hsi falling back on pre-Buddhistic imagery in his effort to indicate a method for the knowledge of the 'principles', he makes a great deal of the quantitative and spatial notion of "extending the mind" which he finds suggested in Mencius, and in the Doctrine of the Mean.

Mencius had said "By developing our mind to the utmost, we understand our own nature and know Heaven." In the Doctrine of the Mean it is said that "When the mind is enlarged it can enter into everything throughout the universe. The mind of the man of the world rests within the narrow limits of the senses."¹⁴ Chu Hsi so thoroughly adopts this figure as to say that "All other distinctions are lost in this distinction between greatness and littleness."¹⁵ His notion of the mental is through out strongly tinged with the physical. The word 'spiritual,' which implies perhaps the farthest remove from the material is still, with him, a matter of ethereal fineness as of a ghostly body, rather than a matter of pure thought. Consider this passage:

The Mind is most spiritual. So fine is it that it penetrates the very point of a hair, or the smallest blade of grass and I become conscious of them. So great is it that there is not a single place from nadir to zenith or within the four points of the compass where it is not present. (Then with an analogous assertion of extension in time which does not involve the physicalizing of mentality.) Back through the countless ages of the past or forward through the unknown periods of future time my thought reaches to the end of them the very moment it pro-

¹² *Ghanavyūha Sūtra* quoted by И ПАСКОВИЧ op cit 347

¹⁴ *Huac* P II A 178

¹⁵ *Ibid*

ceeds from my Mind. It is unfathomable in its spiritual intelligence most in tangible most spiritual and marvellous in its orderliness! ¹⁴

This is only to say that Chu Hsi—as is not surprising—is pre Cartesian in his categories he has not made the radical distinction between the mental and the non mental. In the eyes of certain contemporary philosophers, who consider that Descartes did his cleavages too well, this may rank as a merit. I believe, however, that while the Cartesian dualism, like all other dualisms, has to be overcome, the cleavage can only be cured by being first clearly seen, so that the Cartesian stage has been gone through in every philosophical tradition, sooner or later. In any case, the first conception of metaphysical knowledge which we find in Chu Hsi is that of a semi physical penetration of the object, a sort of outward expansion of the mental reach, very swift if not instantaneous.

But Chu Hsi is not bound by the letter of his own metaphors. He had gone too far with Buddhism to be a contented naturalist in his theory of knowledge. In the 'enlargement of the mind' there is a qualitative change to be achieved: it carries with it an ethical 'enlargement'—an attainment of 'magnanimity,' of freedom from petty self absorption or self concern. His predecessor, Chou Tun-i, had already indicated as stages in the Knower's Progress, a series of formidable personal attainments,—'nobility,' 'sagehood,' 'sainthood'—heavenly character,—which perhaps may have served as a fair exoteric substitute for the ten stages of elevation devised by esoteric Buddhism as a condition for final insight. But with his gift for finding the central things in the psychology of character, Chu Hsi was less concerned with the stages than with the essential quality running through them all. This quality is Sincerity or Truthfulness—the unselfishness of the mind. Confucius had remarked that without Sincerity, neither Righteousness nor Propriety had any grounding, and on this account we often find Sincerity appended as a fifth to the traditional scheme of four virtues. To Chu Hsi however (as for Gandhi), Truthfulness is not so much another virtue as the soil in which any virtue whatever must grow, and any progress in attaining objective truth.

The enemy of clear insight, he frequently designates simply as 'desire,' which is consistently opposed to 'Li.'

When man's mind is empty and still it will follow naturally that it is pure and clear. When it is clouded by creaturely desire, it is sunk in the deepest darkness.

¹⁴ BURCE, P. H. N. 170 1

The Mind is essentially formless spirit, all laws are complete within it, and all phenomena come within the sphere of its knowledge. In these days, people are for the most part perverted by their physical nature, and beclouded by creaturely desire. Thus their minds are darkened, and they are unable to perfect knowledge.

The Mind is not like a horizontal door which has to be made larger by force. You must clear away the obstructions arising from creaturely desire, and then it will be pure and clear, with no limit to its knowledge. In investigating the principles of phenomena, there will be free communion.¹⁷

Sometimes the enemy is specified as the desire for gain.

Though there is no one who does not possess this Mind, most men know only the desire for gain till the Mind becomes completely submerged in it.¹⁸

But for the most part, it is designated as 'egoism,' as in the following passage, typical of many.

In the passage, 'When the mind is enlarged it can enter into everything throughout the universe,' the expression 'enter into' is like what is spoken of as 'the universal embodiment of Love in actions' and means that the principle of the mind permeates everywhere like the blood circulates in the body. If there is a single thing into which it does not enter its permeation is incomplete, and it fails perfectly to embrace all things which is egoism. For selfishness produces separation between the ego and the non ego, so that they stand opposed the one to the other.¹⁹

In all this, however, Chu Hsi makes no recommendation to abandon the world, nor to uproot desire. He does not propose that the craving for individuality is the root cause of all suffering and of ignorance. Selfishness has to be overcome, but not the Self. The natural state of the mind is not selfish. Our nature is our 'Li,' and the cure of selfishness is the return to our original quality, which is out turned and absorbed in the object. It is true that desires are to be feared, and to be kept under perpetual vigilance. "whether great or small there must be no carelessness with regard to any of them." One who aspires to the highest knowledge will resemble the ascetic, he will "make desires few", he may emulate saint T'ang who "did not come within the sound of lewd music, nor approach dissolute women, nor seek to accumulate property or money."²⁰ But the word in regard to desire on which Chu Hsi ends is the Confucian word 'Watchfulness,' not the Buddhist word 'Extinction'.

Chu Hsi himself was not insensitive to the fact that in thus committing himself to the sober and continuous discipline of human nature, he lost

¹⁷ BRUCE, P. II \, 177, 166-161

¹⁸ BRUCE, P. II \, 180

¹⁹ BRUCE, P. II \

²⁰ BRUCE, P. II \, 166 f

the inherent charm of the demand for radical reform His philosophy draws no sharp lines and calls for no crises in the life of insight. He does go so far toward recognizing the validity of such sudden illumination as the Ch'an devotees sought and professed to find, as to see in the 'return' to the original clarity of the Mind an operation 'profound and mysterious' and manifold in its varieties

The first thought of repentance and turning toward goodness which arises in the midst of darkness—this is a 'return.' The sudden awakening from sleep is a picture of the 'return' Or when the repression of the moral principle in man having reached its climax there is a sudden clearing of the channel this again is a 'return' The principle has countless transformations and wherever you find it it is always profound and mysterious²¹

Sudden enlightenment, then, is not excluded but insight is more likely to arrive through the path of induction, as a late sequel of the prolonged 'investigation of things' and of the persistent struggle against selfishness

It may not be amiss to remark that, in this point, Chu Hsi stands nearer to the spirit of original Buddhism than to that of the Buddhism of his own environment For the whole point of the Noble Eightfold Path is that it constitutes an ethical interlude in the quest for Nirvana "Right Views, Right Effort, Right Livelihood" these are the media in which an unselfish habit is to be built up, how far such habit has actually destroyed the root of illusion,—this is to be tested only occasionally, by "Right Meditation" The life of the early Buddhist thus naturally fell into a rhythm or alternation of out going and introspective activities,²² an alternation whose necessity is suggested here and there by phrases of the great Chinese sage

This ethical preparation for knowledge is very far removed from the preparation by which a typical rationalist, like Spinoza, may be conceived to draw up his list of axioms and definitions It is not a search for self evident premises It is a cultivation of a finer degree of receptivity to the realities operating in the given world It is, then, a development of empiricism, rather than of rationalism, an empiricism which pays careful respect to the conditions under which alone the subtler and deeper aspects of the universe can be apprehended To this extent I must venture to present a caveat to Hu Shih's classification of our philosopher

²¹ *Barce, P II 3*, 170

²² On the principle of alternation cf Hocking *Types of Philosophy* pp 210 415 419

IV CHU HSI AND CONTEMPORARY THEORY OF KNOWLEDGE

Chu Hsi uses two metaphors in regard to the knowledge of things. One is that knowledge is a sort of response, a response which ought to be universal. The other is that of penetration of the object. In the passage above quoted, the Mind in knowing is figured as permeating things everywhere as the blood in circulating permeates the body. There is an 'entering into' things, which is said to resemble an infusion of Love into action.

In this metaphor, one is immediately reminded of Bergson's language in describing intuition, which in contrast to scientific knowledge,—abstract, analytical, relative, adopting points of view from outside,—is concrete and absolute, 'entering into the object' and 'coinciding with its essence'. Bruce repeatedly and aptly calls attention to the kinship of these two conceptions.²³

Now Bergson did not at first regard intuition as subject to ethical conditions. On the contrary, what he later described as deliverances of intuition, namely knowledge of Time and of the Self, he at first described as "*Les données immédiates de la conscience*," an unavoidable sort of perception. In the article of 1903, "*Introduction à la métaphysique*," he had decided upon the word 'intuition' to designate this special mode of knowledge, and he there described it as a 'sympathetic intelligence,' in which the element of feeling is implied. It is a sort of living out beyond oneself, an attaining of immediate *rapprochement* with the living objects, which called, as he then saw, for an effort contrary 'to the natural slope of the mind!' And this effort, he suggested, might even extend so far as to attain awareness of the principle of unity in things.

But it is chiefly in his theory of art that the ethical factor becomes manifest (*Le Rire*, III). Here he represents the artist as metaphysician who reaches by intuitive perception into the nature of living objects. This perception is due to a sort of accident of birth,—the artist is endowed with a non-utilitarian streak in his consciousness of things, at least at one corner of his experience,—optical, auditory,—he is emancipated from the pragmatic obsession, the technical interest which attends all scientific observation. He is 'disinterested'. Thus art appears to Bergson as a mode of reporting metaphysical insight, and the insight itself appears to be based on a kind of congenital unselfishness in one spot of human nature.

²³ BRUCE, P. II V. 61 n. *Chu Hsi and his Masters* 53 n., 251.

This power of intuition, then, would be irregularly distributed in the race, and among objects, it would apply only where there are living things which have an 'inside' to be sympathetically apprehended. If there be in the world, as Bergson supposes, a realm of mechanism, the ashes of dead life, there intuitive sympathy would have no application. Pragmatic knowledge would be appropriate.²⁴ But Chu Hsi, though he has a reputation of being a dualist, has no such realm of inanimate matter: he carries his attribution of life and even of degrees of consciousness throughout the universe much in the spirit of Fechner, Paulsen, Whitehead. Hence he allows no exceptions in behalf of pragmatically interested modes of knowing. All penetration into the realities of things requires a moral objectivity whose essence is unselfishness.

Let the mind go so that it may be broad and tranquil and it will be enlarged. Do not let it be prepossessed by the divisive influence of selfish thought and it will be enlarged.²⁵

As compared with Bergson, then, Chu Hsi has far more for his ethically sensitized intuition to perceive. And because of this he would further disagree with Bergson in his view of the nature of scientific knowledge,—he would not hand science over to the 'pragmatic' way of knowing.

What is the distinctive trait of the pragmatic theory of knowledge? It is not that knowledge is *in the interest of* action,—the most abstruse piece of Buddhist speculation may be that. But it is that knowledge is (partly or wholly) *constituted by* action, our ideas mean what they lead us to do,—as a sign post means 'Turn to the right or left', our judgments about the world are instruments for guiding conduct, and are therefore to be *chosen*, rather than thought out,—to be chosen for the sake of their value as instruments of living.

There are anticipations of pragmatism in the theories of Kant and Fichte, following directly upon their views that a theoretical solution of metaphysical problems is impossible. Kant, unwilling to abandon metaphysical judgments, called on the necessities of the moral sense to determine the outlines of a faith. Fichte sharpened the points both of the skepticism and of the will to believe. Critical knowledge, he held, leads (not to Kant's dialectical illusion) but to subjectivism: it frees us from the specter of a material world which dominates us, but at the cost of reducing the world and the self also to a tissue of pictures.—knowledge

²⁴ See on this point the essay *Le Possible et le Réel* in *La Pensée et le Mouvant* Paris Alcan 1935.

²⁵ BRUCE, P. II v. 183 f.

cannot reach reality One thing alone can deliver us from the *impasse* of pure cognition,—that is action, and action requires a leap of faith For action undertakes to make changes in a real world, and it cannot go on without treating the images presented in 'knowledge' as valid reports about things outside myself The resolve so to treat them, involved in the first stroke of action, is founded on a sense of duty I ought to act, I ought therefore to treat the picture world as though it were real

Conscience alone is the root of all truth If the will be fixedly directed toward the Good the understanding will of itself apprehend the True We do not act because we know, but we know because we are called on to act

Fichte ascribes to the moral will here two quite distinguishable functions in knowing First, it lends to the realm of pictures presented by the understanding a validity which permits us to act in it,—to 'take it seriously' Then, since this element of duty lies at the base of what Santayana has called 'animal faith,' the world takes on the character of being "the object and sphere of my duties, and absolutely nothing more", and this character determines the choice of alternative metaphysical hypotheses, each consistent and possible but none of which can be proved to the exclusion of the others In this sense, Fichte "chooses" his world view

I have chosen the system which I have now adopted from among other possible modes of thought because I have recognized in it the only one consistent with my dignity and my vocation (*Bestimmung*) **

In so far, then, as Kant and Fichte allow practical considerations to decide truth, they are pragmatists But they are not pragmatists of the hearty nineteenth century variety They limited the values which may govern judgment to *moral values*, whereas contemporary American pragmatism would allow every value,—convenience, expediency, beauty, social welfare, the class struggle,—to govern one's creed, knowledge is simply one function in the circuits of the active self, and knowledge can live only if, and in so far as, it promotes life Then again, Kant and Fichte assumed that moral considerations would eliminate every hypothesis but one, conscience would actually decide your metaphysics, if you would allow it For contemporary pragmatism, however, living adjustments are always fluent, and truth with them hence nothing is finally decided

Contemporary pragmatism seeks to clothe itself with the *ludos* of scientific method since scientific truth is in the interest of action, and

** J G FICHTE *Bestimmung des Menschen*

THE *VIMUTTI* OF GODHIKA

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The *Samyutta*, III, 120 (iv 3, 3) says that Godhika "touched" six times the *sāmādhikā cetovimutti*, the Commentary to the *Dhammapada* (ad 57, I 431) has the same reading and, accordingly, E W Burlingame (*Buddhist Legends*, Harvard Or Ser, 29 90) translates "having obtained emancipation of mind by practice of meditation" But that gives no good meaning

Now the *Vibhāsā* and the *Abhidharmaśāstra* (6 58, p 262 of the French translation) state that Godhika acquired several times the *sāmayikī vimutti*, that is "a temporary or occasional emancipation" This sort of emancipation, contrasted with the *akopyā*—the unmovable or definitive emancipation—is well known from Pali documents, *Anguttara*, 3 349 *sāmayikā vimutti* (I have doubts on the correctness of the second -ā) The Pali Text Dictionary, s v *cetovimutti*, does not mention it

LES ĀSVIN ET LA GRANDE DÉESSE

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Dans un hymne de l'*Avesta* qui est consacré à la déesse Anahita, celle-ci est représentée tenant à la main un paquet de verges. A Rome et en Grèce, le culte de la Déesse Mère s'accompagnait de flagellation. Dans un hymne de l'*Atharva Veda* consacré à la Grande Déesse Aditi, elle est appelée *madhukaśā* "celle dont le fouet est de miel". En comparant jadis ces témoignages, j'ai supposé, d'accord avec les ethnologues, que la fustigation était destinée soit à renouveler la vie des êtres, soit à augmenter leur vigueur ou leur pouvoir reproducteur. Partant de là, on comprend que la Grande Déesse, qui préside au renouveau et à la fécondité, ait pour attribut le fouet dans l'Inde védique, les verges en Italie, en Grèce et dans l'Iran¹.

Si dans l'*Atharva Veda* le fouet (*kaśā*) de la déesse est comparé au miel (*madhu*), c'est sans doute parce que le miel est, entre tous les aliments, celui qui donne la vigueur et entretient la vie. Miel et fouet ont la même fonction : ce sont des stimulants, ils accroissent, renouvellent la vie des êtres. Il était donc naturel de les unir en un seul nom : *madhukaśā*.

Mais tandis que l'*Atharva Veda* associe ces notions à la Déesse Mère, le *Rg Veda* en fait plutôt les attributs d'un couple de dieux : les Āsvin. Ils y reçoivent l'épithète *madhvi* qui n'est appliquée en outre qu'aux plantes et aux vaches et que Bergaigne traduit par "donnant la liqueur". Cette liqueur est le *madhu*, elle est un gage de force, de vie, d'immortalité. Le char des Āsvin transporte cette liqueur, qui y est contenue dans une outre, et les Āsvin en arrosent le pâturage². Un autre attribut des Āsvin est le fouet et, de même que le fouet d'Aditi est appelé *madhukaśā*, celui des Āsvin est également désigné ainsi³.

¹ *KHR*, juillet août 1933, p. 59-61.

² BERGAIGNE, *Religion Védique*, II, p. 433.

³ *Rg Veda* I, 22.3, I, 157, 4.

On aperçoit déjà que les Ásvin et Aditi sont des divinités de même nature. La lecture des hymnes confirme cette impression. Tout comme Aditi préside au renouveau et assure la fécondité du bétail, des plantes et des hommes, les Ásvin sont représentés, notamment dans *Rg* I, 157, 3, 6, donnant la prospérité aux bipèdes et aux quadrupèdes, apportant la vigueur, allongeant la vie, guérissant les infirmités, rendant fécondes les femelles et faisant croître les arbres. Un autre caractère qui découle de leur puissance régénératrice est qu'ils sont médecins. Puisque Aditi et les Ásvin ont mêmes attributs et mêmes fonctions, il est permis de les grouper et ceci ouvre de nouvelles perspectives à la recherche.

* * *

On a comparé dès longtemps les Dioscures avec les Ásvin. Mais malgré les analogies qu'on sentait entre ces dieux, leur parenté restait "énigmatique." * Il semble qu'on puisse aujourd'hui préciser leurs affinités.

Dans une "Note sur le type de la Déesse-Mère entre deux assesseurs anthropomorphes," M. Ch. Picard observait en 1928 que de nombreuses études ont été consacrées à la *Πόρνα θηρῶν*, déesse "préhellénique" dompteuse des fauves, tandis que les historiens ont plutôt laissé dans l'ombre un autre aspect de la même personnalité divine, celui où elle apparaît avec des servants humains disposés de chaque côté d'elle. L'éminent archéologue a prouvé que "maints antécédents existent, et que la dérivation soupçonnée pourrait être, d'échelon en échelon, retrouvée jusqu'aux "incunables" préhelléniques . . . C'est la Crète, pays d'anthropomorphisme déjà, qui nous montre d'abord le groupe entièrement humain de la déesse et de ses assesseurs, mieux que l'Égypte ou l'Asie antérieure, pays où fut surtout magnifiée la *Πόρνα θηρῶν*." †

Dans une série de monuments grecs, les assesseurs mâles de la déesse apparaissent sur des chevaux. Le type en est fourni par un relief de Thasos : une femme debout est encadrée de deux personnages à cheval, appuyés du bras droit sur une lance. On a pensé que ce relief représentait Hélène et les Dioscures, ou Cybèle et les Cabires, etc. "Il me semble évident, en tous cas, dit M. Picard, que nous avons là une suite locale de la représentation de la Grande Déesse avec ses assesseurs mâles." ‡ Le

* PICARD dans *RHR*, 1934, n 1, p 81

† PICARD, *RHR*, juillet-décembre 1928, p 60-77. Dans un article plus récent, *RHR*, 1934, n 1, p 73-82, le même auteur a montré que les Castores, successeurs des Dioscures, avaient gardé longtemps le caractère de dieux piliers et de "conservateurs" dont l'un veillait sur le jour et l'autre sur la nuit.

‡ *RHR*, 1928, p 73

même savant avait déjà reconnu dans Artemis Polo une véritable *ποτνια ἵππων* préparant le thème des cavaliers⁷. Dès l'époque archaïque, le grand fronton de Palæopolis à Corcyre associe le thème de la *ποτνια ἵππων* et de la *ποτνια ἀνδρῶν* la Potnia Gorgone figure au centre, avec ses fauves domptés auquel se joignent, en plus petit module, sa descendance mixte, Pégase et Chrysaor⁸. Du moment qu'on ne sépare plus la déesse de ses ascesseurs, on peut donc remonter du thème des cavaliers à celui de la *ποτνια ἵππων* et de celle-ci à la *ποτνια θηρῶν* préhellénique.

On observe dans le monde indo-iranien l'aboutissement d'un procès analogue et l'on peut même, jusqu'à un certain point, en suivre les étapes, car les Asvin, ascesseurs de la Déesse Mère dans le Veda, sont tantôt des dieux anthropomorphes montés sur un char, tantôt des dieux chevalins, tantôt même associés à d'autres animaux. J'ai montré ailleurs que le nom Asvin est l'équivalent sanskrit d'un nom anaryen Nasatya dans l'Inde, Nanhaiθya dans l'Avesta qui dérive lui-même d'un nom anaryen du cheval⁹. Dans l'hymne I, 116 du *Rg Veda*, le taureau et le crocodile sont attelés au char des Asvin, tandis que dans I, 118, des faucons forment l'attelage des Asvin et par conséquent de la Grande Déesse¹⁰. Le *Rg Veda* conserve donc encore le souvenir des transformations du trio divin. Comme dans le monde préhellénique, nous trouvons dans l'Inde une *ποτνια θηρῶν*, une *ποτνια ἵππων* et une *ποτνια ἀνδρῶν*.

Sir J. Marshall a reproduit¹¹ un sceau de Harappa sur lequel on voit une figure féminine nue, la tête en bas, les jambes écartées avec une plante sortant du ventre. À l'extrémité gauche du sceau et séparés de cette figure par une inscription sont deux animaux qui ressemblent à des lions ou à des tigres et qu'on peut comparer à des génies zoomorphes dont on a trouvé des images à Ur et dans la région de la mer Egée.

Sir J. Marshall est d'avis que ces trois figures représentent la Déesse Mère et ses ascesseurs¹². Si cette induction est fondée comme elle paraît l'être, ce serait la plus ancienne représentation indienne de la *ποτνια θηρῶν*.

⁷ *Ibid* note 1.

⁸ *Ibid* p. 66.

⁹ Cf. Satvant Satvata and Nasatya *IHQ* 9 88-91. Les deux Asvin sont issus de Saranyū changée en jument et d'un cheval. Cf. SARTY *The Vighanji and the Varukia* XII 8. OLDENBERG *Religion Védique* p. 61 a bien vu que les Asvin, avant d'être des cavaliers, avaient été des dieux-chevaux.

¹⁰ Le char des Asvin est tiré par des chevaux, des oiseaux, des cygnes, des aigles, des buffles, un Anc des Ancs. Références chez V. H. VADIA, *The twin gods Asvinau* *IHQ* 8 275.

¹¹ *Mohenjo-daro and the Indus civilisation* vol. I pl. XII 12.

¹² *Ibid* vol. I p. 60 et 70.

Pouvons nous expliquer pourquoi la *ποτνια θηρῶν* du monde préindo-européen s'est transformée en *ποτνια ἵππων* à la fois dans le monde grec et dans la zone indo-iranienne? Il faut sans doute tenir compte de l'importance du cheval dans la mythologie des hommes de la steppe. Chez les peuples indo-européens, le cheval est le plus noble des animaux, il a dans le monde des bêtes la même prééminence que le lion chez certains peuples du Proche Orient. Par une mutation comme il s'en produit nécessairement quand un complexe mythique passe d'une civilisation dans une autre, le cheval s'est substitué au lion lorsque la triade divine constituée par la Déesse Mère et ses assesseurs a été empruntée aux religions plus anciennes par les peuples des steppes¹¹. Finalement les assesseurs chevaux et les assesseurs hommes se sont aisément combinés en un couple de cavaliers ou de personnages montés sur un char.

* * *

La comparaison des faits indiens et grecs est encore susceptible d'éclairer d'autres problèmes. M. Perdrizet a amorcé l'interprétation d'un curieux document d'art hellénistique qui paraît être un oscillum de calcaire tendre et représente les Dioscures l'un en face de l'autre. A l'arrière plan, entre les deux héros, il faut sans doute reconnaître une colonne de silphion. Or une légende spartiate racontée par Pausanias associait les Dioscures, Cyrène et le silphion. M. Picard interprète la colonne de silphion comme un substitut aniconique de la nymphe Cyréné, une ancienne Potnia, dont le caractère est connu. Placée entre les Dioscures, cette colonne rappelait la déesse crétoise ou l'Hélène du relief de Sparte.

On retrouve précisément les Dioscures, flanquant ou non la colonne divine, sur une série de miroirs étrusques. Parfois la colonne est restée lotiforme, ailleurs c'est un arbre mât surmonté d'un oiseau, comme les mâts à verdure du sarcophage d'Haghia Triada ou le mât dressé de la statuette de l'Artemision d'Ephèse¹².

J'ai dit précédemment que le char céleste des Asvin est parfois tiré par des oiseaux. Bergaigne avait déjà observé que "le propre des Asvin est de voyager portés par des oiseaux, d'être deux et d'avoir avec eux un personnage féminin qui, vraisemblablement est toujours le même sous des noms divers"¹³. Or le vers λ, 114, 3 du *Rg Veda* représente, en

¹¹ Pour des représentations analogues dans le monde celtique cf. la déesse Epona entre deux chevaux *Revue Archéologique* 1929 I p. 331.

¹² *JHR* 1928 p. 69-70.

¹³ *J. Religion Védique* II p. 489.

compagnie d'une jeune femme aux quatre tresses deux oiseaux en qui Bergaigne pensait déjà reconnaître les deux Ásvin¹⁴ Au vers I, 164, 20, nous voyons deux oiseaux perchés sur le même arbre dont l'un mange les douces figes tandis que l'autre ne mange pas, mais contemple.¹⁵ Quelles que soient les interprétations auxquelles a donné lieu ce mythe dès la période védique et chez les exégètes postérieurs, l'arbre du *Rg Veda* peut sans doute être comparé à l'arbre-mât surmonté d'un oiseau et à la colonne flanquée des Dioscures du monde étrusque et hellénique Il apparaît qu'à l'époque védique on se représentait encore la déesse et ses aïsses sous la forme de l'arbre divin surmonté de deux oiseaux.¹⁶

Peut-être convient-il de rattacher à ces très anciens symboles un sceau de la vallée de l'Indus¹⁷ Le motif central est un végétal qu'on a identifié avec l'arbre sacré *Ficus religiosa*:¹⁸ de la partie inférieure de la tige s'écartent symétriquement deux têtes d'animaux surmontées chacune d'une longue corne Cette composition ou l'arbre sacré est flanqué de deux animaux peut être rapprochée de plusieurs panneaux d'une mosaïque d'Ur.¹⁹

* * *

À l'origine, la Déesse Mère présidait sans doute au renouveau et à la fécondité Puis son rôle s'est élargi et elle est devenue la Grande Déesse. Cette évolution est particulièrement nette en Syrie Un bas relief n° 16 du musée d'Alep provenant de Tell Halaf nous la montre supportant le disque solaire. À ses côtés sont ses deux aïsses figurés comme des personnages mi-homme mi-taureau, de sorte que la fusion est déjà réalisée entre la *πόρνα θηρῶν* et la *πόρνα ἀνδρῶν*. Plus tard, la Grande Déesse se confond avec le disque solaire dans une même entité mythique et finale-

¹⁴ BERGAIGNE, *ibid.*, p. 489, note 2. Il est vrai qu'après avoir fait mention de deux oiseaux au vers 3, le même hymne (vers 5) corrige cette indication en disant "L'oiseau est unique, ce sont les sages, les prêtres qui, de cet oiseau unique, en font plusieurs par les noms qu'ils lui donnent." BERGAIGNE, *ibid.*, I, p. 232. Mais cette hésitation indique que la tradition était flottante quand fut rédigé le tardif hymne X, 114

¹⁵ BERGAIGNE, *ibid.*, I, p. 232

¹⁶ Cf. Le culte de la Grande Déesse, *RHR*, juil. août 1933 Sur Aditi représentée dans l'art comme un personnage à la colonne ou à l'arbre, cf. J. Ph. Vogel, *The Woman and Tree or Śālabhāṣṭikā in Indian Literature and Art, Acta Or.*, vol. VII, parties II, III, 1928 pp. 200-231

¹⁷ MARSHALL, *ibid.*, III, pl. CXII, n. 387

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, II, p. 320

¹⁹ Cf. JEREMIAS, dans *Handbuch der Altorientalischen Geisteskultur*, p. 443

ment ce disque suffit à la représenter. Dans un autre bas-relief n° 53 du musée d'Alep, la triade correspondant à la Grande Déesse et aux Dioscures est figurée par le Soleil encadré du croissant lunaire et flanqué de deux dieux masculins ¹⁹

Des transformations analogues s'attestent dans la littérature védique. Dans l'hymne IV, 44 du *Rg Veda*, le char des Ásvin s'appelle *trivandhura* c'est à-dire qu'il a trois sièges, l'un pour Sūryā, les deux autres pour les Ásvin. Sūrya étant le nom même du Soleil au féminin, il apparaît que la triade formée par la Grande Déesse et ses assesseurs s'est muée comme en Syrie en une triade solaire. Le char des Ásvin est devenu le char du Soleil ²⁰

Quel est dans ce nouveau mythe le rôle des Ásvin? Les textes ne sont pas d'accord. Dans *Rg Veda* IV, 43, 6, ils sont les époux de Sūryā, tandis que dans l'hymne tardif X, 85, ils sont seulement les paranymphes qui conduisent Sūryā vers Soma, son époux. Nous avons sans doute dans ce dernier texte le résultat d'une élaboration du mythe par la caste sacerdotale désireuse de pousser Soma au premier rang des divinités.

Quand le char des Ásvin s'est confondu avec le char solaire, on a expliqué d'une manière bien indienne la présence de Sūrya à côté d'eux. L'auteur de *Rg Veda* I, 118, 5 rapporte que la jeune femme est montée sur le char des Ásvin " parce que cela lui plaisait ". Ailleurs I, 119, 2 3, Sūrya est appelée Ūrjani, elle monte sur le char des Ásvin à l'occasion d'un tournoi où sont rassemblés de riches seigneurs. C'est donc sous la forme du *svayamvara* qu'on se représentait l'union de Sūryā et des deux dieux. Les prétendants sont venus avec leurs chars et Sūryā, montrant ainsi sa préférence, a pris place auprès des Ásvin.

Il restait encore à concilier ce nouveau mythe avec d'autres histoires où le Soleil apparaît sous la forme d'un dieu masculin. Les auteurs des hymnes védiques y ont réussi très simplement. Sūryā, divinité féminine est d'après eux la fille du Soleil. En l'épousant, les Ásvin sont devenus les héritiers du grand dieu. A une ancienne mythologie où la Déesse Mère Aditi était la mère des Āditya et notamment du Soleil, le syncrétisme védique a, sinon substitué, du moins ajouté d'autres mythes où la royauté solaire est le partage d'une triade formée par Sūrya assistée des Ásvin, ses deux époux.

* * *

¹⁹ La Grande Déesse dans l'art syrien RAA, 1934 p. 93-98

²⁰ Parmi les épithètes du char des Ásvin dont toutes les parties sont en or, relevons *hiranyatra* " qui a une peau une enveloppe d'or " et *sūryatra* " qui a pour enveloppe le soleil " Cf. BERGHAUSE, *Rel. Véd.* II, p. 432

En somme, la mythologie vedique nous apparaît aujourd'hui très complexe et relativement jeune : elle est un syncrétisme et l'aboutissement d'une longue évolution. C'est dans un passé lointain qu'il faut chercher les origines du mythe des Ásvin. Comme les Dioscures ils sont les *asseurs de la Déesse Mère* Dieux humains montés sur un char, ils se sont probablement substitués à d'anciens dieux animaux. Sous l'image d'oiseaux, ils sont même associés à l'arbre sacré qui est l'un des plus anciens symboles de la Déesse Mère. Enfin, lorsque celle-ci devient une divinité céleste, ils se tiennent encore à ses côtes sur le char solaire

THE EMPEROR CH'EN-LUNG AND THE LARGER *SŪRAMGAMASŪTRA*

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According to the catalogue of the Chinese Tripiṭaka published by Bunyiu Nanjio, there are two Buddhist sutras, the titles of which contain the characters 首楞嚴 (*śūramgama*) The full Chinese titles of the two works are the following 佛說首楞嚴三昧經 (NANJIO No 399), and 大佛頂如來密因修證了義諸菩薩萬行首楞嚴經¹ (NANJIO No 446)

I call these two works, which have practically nothing in common, the smaller (NANJIO No 399) and the larger (NANJIO No 446) *Śūramgama* respectively The smaller *Śūramgama* fills about 16 pages in the *Taisho Tripiṭaka*, and is said to have been proclaimed by the Buddha on Mount Grdhrakuta near Rajagrha The larger *Śūramgama* covers about 49 pages in the *Taisho Tripiṭaka* and is said to have been proclaimed in Anathapindika's park near Śrāvastī

According to Nanjio, Chinese tradition ascribes the translation of the smaller *Śūramgama* to Kumārajīva 鳩摩羅什, while the larger

¹ The original Sanskrit title of Nanjio No 399 is evidently (*Buddhaśāṣṭa*) *Śūramgamasamādhisūtra* Cf *Bibl Buddh* I page 91, and SAKURABE's catalogue No 800

Nanjio (No 446) gives us the following as the full Sanskrit title of the larger *Śūramgama* *Mahābuddhoṣṇīṣa tathāgata guhyahetu sālśāthṛta prasannārtha sarvabodhisattvacaryā śūrahgama sūtra* I prefer *śūrdmgama* or *śūrahgama* to *śūrdhgama* Cf *Bibl Buddh* I pages 8 and 91 and SAKAKI's edition of the *Mahāvvyutpatti* pages 40 54 63 and 104 In the XVIII century quadrilingual edition of the larger *Śūramgama* we find the following Sanskrit title *Sarvata thāgatasya guhyasiddhertha abhīsamayaḥetu sarvabodhisattvasya caryā samutradeśabuddhaṣṇīṣaśūrahga nāma mahāyānasūtra* The reading *samutradeśa* (for the somewhat less incorrect *samutdeśa*) is probably due to the negligence of a scribe not to the ignorance of the translators The following is the corresponding Tibetan title *De bshin gcegs paḥi gsaḥ ba sgrub paḥi don mnon par thob poḥi rgyu / byañ chub sems dpaḥi thams cad kyī spyod pa rgya mtsho ston pa / saḥs rgyas kyī gtaug tor dpaḥ bar hgro ba shes bya theg pa chen poḥi mdo* The Sanskrit title given above has evidently been translated from the Tibetan title

Sūramgama is supposed to have been translated in A D 705 by the śramana Pan la mi ti² in collaboration with the sramanas Mi-ch'ieh shih-chia 彌伽釋迦 and Shih hui ti 釋懷迪.

The Sanskrit text of the smaller *Sūramgama* seems to be lost, but the fact that it existed in the past is proved by the Sanskrit text of the *Śikṣasamuccaya* (BENDALL's ed., pages 8 and 9), which twice refers to it. The passages referred to in the *Śikṣasamuccaya* are both found in the Chinese (*Taisho Trip* 15, 638 b and c) and in the Tibetan (A D 1700 *Kanjur*, vol THU, 314 and 315) versions³ of the smaller *Sūramgama*. In the Pei Liang translation of the *Mahāparanirvāṇasūtra Sūramgama sūtra* (首楞嚴經) is mentioned, but it is evidently the smaller *Sūramgama*, which is referred to there, not the larger one. Cf *Taisho Trip* 12, 388 b, 15, 640 a, 12, 390 a and 15, 640 a b.

- * Volume THU of the A. D 1700 *Kanjur* contains a Tibetan translation of the smaller *Sūramgama*, which is attributed to Śākyaprabha. The latter is known as the translator of some other works, and it seems to be certain that the smaller *Sūramgama* was translated by him from Sanskrit into Tibetan. (Cf *Ann du Musée Guimet* 2, 399.) No Sanskrit text of the larger *Sūramgama* exists, and the sūtra, as far as I know, is never quoted in Sanskrit books or in Chinese or Tibetan works undoubtedly translated from Sanskrit. The A D 1700 *Kanjur* edition catalogued by Sakurabe contains only two fragments of the larger *Sūramgama*, but no complete version. These fragments are, according to BECKH's *Verzeichniss* (Berlin, 1914, p. 52, note 3), the Tohoku Index and Sum pa's *Dpag bsam ljon bzai* (Calcutta, 1908, page 414), translated from Chinese.⁴ The larger fragment (Sakurabe No 902) contains a con-

² Nanjio (column 443) thinks that 般刺密帝 is a transliteration of Pramiti. According to the *Hōbōgirin* (Fascicule Annexe page 137) Paramiti is the original Sanskrit name. According to an authority mentioned in the *Hsü Tsang Ching* (tao No 21, tsé No 1, p. 53a shang), [Shih] hui ti translated the larger *Sūramgama* in collaboration with an Indian śramana whose name was unknown.

³ In an article, which has already been printed and which will form part of the forthcoming third volume of the *Harvard Sino Indian Series*, I describe a copy of the *Kanjur*, which must have been issued in A D 1692. The pagination of this copy agrees with the pagination of the A D 1700 K'ang hsi *Kanjur* (catalogued by Sakurabe) except as far as the volumes Oṃ, ZA, HI and SHI are concerned.

⁴ The title of Sakurabe's catalogue (Kyōto 1930-1932) is 西藏大藏經甘珠爾勘同目錄. The title of the Tohoku catalogue (Sendai 1934) is 西藏大藏經總目錄. The date (A D 1747) given by Sarat Chandra Das (introduction page lii) for the *Dpag bsam ljon bzai* is wrong. Cf PELLIOU, *JA* mai juin 1913,

secutive translation of a part of the ninth chapter⁵ and the entire tenth chapter of the larger *Suramgama*. The smaller fragment (Sakurabe No. 903) contains numerous passages belonging to the ninth and tenth chapters of the larger *Sūramgama*. A considerable part of the larger *Suramgama* has been translated from Chinese into English by the Rev. Samuel Beal (*Catena* pp 286-369).

The fact that no Indo-Tibetan translation of the larger *Suramgama* exists, is one of the arguments used by many ancient and modern authorities, who want to prove that the larger *Sūramgama* should not be regarded as authoritative (tshad ma) by pious Buddhists. The Emperor Ch'ien-lung is acquainted with the sceptics' view, but he does not share it.

In an imperial introduction issued on the 25th day of the 7th month of the 35th year of Ch'ien-lung (A D 1770), we find the following passage

Saṅs rgyas kyi gtsug tor chen po dpah bar hgro bahi mdo glegs bam yons rdsogs bshugs pa hdi saṅa phyih mkhas pa mañ pos nub phyogs kyi dpe ma rñed zer nabañ / / dehi nañ gi bde gcegs gtsug tor gyi gzuns rgya gar gyi dpe dan cün tu hgrig pas / / mdo hdi tshad ma yin par mñon / / des na mdo hdis theg pa chen poñi lam hbras kyi lus yonñ su rdsogs pa gsal bar rigs pa yan dag gis bsgrubs pas na / / gus par bya bahi gnas su cihi phyr mñi hdsin⁶

p 651 According to page 347a of a xylograph of the *Dpag bsam ljon bzang*, Sum pa's work was composed in A. D 1748 (*rab byun bcu gsum pah sa pho kbrug lor*)

⁵ In the ninth chapter of the larger *Sūramgama* (*Taishō Trip* 19, 149c, A D 1692 *Kanjur* vol DSU, p 301b) true and false, male and female Buddhas are mentioned (眞佛假佛. 男佛女佛, *yan dag pah sans rgyas rgyu mañi sañs rgyas skyas pah sans rgyas / bud med kyi sans rgyas*, read *sgyu* instead of *rgyu*) The Tibetan version of a commentary on the *Saddharmapundarikasūtra* (CORDIER, *Fonds Tibétain*, III, 372), which is said to be translated from Chinese, says that there are times when false Buddhas (*sañs rgyas sprul pa*) appear in the world and others when they do not Cf the Choni *Tanjur*, *Mdo*, vol DI, p 227a

⁶ The passage occurs in an Imperial Introduction (*rgyal pos mdsad pah gser gyi bkah hgyur rin po che gsar bshens kyi kha byañ*), which is found in the first volume of a "golden *Kanjur*" belonging to the Peiping Palace Museum

This "golden *Kanjur*" is hand written (golden Tibetan characters on dark blue paper) and most beautifully got up. The title page of the first volume is adorned with pearls and other precious substances. This particular golden *Kanjur*, which now reposes in the vaults of a Shanghai bank, evidently contains a copy of the Tibetan version of the larger *Sūramgama* (cf the words *glegs bam yonñ rdsogs bshugs pa hdi* in the passage quoted above). I am not in a position to ascertain the fact because the golden *Kanjur* is no longer accessible. I had a photographic

The imperial introduction affirms that a certain *dhāraṇī*, which forms part of the Chinese version of the larger *Śuramgama*, entirely agrees with the Indian text of the same *dhāraṇī*.⁷ From the fact that one important part of the larger *Śuramgama* is undoubtedly based upon an Indian original the Emperor draws the conclusion that the entire larger *Śuramgama* must be authentic (*tshad ma*)

A critical examination of the same *dhāraṇī* has quite lately led Mr Li I shao 李翊灼 to an entirely different conclusion. He thinks that the *dhāraṇī* is badly transliterated in the larger *Śuramgama* and believes that this fact militates against the authenticity of the entire work.⁸

Mr Li compares our *dhāraṇī* as it appears in the Chinese version of the larger *Śuramgama* with the transliteration of it by Amoghavajra (*Taisho Trip* 19, 100 102) and finds that the version found in the larger *Śuramgama* is most unsatisfactory (音譯訛謬, 文句錯亂, 幾不可讀). It is certainly true that the *Śuramgama* version of the *dhāraṇī* contains many mistakes

The form 藥叉弊 (*Taisho Trip* 19, 135 c), for instance, is evidently wrong (*yaśasbhyah*). Amoghavajra (*Taisho Trip* 19, 101 c) has 藥乞鹽【二合引】弊耶【二合】" (*yaśsebhyah*)

The character 婆 represents both *ta*, in *bhāṭa*, and *bha*, in *bhaya* (*Taisho Trip* 19, 135 a 15 and 16). Amoghavajra (*Taisho Trip* 19, 101 a 13) has 縛 for *ta* and 婆 for *bha* in the same instances. When considering such inconsistencies in the larger *Śuramgama* we should not forget that even great authorities, who worked when the art of transliterating Indian sounds with Chinese characters was still in its infancy, reproduction of the Imperial Introduction made when the collection was still in Peiping

⁷ The only *dhāraṇī* which occurs in the larger *Śuramgama* is a very long one (it occupies nearly three pages in the *Taisho Trip* 19 134 136). The Emperor calls it *Bde-gcegs-gtug tor gyi g uns* [*Sugatotsiṇḍadharani*] but the text of the same *dhāraṇī* in Indian characters which we find in the *Taisho Trip* (10 102 105) bears the following Chinese title 大佛頂大陀羅尼 *Mahābuddhaṇiṣa-mahādharani*. The *dhāraṇī* is known under a number of other designations Cf. SAKURABE's catal. No 20^o and HOERNLE's *Manuscript Remains* I 53

⁸ The essay Fo hsiieh Wei Shu Pien Lüeh 佛學偽書詳略 in which Mr Li discusses the larger *Śuramgama* appeared at Nanking in 1934 in the *Kuo-h Chung yang Ta Hsueh Wen i Tsung kan* 國立中央大學文藝叢刊 vol 1 part 2 pp 7-46

I have to thank Professor Y. K. Tschen (Chên Yin k'o) for having drawn my attention to this essay

⁹ The Chinese characters enclosed within square brackets would normally be of a very small font.

were not always consistent Hsuan-tsang (*Taishō Trip* 20, 404 b 3) uses the character 達 for *dha* in *Dhanada* and for *d* in *Rudra* According to Nanjio (columns 435, 443 and 444) Hsuan-tsang began translating Indian works in A D 645, and Amoghavajra in 746 The Chinese version of the larger *Suramgama* is said to have been compiled in A D 705

A *dharani* consisting of nothing but meaningless rows of Chinese characters, like certain supposedly "foreign" names occurring in Taoist books,⁹ could be used to prove that the work, to which it belongs, had been compiled in China independently of an Indian original But the *dharani*, which forms part of the larger *Sūramgama*, notwithstanding its shortcomings, is evidently based on an Indian original,¹⁰ and we cannot agree to the use which Mr Li makes of it in his argumentation

Neither can the Emperor's view be accepted in its entirety (the *dharani* proves the authenticity of the larger *Suramgama* as a whole), but we must admit that the *Suramgama* (or *Sugatotsniṣa*-) *dharani* makes the thesis of the ultra sceptics (the larger *Suramgama* is a Chinese forgery from beginning to end) equally untenable

Another argument advanced by Mr. Li against the authenticity of the larger *Suramgama* is the fact that a stanza which occurs in Hsuan-tsang's translation of Bhavaviveka's *Mahāyanatālaratnasāstra* (Nanjio No 1237) is also found in the larger *Suramgama* Mr Li seems to be quite certain that the stanza was first translated by Hsuan tsang (about 647 A D) from Bhavaviveka's Sanskrit and that Hsuan tsang's Chinese stanza was later (about A D 705) taken over by the compiler of the Chinese version of the larger *Suramgama* Mr Li evidently thinks that the compiler slightly changed the Chinese stanza before taking it over, in order to make the loan from Hsuan tsang less apparent

⁹ Professor Forke says "Ti sha [the name of a Taoist god]" is intended to sound like a foreign name The third heaven is styled "the extremely fine Po lo-ju heaven with the deep dark celestial king Yün (cloud), personal name Kuei ling" "Po-lo-ju means nothing but it sounds like the Chinese rendering of some Sanskrit name" Cf *The World Conception of the Chinese* London, 1925, pp 141 142

Professor Hu Shih 胡適 very kindly draws my attention to the fact that some of the supposedly Indian names attributed by Chinese writers to certain Buddhist patriarchs are evidently not based upon Sanskrit originals, but invented in China Cf *Taishō Trip* No 2070

¹⁰ No Chinese work which the compiler could have used for his *dharani* is known to exist or to have existed All three Chinese transliterations of the *dharani* mentioned by Sakurabe (No 202) are of a later date than the larger *Suramgama* The latter is mentioned in the *K'as'pūan Lu* (*Taishō Trip* 51 603 a), which was composed in A D 730 Cf NANJIO Introduction p xxvii

The following is the form in which the stanza appears in Hsuan tsang's translation (A) and in the Chinese version of the larger *Surāṅgama* (B)

A

真性有爲空
如幻緣生故
無爲無有實
不起似空華

B

真性有爲空
緣生故如幻
無爲無起滅
不實如空花

Cf *Taisho Trip* 30, 268 b and 19, 124 c

An argument which militates still more strongly than this comparison of the two stanzas against the purely Indian origin of the larger *Surāṅgama* has been suggested to me by the late Mr Huang Chien 黃建, one of my former pupils

In Kumārajīva's translation of the *Saddharmapundarikāsūtra* (*Tōkyō Meiji Trip*, vol 蓋, fasc I, page 49 b) we find the following passage 若有無量百千萬億衆生受諸苦惱，聞是觀世音菩薩。一心稱名（觀世音菩薩，卽時觀其音聲）皆得解脫。 The bracketed part of the passage has no equivalent in the Sanskrit text edited by Kern and Nanjio, in the Tibetan translation (Sakurabe No 781), or in the oldest Chinese translation (by Dharmarakṣa, Nanjio No 138) Therefore I regard the bracketed part of the passage as one of the explanatory notes, which Kumārajīva¹¹ so often added to his translations¹² The bracketed part of the passage contains an etymology (觀其音聲) of the name 觀世音, and the fact that this etymology is also found (*Tōkyō Meiji Trip*, vol 成, fasc I, page 21 b) in the larger *Surāṅgama* (compiled about

¹¹ Professor Lüders says Öfter werden [von Kumārajīva] auch erklärende Zusätze gemacht Cf *Bruchstücke der Kalpanāmaṇḍitā des Kumāralāta*, Leipzig 1926 pp 58 59

¹² The Rev Samuel Beal who translates our passage from Chinese into English (*Catena*, pp 389-390) says in a note "This explanation [the eleven bracketed characters] is wanting in the French version (i e Burnouf's translation of the *Saddharmapundarikāsūtra* from Sanskrit into French) "

three hundred years after Kumārajīva's death) proves that the compiler did not rely exclusively on purely Indian material ¹³

The imperial introduction (dated the 18th day of the 10th month of the 28th year of Ch'ien-lung = A D 1763) to the quadrilingual edition ¹⁴ (Chinese, Manchu, Mongol and Tibetan) of the larger *Suram-gama* does not discuss the authenticity of the work, but it contains a number of more or less plausible data connected with the sutra's history. The quadrilingual introduction covers altogether twenty four pages (1a-13a, there is no page numbered 1b), seventeen of which are reproduced on plates 1-9 below. The following is a translation of the historical portion of the introduction, which occupies pages 1a 9a and a part of page 9b of the original ¹⁵ xylograph

AN IMPERIAL INTRODUCTION TO THE TRANSLATIONS OF THE MAHAYANASŪTRA ENTITLED SŪRAMGAMA ¹⁶

All the sacred texts [of Buddhism, which are designated as] the *Tripitaka* and [as] the *Dvādaśaṅga-pravacana* [1a] originated in the holy land, and spreading [beyond the boundaries of the holy land] gradually reached this middle empire (China). During their progress from West [2a] to East [the sacred texts] first penetrated into the country of Dbus Gtsaṅ ¹⁷. The holy land is India, and Dbus Gtsaṅ is [one of the names of] Tibet. Owing to this [i. e. to the sacred texts having penetrated first into Tibet] all the sacred texts [2b], which now exist in China translated [into Chinese], are complete in Tibet [in Tibetan translations]. The *Mahayānasūtra* called *Suram-gama* alone is

¹³ The name 觀世音 seems to be a translation of *Avalokīṭalokaśvara. This form of the name has as far as I know, never been found in ancient books written with phonetic characters. The forms Avalokīṭalokaśvara and Avalokīṭasvara however have been used in India and in Central Asia respectively. Cf. the *YCHP* No 17 36.

¹⁴ The Yung Ho Kung lamasery of Peking possesses a block printed copy of the quadrilingual edition. It has ten volumes. The leaves are made of thick white paper, and their size is $8\frac{1}{2} \times 28$ inches. The letters are red.

¹⁵ The Chinese version of the A D 1763 introduction occasionally differs from the Tibetan version on which my translation is mainly based. I regard most of those differences as insignificant and discuss only some of them in my notes.

¹⁶ The bracketed figures inserted into this translation refer to the ends of the pages of the original xylograph.

¹⁷ Read *brgyud na* (instead of *brgyud nas*). A similar mistake occurs on page 3a read *yul na* (instead of *yul nas*).

incomplete¹⁸ What is the cause of this [incompleteness]? If [someone should ask] this [question, the answer would be as follows.] Once upon a time, during the reign of King [3a] *Glañ dar ma*, Buddhism was suppressed and destroyed in Tibet,¹⁹ the books containing the *sūtras* were [either] burnt [by the King's orders] or buried underground [by the Buddhists]. At that time [the leaves of] the *sūtra* were scattered and it became incomplete [3b] After this [mutilation of the *sūtra* Tibetan] scholars intended to reconstruct and fix in writing [the missing parts of the *sūtra*], but the reconstructions were not fit to be written down because they were founded upon the imagination of scholars, who possessed no original codices Therefore [the *sūtra*] was not reconstituted [in Tibet] In connection with this [4a] matter [a report] certainly found by the state teacher *Lcañ skya* [4b] *Hu thog thu* in his learned books has to be implicitly believed²⁰

[This report is as follows] "Bu ston has prophesied²¹ that this scripture [the larger *Śurāṅgama*], after having been translated [into Tibetan] in China, will reappear²² in Tibet five hundred years hence"

¹⁸ We have seen above (p 137) that a small part of the larger *Śurāṅgama* existed in a Sino-Tibetan translation long before A D 1763 (the year the introduction was composed) Therefore I follow the Tibetan version (*ma tshan*, incomplete), not the Chinese version (不全, non-existing) in this instance The Chinese version itself affirms on page 3b of the xylograph that the *sūtra* became incomplete (不全) during *Glañ dar ma*'s reign

¹⁹ According to Csoma's grammar (page 183) *Glañ-dar ma* abolished the Buddhist religion in A D 899 According to Professor Pelliot "toute la chronologie donnée dans la grammaire de Csoma doit donc être abaissée de deux ans" The correct date of the abolition of Buddhism is therefore A D 901 Cf *JA* mai juin 1913, page 644

²⁰ The state teacher quoted here (in A D 1763) by the Emperor is evidently the *Lcañ skya Hu thog thu Rol pañi rdo rje* [*Lalitavajra*], who took an active interest in the translation of the *Tanjur* into Mongol in A D 1741-1742 (*leags mo bya-chu-pho lhye*) Cf HUTU, *Geschichte des Buddhismus in der Mongolei*, I, 185 It was under the auspices of the same *Rol pañi rdo rje* that *Dam pa* translated the *Vajracchedikā* from Sanskrit into Tibetan, cf *Bulletin of the National Library of Peiping*, 1932 p 508

²¹ No such prophecy can, of course, be found in Bu ston's *History of Buddhism*, but the Tibetan historian affirms that "of the *Śurāṅgamasūtra* that had 10 000 *ślokas*, only 1 chapter [has been translated]" Cf *History of Buddhism* by Bu ston, translated from Tibetan by Dr E OBERMILLER II part, Heidelberg 1932, p 170

²² The *Lcañ skya Hu thog thu* evidently believed (or wanted his flock to believe) that the *sūtra* had been known in Tibet before *Glañ dar ma*'s persecution Therefore I follow the Chinese text (仍.....王), not the Tibetan one (*mañon par dar bar hoñ*) in this instance

Owing to [my i. e. the Emperor Ch'ien-lung's] resolve: "During the leisure hours, which my innumerable state duties leave me, I shall always [5a] translate classical texts into the Manchu language," the book of calculations, the book of manners,²³ the book of poetry, the book containing the four Chinese didactic texts etc have been completely translated [into the Manchu language, 5b]. During the reign of my imperial grandfather (the Emperor K'ang-hsi) the *Prajñāpāramitāhṛdaya-sūtra* was translated into four languages²⁴ It was engraved on printing blocks and published by my imperial father (the Emperor Yung chêng). After having considered these facts [I consulted the Lcāñ-skyā Hu-thog-thu]. "May the *Mahāyanasūtra* called *Sūramgama* [6a] be translated according to this precedent?" When I put this question to the state teacher Lcāñ skyā Hu thog-thu, / he gave me the following answer: "This [sūtra] too [should be published] like the former one (the *Prajñāpāramitāhṛdayasūtra*)" [and went on saying.] "The *Prajñāpāramitāhṛdayasūtra* has existed in Tibet from ancient times /6b/, but the *Mahāyanasūtra* called *Sūramgama* is not found in Tibet If it should be translated from Chinese into Manchu, from Manchu into Mongol [7a] and from Mongol into Tibetan, then Bu ston's prophecy would come true"²⁵

Although I am not as able as [the sages of old] I shall do my best [for the sūtra]²⁶ Thus spoke the Lcāñ-skyā Hu-thog-thu 7b] Therefore I issued the following command to Thob Chün-wai "Take charge of this matter"

²³ It seems to me that *hgyur gyi gshun* (book of changes) and *lo rgyus* *lyi gshun* (book of history) would be more appropriate translations of *I Ching* 易經 and *Shu Ching* 書經 than *rtsis* *lyi gshun* and *lugs* *lyi gshun*

²⁴ I have never seen an edition of the *Prajñāpāramitāhṛdayasūtra* in four languages von MÖLLENDORFF (*JNCHRAS* 24 26) mentions an edition in three languages (Manchu, Chinese and Tibetan)

²⁵ I am entirely ignorant of the Manchu and Mongol languages, but I have examined all the versions of the quadrilingual edition with the kind help of Mr B I Pankratoff, and we have come to the conclusion that the larger *Sūramgama* must indeed have been translated from Chinese into Manchu, from Manchu into Mongol, and from Mongol into Tibetan

²⁶ This is how Professor Y. K. Tschén translates the Chinese sentence 雖.....焉 (pages 7b-8a) Until I received his advice for which I am greatly obliged, I could not understand either the Chinese phrase or its Tibetan counterpart Professor Tschén tells me that the emperor Ch'ien lung would have never used the expression 雖無以也 about himself Therefore we must assume that the Lcāñ-skyā Hu thog thu is the subject of the phrase This same expression occurs in the *Li Chü*, and Legge translates it as follows "Although I cannot . . count myself as having attained" [?] Cf *SBE* 28 261

The state teacher Lcan skya Hu thog thu, Hphu nahu²⁷ and some others carefully studied [8a] and translated [the sutra] in consultation with each other. The chapters, having been written down one by one, were submitted to me and I immediately examined them carefully. Whenever there was the possibility of a doubt [the correct translation] was quickly fixed by advice from the state teacher [8b] Lcan skya Hu thog thu and [the question] settled.

The translations of the sutra were begun in A.D. 1702 and finished in A.D. 1763.

Thob Chin wan [9a] requested [me] to support him by the favor of composing an introduction to these translations. / Complying with his petition / I have written this [introduction].

The *Sheng Wu Chi*, 聖武記 like the imperial introduction, holds Glan dar ma's persecution of Buddhism responsible for the loss of the larger *Sūramgama* in Tibet, and reports that the Lcan skya Hu thog thu / Rol pahi rdo-rje / took the quadrilingual edition back 歸 to Tibet²⁸.

In connection with this report of the *Sheng Wu Chi* I may be allowed to state the following facts. The *Mdo* division of the Narthang edition of the *Kanjur* belonging to the Harvard Yenching Institute contains thirty volumes,²⁹ while the copy of the Narthang edition lately acquired

²⁷ Thob Chin wan is called Chuang Chin wang 莊親王 in the Chinese version of the A.D. 1763 introduction as well as on p. 10b of the imperial introduction to the *Yü Chia Man Han Meng lu Hsi fan Ho Pi Ta Tsang Chuan Chou* (cf. Supplementary Volume I of the *Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology of the Academia Sinica* p. 180). According to the *Ching Shih Kao* 清史稿 (列傳 6 275) Chuang Chin wang was a brother of the emperor Yung-cheng and held a number of important government posts during the reign of his nephew Chien lung. Chuang Chin wang died in A.D. 1767 (Chien lung 37). The *Ching Shih Kao* (Lich chuan 78 297) also reports that Fu nai 傅爾丹 a Manchu occupied a high position in the War Office during the reign of the emperor Chien lung.

I learn from Mr. Têng Kao-sêng 鄧高僧 who has very kindly looked up the *Ching Shih Kao* for me that the copy of the work which the National Library of Peiping possesses was printed in the 16th year of the Chinese Republic (1927).

²⁸ In the *Sheng Wu Chi* 5 18b we find the following phrase 借此土本四譯而歸. This phrase can undoubtedly be interpreted in several ways, but I believe that the interpretation given above is the most plausible one. I have used the edition which was issued at Yangchow in the 22nd year of Tao kuang (1847).

²⁹ The *Kanjur* edition catalogued by Csoma Feer in the second volume of the *Annales du Musée Guimet* is evidently identical with the edition belonging to the Harvard Yenching Institute. The catalogue by Csoma Feer expressly states (page 219) that the division *Mdo* contains thirty volumes.

by the Peiping National Library has thirty-one *Mdo* volumes. The additional volume (numbered KI = 31) contains nothing but a Tibetan version³⁰ of the larger *Sūramgama*, which is identical with the Tibetan version of the *sūtra* found in the quadrilingual edition made by order of the emperor.

Two copies of the larger Narthang *Kanjur dkar-chag* (table of contents) lie before me: the Harvard-Yenching Institute copy and the copy recently acquired by the National Library of Peiping. The former does not mention the larger *Sūramgama*, but the latter has an insertion (on p. 103b), which says that volume 31 [of the *Mdo* division] contains this *sūtra*³¹ (cf. the two versions of page 103b reproduced below, on plate 10). Prince Fu-ch'uan, the chief editor of the A.D. 1700 *Kanjur* edition, reports that in preparing the edition he acted on an order from the emperor K'ang-hsi to complement 補 the *Kanjur*³². The emperor Ch'ien-lung venerated the emperor K'ang-hsi as a model ruler, and followed his grandfather's example whenever possible.

Considering all this, I believe that the Narthang authorities acted under the influence, if not by direct command, of the emperor Ch'ien-lung when they complemented their *Kanjur* by inserting the larger *Sūramgama* into the sacred collection.

³⁰ According to *Bukkyōkenkyū* 佛教研究 8, 154, Mr. Teramoto 寺本 has published an article on the Tibetan version of the larger *Sūramgama* in the 3rd volume of the same Japanese journal. Unfortunately I do not possess the 3rd volume of the journal, neither is it to be found in the National Library of Peiping. I have lately acquired a red letter xylograph of the Tibetan version of the larger *Sūramgama* (volume KI of the *Mdo* division of the Narthang *Kanjur* is, of course, printed with black letters). The Tibetan version of my xylograph seems to be identical with the Tibetan version of the quadrilingual edition. Each leaf of my xylograph is marked with a few Chinese characters, and I believe that the volume was printed at Peiping. The leaves are slightly larger than the leaves of the Kang-hsi (A.D. 1700) *Kanjur* described by Laufer (*Bulletin de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de St Pétersbourg*, 1909 p. 574). My xylograph does not contain any indications as to when and where the blocks were cut. [EDITORS' NOTE: This red letter xylograph has been presented to the Harvard College Library.]

³¹ The copy of the smaller Narthang (Snar than) *dkar-chag*, which belongs to the National Library of Peiping, shows a similar insertion. In this discussion of the Narthang *Kanjur* I ignore the fact that both editions of it contain the fragmentary translations Sakurabe No. 902 and No. 903.

³² When ordering Prince Fu-ch'uan to complement the *Kanjur*, K'ang-hsi had probably the three Buddhist works in view, which are missing in the A.D. 1692 *Kanjur*, but are found in the A.D. 1700 *Kanjur*. Cf. pages 15 of my article quoted above (note 3).

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earliest Chinese Buddhist sutra,
was certainly copied by many hands. After the invention of printing there were, consequently, very many varying editions. Besides the variations which were undergone at the hands of copyists and printers, there were forgers who since this was a highly esteemed sutra, added much to the text to support doctrines which they personally maintained. Such is the explanation that I would give for the Mahayana and Taoist doctrines which Liang Ch'i-ch'ao has pointed out. These are the additions of a later hand, they were not in the text as it existed previous to the Six Dynasties.

To my knowledge there are ten some editions of the *Ssu shih erh chang ching*. The texts of these editions vary more or less, but they can be reduced to three classes: (1) The Corean, Sung, Yuan, and Palace

* Translated from the Chinese by J. R. Ware

¹ There are very many references for the tradition relative to translations of sūtras under this emperor Ming but they can be divided into 3 classes: (1) As appearing in the *Mou t'u* 牟子 which is to be found in chapter 1 of the *Hung Ming Chi* 弘明集; (2) as appearing in the *Fa I-shan Chu Lan* 法苑珠林 (ch. 13) quotation of the *Ming Hsiang Chi* 冥祥記; (3) as appearing in the *Hsiao Tao Lun* 笑道論 (v. 廣弘明集) quotation of the *Leo t'-i Hua Hu Ching*

² V. Liang Ch'i-ch'ao's *Chin Chu* 近著, first collection, ch. 2 p. 11

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THE EDITIONS OF THE *SSŪ SHIH ÊRH CHANG CHING* *

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Tradition has it that the *Ssu shih erh chang ching* 四十二章經 is a translation¹ made in the time of the emperor Ming 明 of the Han (58 A D-75 A D) and that it is China's oldest Buddhist sutra. Of late, however, students in China and elsewhere have called it a forgery.² The reasons they give are very numerous, but for the present I will quote only a reason given by Liang Ch'í ch'ao 梁啓超. He says that this sutra 'contains Mahayana doctrines' and that "its fabricator, being imbued with Taoist doctrine, desired to harmonize Buddhist and Taoist thought."³ But, owing to the failure to study the history of the editions of this book, his reasoning must be rejected.

Since this book was, as I have said, the earliest Chinese Buddhist sutra, it preceded the invention of printing and was certainly copied by many hands. After the invention of printing, there were, consequently, very many varying editions. Besides the variations which were undergone at the hands of copyists and printers, there were forgers who, since this was a highly esteemed sutra, added much to the text to support doctrines which they personally maintained. Such is the explanation that I would give for the Mahayana and Taoist doctrines which Liang Ch'í ch'ao has pointed out. These are the additions of a later hand, they were not in the text as it existed previous to the Six Dynasties.

To my knowledge there are ten some editions of the *Ssu shih erh chang ching*. The texts of these editions vary more or less, but they can be reduced to three classes. (1) The Korean, Sung, Yuan, and Palace

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² V. Liang Ch'í ch'ao's *Chin Chu* 近著 first collection ch. 2 p. 11.

law a man also suffers" section and the *Chên Kao* has copied it in its entirety, but the Shou sui edition has lost this section. Before the 4 行深泥 section, the Korean edition contains a 撚野珠 "Pulling of hanging pearls" section. The *Chên Kao* has copied the two sections as one, but the Shou sui has left out the second of the two. For the texts of the 水歸海 "Water returns to the Sea," 磨鏡垢 "Rub the Dirt from the Mirror," and 愛生憂 "Tanha produces Duhkha" sections the *Chên Kao* and the Korean edition agree, but they vary widely from the Shou sui edition. Thus we can conclude that the Korean edition represents the old text of the Southern Dynasties and that the Shou sui has suffered changes and additions at the hand of a forger.

The *Ssü shih-êrh chang ching* is a collection drawn from all the sūtras, consequently its sections are constantly appearing in Pali and Chinese Buddhist sutras. Our sūtra, however, is always comparatively abridged. If we take a few sections at random and compare them, we shall find that the Korean edition is close to the original, whereas the Shou sui has been falsified to satisfy some personal idea. (1) In the 禮從人欲 "Treat Others with Courtesy" section, the Korean edition has the phrase 以惡來, 以善往, but the Shou sui lacks it completely. This section, however, appears in Ch. 42 of the *Samyuktagama* 雜舍經 and in sections 1 and 2 of sutta 7 of the *Samyuttanikaya*, both of these sources containing the idea of 惡來 and 善往. (2) In the 木在水喻 "Wood in Water Parable" section, the Korean edition writes 不左觸岸, 亦不右觸岸, whereas the Shou sui edition reduces it to 不觸兩岸. On the other hand, this section appears in ch. 43 of the *Samyuktagama* as 不著此岸不著彼岸. (3) In the case of the 慎勿視女 "Take Care not to Look at Women" section, the Korean and Shou sui editions again disagree. Such a section appears in the *Mahaparinirvanasuttanta* of the *Dighanikaya* and in the *Yu hsing Ching* 遊行經 of the *Dirghagama*, and if we examine carefully the texts of these books we shall see that the Korean edition is in reality nearest to the original text. (4) At the end of the 蓮花喻 "Lotus Parable" section in the Korean edition, we read 唯盛惡露諸不淨種 which is lacking completely in the Shou sui edition. On the other hand, ch. 43 of the *Samyuktagama* contains a statement of this sort in the form of 諸不淨.

On the basis of these four cases, it seems to me that we can prove definitely that the Han translation of the *Ssü shih êrh chang ching* really agreed with the original Indian text. At times, however, probably because they were translating sutras for the first time, they had a tendency to abridge the complex sentences to be found in the Indian originals of the

sūtra which we are discussing. As for the Shou sui edition, because the original texts were unknown, and the author constantly made wrong inferences, we find that time and time again it does not agree with the original sense

The Chên tsung edition of our sūtra is preceded by a preface dated 元朝皇慶元年 (= 1312) from the hand of the monk P'u kuang 溥光. This preface states merely that this edition was prepared under the previous dynasty, it does not say that the commentary is by the Sung emperor. The Sung author Chao Hsi pien 趙希弁 records in his *Chün chai Tu shu Chi Fu Chih* 郡齋讀書記附志, that he does not know the year and month date of the *Ssū shih-erh chang ching* with the imperial commentary, but ch. 45 of the *Fo tsu Tung-chi* 佛祖統記 records "In the third year of T'ien hsi 天禧, under Chên tsung, (1019) the *I ching san tsang* Fa hu 譯經三藏法護 and the others petitioned for permission to include in the tripitaka and distribute the *Yu chu Ssu shih erh chang ching* 御注 and the *I ū chu I chiao ching* 遺教經. The permission was accorded." The *Ching yü Hsin hsiu Fa pao Lu* 景祐新修法寶錄, Ch. 13, mentions a *Ssū-shih êrh chang ching* with imperial commentary by Chên tsung of the Sung as a work in one chapter, and adds "It is also found in the tripitaka 大藏. According to this evidence, not only did Chên tsung prepare a commentary to the *Ssū shih erh chang ching*, but the book itself had at that time already entered the tripitaka. Furthermore, the *Fo tsu Tung Chi* mentions that "In the seventh year of 大中祥符 (1014) Chên tsung of the Sung requested the master Ch'ung chu 崇矩 of Fu shih 浮石 to come to the palace to lecture on the *Ssu shih erh chang ching* and also at about that time the master Chih yuan 智圓¹² of Ku shan 孤山 prepared a commentary on this sutra in one chapter. We thus see that under Chên tsung the men studying this sutra were by no means few.

We can thus prove that at the least the Korean edition still preserves our text as it existed under the Six Dynasties and that it agrees very well with the original Indian texts. On the other hand, the Chên tsung edition, while agreeing on the whole with the Korean edition, still contains a few things lacking in the Korean edition, but appearing in the Shou sui edition. For example, both the Chên tsung and the Shou sui (1) begin

¹² Chih yuan was one of the very learned monks of the early Sung. He lived on Mt. Ku in the West Lake district of Hang-chow and died in the last year of Chên tsung's reign 1022.

editions which, on the whole, are the same, (2) the edition with a commentary by Chên tsung 真宗 of the Sung 宋—the Nan Tsang 南藏 of the Ming 明 was the first to use this edition, printing only the text proper with its two prefaces and leaving unprinted Chên tsung's commentary¹, (3) the edition annotated by Shou sui 守遂 under the Sung dynasty. This last was the most widely current under the Sung, and, consequently, the Ming monks Chih hsi 智旭,² Liao-t'ung 了菴,³ and Tao p'ei 道忞,⁴ and the Ch'ing 清 monk Hsi fa 積法⁵ all drew upon the text of this edition. In addition, in Tao-p'ei's book, we read, "The Grand Master of Yun-ch'ü 雲棲, a monastery near Hang-chou, constantly said 'The edition to be found in the Tripitaka collection is unsatisfactory, one must use Shou sui's edition'"⁶. The name of the grand master of Yun-ch'ü was Chu hung 楚宏, he was a Ming dynasty monk of learning and great influence, and there must have been many⁷ who believed him.

To put it succinctly, from the beginning of the Ming, the text of the *Ssu shih erh chang ching* to be found in the Tripitaka collection was the text of Chên tsung's commented edition, whereas the one current among the people was Shou sui's edition. At the present time, the edition which is published by the Chin ling K'o-chung-ch'ü 金陵刻經處 and which is now most widely used in China is Shou sui's commented edition.

At present my views may be summarized as follows: (1) Shou sui's text is one that has been retouched by a later hand. (2) Chên tsung's edition is not as trustworthy as the Korean edition. (3) The Mahayana theories appearing in the Shou sui edition are the invention and addition

¹ In 1510 some monks headed by Tê ching 德經 reprinted this book from the Nan Tsang edition of the Ming omitting the original preface but adding a preface by their teacher Tao fu 道孚 of the Wan shou 萬壽 dhyāna monastery on Ma an 馬鞍山 mountain and a colophon by the monk Tao shên 道深. In 1605 Yeh Tê hui 葉德輝 on the basis of the Tôkyô edition printed the whole book in his *Kuan ku tang Tsung shu* 觀古堂叢書. In 1781 Ch'ien lung 乾隆 ordered it translated into Manchu and later it was ordered translated into Tibetan and Mongolian. All of these editions have Chên tsung's edition as their basis. Cf. the colophon to the *Ssu T'ü Ho P'ü Ssu-shih erh chang ching* 四體合璧四十二章經 and the colophon to the Chih chün Wang Fu 質郡王府 edition of our text.

² Author of a *Ssu-shih erh chang ching Chieh* 四十二章經解

³ Author of a *Ssu shih erh chang ching Pu Chu* 四十二章經補注

⁴ In his *San Ching Chih nan* 三經指南 there is a *Ssu-shih erh chang ching*

⁵ Author of a *Ssu shih erh chang ching Su-ch'üo* 四十二章經疏抄

⁶ V. Tao p'ei's 三經指南 凡例

of Zen monks. Therefore, despite the presence of these theories, we should not say that the *Ssu shih erh chang-ching* is not a Han translation.

It is now recognized that the Korean edition is based on the Shu 蜀 edition, a tripitaka published early under the Northern Sung, while the Shu edition consists of the sutras generally recognized from T'ang times. For example, chapter 23 of the *Ch'u Hsueh Chi* 初學記 quotes our sutra "A monk practises the doctrine like a burdened ox which walks" in the deep mud so weary that he dares not look either to the right or left" 僧行道如牛負行深泥中，疲極不敢左右顧。 This text is the same as that found in the Korean edition, but Shou sui's edition has changed the wording, though the meaning is still the same 如牛負重行深泥中，疲極不敢左右顧視。 Furthermore, Hsuan ying's 玄應 *Ssu shih erh chang ching Yin I* 四十二章經音義, dating from the early T'ang contains the names Shu-ching 輸敬 and Shu-ch'ui 黍篁. The first of these names appears thus in the Korean, the Sung, the Yuan, and the palace editions, whereas the Shou sui edition has changed it to Yu-ching 愈敬. As for the name Shu-ch'ui, I suspect that it is at the basis of the two characters *shen* and *ch'ui* 深棄¹⁰ found in the phrase 深棄去垢 of the four editions just mentioned. It is certainly because of the obscurity of the expression 深棄 that the Shou sui edition has changed the phrase to 去滓成器. Chapter 49 of the *Fa Yuan Chu Lin* (also a work of the early T'ang) quotes the 飯凡人 'giving alms to laymen' ¹¹ section of our sutra, and its text agrees with the present Korean, Sung, and Yuan editions, but it differs from the Chen tsung and the Shou sui editions. Thus we see that the Shou sui edition certainly does not represent the condition of our text under the T'ang.

Under emperor Wu of the Liang 梁武帝, T'ao Hung-chung 陶宏景 prepared a book by the title of *Chen Kao* 真誥 which he claimed was a collection of the declarations of Taoist saints 真人. In the Chen Ming Shou P'ien 甄命授篇 of this book, twenty sections have been stolen from the *Ssu shih erh-chang ching*. If now we take the Korean, Sung and Shou sui editions to collate this text, we shall find that each of the sections found in the *Chen Kao* agree with the Korean and Sung editions, but differ from the Shou sui edition. For example, the Korean and the Chên tsung editions both have the 人爲道亦苦 "In practising the

* I have inserted the character 行 because the sense requires it.

¹⁰ The Ming edition reads 深垂.

¹¹ Since the order of the sections in our sūtra varies from edition to edition I give to the sūtra which I have occasion to quote a name which accords with the content of the particular section.

law a man also suffers" section and the *Chen Kao* has copied it in its entirety, but the Shou sui edition has lost this section. Before the 牛行泥 section, the Korean edition contains a 撈懸珠 "Pulling of hanging pearls" section. The *Chên Kao* has copied the two sections as one, but the Shou sui has left out the second of the two. For the texts of the 水歸海 "Water returns to the Sea," 磨鏡垢 "Rub the Dirt from the Mirror," and 愛生憂 "Tanha produces Duhkha" sections the *Chen Kao* and the Korean edition agree, but they vary widely from the Shou sui edition. Thus we can conclude that the Korean edition represents the old text of the Southern Dynasties and that the Shou sui has suffered changes and additions at the hand of a forger.

The *Ssu shih erh chang ching* is a collection drawn from all the sutras, consequently its sections are constantly appearing in Pali and Chinese Buddhist sutras. Our sutra, however, is always comparatively abridged. If we take a few sections at random and compare them, we shall find that the Korean edition is close to the original, whereas the Shou sui has been falsified to satisfy some personal idea. (1) In the 禮從人祇 "Treat Others with Courtesy" section, the Korean edition has the phrase 以惡來, 以善往, but the Shou sui lacks it completely. This section, however, appears in Ch. 42 of the *Samyuktāgama* 雜含經 and in sections 1 and 2 of sutta 7 of the *Samyuttanikāya* both of these sources containing the idea of 惡來 and 善往. (2) In the 木在水喻 "Wood in Water Parable" section the Korean edition writes 不左觸岸, 亦不右觸岸, whereas the Shou sui edition reduces it to 不觸兩岸. On the other hand, this section appears in ch. 43 of the *Samyuktāgama* as 不著此岸不著彼岸. (3) In the case of the 慎勿覩女 "Take Care not to Look at Women" section the Korean and Shou sui editions again disagree. Such a section appears in the *Mahāparinirvāṇasūttanta* of the *Dīghanikāya* and in the *Yu hsing Ching* 遊行經 of the *Dirghagama* and if we examine carefully the texts of these books we shall see that the Korean edition is in reality nearest to the original text. (4) At the end of the 蓮花喻 "Lotus Parable" section in the Korean edition we read 唯盛惡露諸不淨種 which is lacking completely in the Shou sui edition. On the other hand, ch. 43 of the *Samyuktāgama* contains a statement of this sort in the form of 諸不淨.

On the basis of these four cases it seems to me that we can prove definitely that the Han translation of the *Ssu shih erh chang ching* really agreed with the original Indian text. At times however probably because they were translating sutras for the first time, they had a tendency to abridge the complex sentences to be found in the Indian originals of the

sutra which we are discussing. As for the Shou sui edition, because the original texts were unknown, and the author constantly made wrong inferences, we find that time and time again it does not agree with the original sense.

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We can thus prove that at the least the Korean edition still preserves our text as it existed under the Six Dynasties and that it agrees very well with the original Indian text. On the other hand, the Chên tsung edition, while agreeing on the whole with the Korean edition, still contains a few things lacking in the Korean edition, but appearing in the Shou-sui edition. For example, both the Chên tsung and the Shou sui (1) begin

¹² Chih yüan was one of the very learned monks of the early Sung. He lived on Mt. Ku in the West Lake district of Hang-chow and died in the last year of Chên tsung's reign 1022.

with a section on the "Turning of the wheel of the Four Truths Doctrine" They both (2) have in addition a section containing the words 內無所得，外無所求，無念無住，非修非証。 In my opinion, such utterances as 非修非証 are current Zen expressions and all accounts of the Tathāgata's attainment of enlightenment and turning of the wheel of the law disagree with what these two editions have to say. These same two editions add eleven clauses to the last section, and also have a section on 二十難 whereas the Korean edition and the *Chên Kao* mention only 5. In the *San hui Ching* 三慧經, translated under the Northern Liang 涼 kingdom, there are 3 sections which treat of the 5 難, and the 5 spoken of in the Korean edition of our sutra agree for the most part with the second of these sections in the *San hui Ching*. We can see that the original Indian text had in the very first place but 5, and the Korean edition, in speaking of only 5, is assuredly based upon it. It is evident that the 15 additional ones found in the *Chên-tsung* and *Shou sui* editions are forgeries. Among the first 5 in the *Chên tsung* edition is one which reads 判命不死難¹³. This sentence being very hard to understand, *Chên tsung* felt that the 不 should be changed to 必¹⁴. For this statement the Korean edition reads 制命不死難, agreeing with the text quoted by the *Chên Kao*. If we bring to bear this sentence from the *San hui Ching* 制人命不得傷害者難, the meaning of the text becomes perfectly clear. From this we can have still more confidence that the Korean edition represents the original and true text, while the text used by *Chên tsung* was not a true one.

The new ideas that have been added to the *Shou sui* edition are more than those found in the *Chên tsung*, this is the strangest and the most remarkable point about the *Shou sui* edition. The most important of these additions are as follows: (a) There has been added at the beginning the section 轉四諦法輪. (b) The addition of the section containing the words 內無所得，外無所求，無念無住，非修非証. (c) To the 假凡人 section, there has been added the words 無念無住，無修無証. (d) In the 20 難 section, where the Korean edition has only 5, there have been added 15 難 such as 心行平等，見性學道, etc. (e) The original words 吾何念？念道。吾何行？行道。吾何言？言道 as represented by the Korean edition, have been changed to 吾法念無念念，行無行行，言無言

¹³ Both the Sung and Yüan editions read 判命不死 the palace edition reads 判命

¹⁴ It is because of this that the *Shou sui* edition has changed the text to 乘命必死

言,修無修修 (f) The Korean edition's 觀萬物形體豐熾念非常 has been changed to 觀靈覺即菩提 (g) At the end of the 牢獄 section there had been added clauses such as 凡夫透得此門 (h) The end of the section 得人難 has been modified to 發菩提心, 無修無証 (i) Before the 牛行深泥 section, there has been added the 磨牛 section containing the words 心道若行, 何用行道 (j) Eleven clauses have been added to the last section beginning with 視大千世界如一阿子

Four of the above sections, a, b, d, and j, are also found in the Chen tsung edition, but the remaining six are found only in the Shou sui.

Since we have shown the great antiquity and the great reliability of the Korean edition, and since the Chên tsung edition agrees in very many places with the Korean and has relatively few additions, it is probable that its period is comparatively little later than the Korean's. On the other hand, the Shou sui has a large number of additions and differs greatly from the Korean, probably it is the last revised edition.

The ten points that I have listed above all have a Zen flavor and constantly employ Zen technical expressions. For example, such Mahayana ideas as represented by 見性學道, 修無修修 and 凡夫透得此門 were all lacking in the old *Ssu shih erh-chang ching*.

It is my theory that the great modifications which our sutra has undergone are from the hands of Zen writers. In 1913, when the Master of the Law Fan ch'eng came to Ho-peï and Shan si looking for old copies of Buddhist books there was found in the district of Chao Ch'eng 趙城 in Shansi 4957 rolls of Buddhist books. Upon examination they proved to have been published at the instigation of a woman Ts'ui Fa-chên 崔法珍 during the periods Huang t'ung 皇統 and Ta ting 大定 (1141-1189)¹⁵ of the Chin 金 tartars. This tripitaka has preserved very many previously unknown books¹⁶ among which is the *Pao lin Chuan* 寶林傳 a history of the Pao-lin monastery near Ts'ao Hou Ch'ï 曹侯溪 on Shuang fêng Shan 雙峯山. This is a work done during the Chên yuan period (785-804) of the T'ang by a monk of this same monastery named Chih-chu 智炬. In the tripitaka at Chao-cheng it should have originally contained 9 chapters, but only six have been preserved.¹⁷

¹⁵ V. Chiang Wei-hsin 蔣唯心, *Chin Tsang Tiao Yin Shih Mo Kao* 金藏雕印始末考, published by the Chih na Nei Hsüeh Yuan 支那內學院, Nanjing 1934.

¹⁶ Many of them have already been published in the *Sung Tsang I Chên* 宋藏遺珍.

¹⁷ Chüan 1-6 were found in Shansi and recently chüan 6 has been found in Japan. V. TOKIWA Daijō *Hōrin-dō no Kenkyū* 常盤大定, 寶林傳之研究, Tōkyō 1934.

Chuan 1 contains the *Ssü-shih-êrh-chang-ching* with two very remarkable points in its text: (1) It makes constant use of poetry. For examples, the 仰天唾 section reads. "The Buddha said:

惡人害賢者，猶如仰天唾；
唾不至天公，還從己身墮。
逆風揚惡塵，¹⁸ 不能汙上人。
賢者不可毀，禍必降凶身。”

(2) With the exception of the insertion or omission of a character here or there, it agrees almost completely with the Shou-sui edition. All of the new ideas inserted in the Shou sui edition are also found here.¹⁹

These new ideas being the kind preached by men of the Zen school, the original of the *Ssü shih-êrh-chang-ching* which is now current in China must be a forgery of an adherent of this school. The monk Chih-chu, the author of the *Pao-lin Chuan*, belonged to the southern school of Zen, and the *Pao-lin Chuan*, further, is a treasure of rumors and forgeries. Consequently, it is no exaggeration to say that the man who revised the *Ssü shih-êrh chang-ching* was a monk from the *Pao-lin Ssü*, possibly even Chih-chu himself.

As for the 仰天唾 section, although the Pāli texts *Samyuttanikāya* I 3. 2, VII 1 4, *Suttanipāta* 662, and *Dhammapada* 125 all have similar *gāthās*, this section has no place in the *Chên Kao*. Therefore, the original Chinese translation certainly had no *gāthās*. Since the predilection for *gāthās* was a characteristic of the Zen, it is possible that the poetry in the *Pao-lin Chuan* text is due to this Zen habit of changing prose to poetry.

The Lau Ho T'a in Hang-chow has an edition of our sūtra which was cut in stone²⁰ in the 29th year (1159) of Shao-hsing 紹興, and which agrees on the whole with the Shou-sui edition. This stone edition was written by 42 different officials, each one writing a section. We thus see that under the early Southern Sung this book was already recognized by the court officials. At the end of this stone-cut text there is a colophon by Wu I 武翊 of Hsi-Shu 西蜀 containing the statement "First,

¹⁸ The text lacks the character 塵, but I have added it from the text cut in stone at the Lau Ho T'a 六合塔 in Hangchow.

¹⁹ With the exception of the first, all of the ten characteristics of the Shou sui, which I have listed above, are to be found in the *Pao lin Chuan* edition.

²⁰ Cf. WANG Ch'ang 王昶, *Chin Shih Ts'ui Pien* 金石萃編 ch. 149.

Chia yeh 迦葉 and Chu Fa 竺法 translated [it]. Then, Chih yuan 智圓 explained [it]. Lastly, Lo-yen 略隱 made a preface [for it]."

Chih-yuan of Ku shan 孤山 was a monk of the T'ien-t'ai sect, but he had also been greatly influenced by the Zen. He is mentioned in the colophon because the text of the *Ssū-shih-êrh chang ching* which he used was probably one transmitted by the Zen. This colophon states further that our sutra "is similar to the T'ai I, Lao[tzū], and Chuang[tzū]"¹¹. According to this, not only did Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, on reading the *Ssū-shih êrh-chang ching*, suspect that it was a forgery by men learned in the doctrines of Taoism, but even Sung dynasty men had already noticed that it contained passages similar to the teachings of Lao tzū and Chuang tzū. Since none of them had studied the editions of our sutra, they could reach this conclusion. The truth of the matter is, however, that the old edition of the *Ssū-shih êrh-chang ching* did not contain Mahāyāna ideas or traces of Taoism. Therefore, Liang Ch'i-chao's suspicions of our sūtra on this score cannot be maintained.

¹¹ 與太易,老,莊和表裏

NOTES ON THE FAN WANG CHING

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The Chinese Buddhist canon contains three texts which, because of the similarity of their titles, are often confused. The *Fan Tung Ching*¹ 梵動經 forming *sutra* number 21 and ch 14 of the *Ch'ang-a han Ching*² 長阿含經 or *Dirghagama*, is the equivalent of the well known Pali *Brahmajalasuttanta*³. The *Fan Wang Liu shih êrh chien Ching*⁴ 梵網六十二見經 is a second equivalent of the same Pali *sutta* which was translated into Chinese long before the complete *Dirghagama*. The third *sutra* is known briefly as the *Fan Wang Ching* 梵網經, but its complete title is *Fan Wang Ching Lu shê na Fo Shuo P'u sa Hsin ti Chieh P'in Ti shih*⁵ 梵網經盧舍那佛說菩薩心地戒品第十 which may be translated "Of the Fan Wang Ching, part ten where the Buddha Vairocana declares the *cittabhūmi*'s and the *sīla*'s of a Bodhisattva." The content of this last text has nothing whatsoever in common with the other two. While these and their Pali equivalent are known for a list of religious and philosophical views, the last one, on which I am presenting here a few notes, belongs to the *vinaya* category. It is known for its list of commandments. This text, for which no Sanskrit

¹ In *Taishō* 1 (No 1), 88 94. The translator here understood the original to read something like "*Brahmacala*", for he translates the second word of the Sanskrit compound by *tung*, which signifies "to move". Cf. NANJIO, col 137.

² No 1 in *Taishō* 1. NANJIO 545.

³ Edited by T. W. RHYS DAVIDS and J. E. CARPENTER, *The Dighanikāya* I, 1 17, London 1890, and translated by the former in *Sacred Books of the Buddhists* 2 1 55, London 1899.

⁴ No 21 in *Taishō* 1, NANJIO 554. The *Brahmajāla sixty-two-views-sūtra*.

⁵ No 1484 in *Taishō* 24 997 1010, NANJIO 1037. There are varying descriptions of the size of the original composition of which our text is only a part. The preface attributed to Seng chao 僧肇, Kumārajīva's contemporary and co-worker, says that it contained 120 *chüan* divided into 61 parts. An additional preface of unknown provenience changes the 120 to 112. Ming k'uang's commentary (v note 23) speaks of 152 *chüan* in 61 parts. These variants are likely to be the distortion of an original 120 百二十 > 百十二 or 百一十二 > 百五十二.

or Pāli equivalent has yet been found, was issued in an abbreviated edition and translation by De Groot * forty-two years ago. At that time it was very popular † among the Chinese monks, but today, according to an informant at the Buddhist Institute in Nanking, it is held in little esteem

Since the time that De Groot published his translation the study of Buddhism has broadened its base by drawing into its purview not only the catalogs and historical works contained in the Chinese *tripitaka*, but also the Tibetan *Kanjur* and *Tanjur* which have become available in both Europe and America. These additional sources show our text in a much different light, and give us reason to doubt that, as we now know it, it was translated into Chinese by Kumārajīva in 406 A D. In fact, the Tibetan ‡ begins by throwing doubt even on the title of our •text. The Chinese could be reconstructed as *Brahmajālasutra*, but the

* J. J. M. DE GROOT, *Le Code du Mahāyāna en Chine, son influence sur la vie Monacale et sur le monde laïque*, Verhandelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen te Amsterdam, Afdeling Letterkunde, Deel I No 2 Amsterdam, 1893

† Op cit 78 "A l'heure qu'il est le Prātimokṣha de 250 articles est dans l'école du Dhyaṇa le code reconnu du clergé, et les moines lors de leur consécration s'engagent solennellement à s'y conformer, et pourtant, deux ou trois jours après la cérémonie, ils reçoivent une nouvelle ordination, lors de laquelle ils promettent de vivre selon les prescriptions d'un code spécialement mahāyāniste conduisant, si l'on s'y conforme fidèlement, à la dignité de Bodhisatwa, tandis que le Prātimokṣha ne peut élever qu'à celle d'Arhat. C'est de ce code que cette étude s'occupera." Op cit 12 13 "Le fait subsiste que le Sūtra du filet de Brahma a été le code le plus important de l'Eglise, et qu'il a exercé une plus grande influence que tout autre écrit, tant sur les laïques que sur les religieux. Quand à nos preuves, nous les tirerons avant tout de faits recueillis par nos recherches personnelles dans l'empire du Milieu. Nous y avons fait de longs séjours dans des monastères bouddhistes de premier ordre, dans le but exprès de prendre note de tout ce que nous parviendrions à voir des observances religieuses et de la vie d'intérieur des moines, et de nous en rendre compte méthodiquement."

‡ The Tibetan title is *Chos kyi Rgya mo Sañs-ryas Rnam-par snan-mdaṣad kyi byan-chub sems dpah! Sems kyi gnas brad pa lchu bcu (pa)*. Cf *A Comparative Analytical Catalogue of the Kanjur Division of the Tibetan Tripitaka* published by the Ōtani University, Kyōto, 1930, p 357 (No 922), and *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canon* by H. U. M. Suzuki, Y. Kanakura, and T. Toda, Tōkyō, 1934, p 50 (No 256). It might be noticed that while the first chapter of the Chinese treats of the *cittabhūmi*'s and the second chapter of the *śīla*'s, the title of the Tibetan which contains only the section on the *śīla*'s, has retained the *cittabhūmi* and omitted the word *śīla*.

Kumarajiva's translations, and it is the *Li Tai San-pao Chi*¹⁴ which first mentions it as a work of Kumarajiva's in two *chuan* and at the same time attributes to him the *P'u sa Chieh Pen* in one *chuan*. The present Chinese *tripitaka* contains two *P'u-sa Chieh Pen*,¹⁵ one translated by T'an mo-ch'an, and the other the work of Hsuan tsang. Since they are both attributed to a Maitreya,¹⁶ it is probable that they are two translations of the same work. If there were a *P'u sa Chieh Pen* by Kumarajiva, one would expect it to have survived for his translations have always enjoyed a high renown. It is my belief that the second chapter of the present *Fan Wang Ching* may be that work of Kumarajiva's.

Any present day-translator of our text is, after the first few columns, very much embarrassed¹⁷ to find a meaning in the remaining portion of the first chapter. Four groups¹⁸ of ten stages along the road to sainthood are clearly mentioned, but, while some of the forty qualifications are found elsewhere, as groups they are unique to this text. Once these four are mentioned, it is clear that the remainder of the chapter is given to an analysis of the forty items which make up the four groups but this analysis has proved sufficiently incomprehensible both for De Groot and for the present writer to render a translation impossible. It may be that it is just this incomprehensibility of the first chapter that caused

¹⁴ P 78A. At the same time it would seem to be quoting the preface to our text by Sêng-chao.

¹⁵ Nos 1500 and 1501 in *Taishō* 24. T'an mo-ch'an was contemporary with Kumarajiva cf TP 30 133 note 4. Hsüan tsang 玄奘 is the famous Tang dynasty pilgrim.

¹⁶ No 1500 reads Tz'ü Shih P'u sa 慈氏菩薩 and no 1501 reads Mi lo P'u sa 彌勒菩薩.

¹⁷ After many hours spent with the late Professor J. H. Woods during the summer of 1934 in an attempt to translate this first half of the text the present writer was forced to join the ranks of the usually undaunted De Groot op cit 22-23. Ici vient dans le Sûtra une longue série de commentaires sur chacun des quarante points qui composent la voie du salut et l'auteur s'enfonce continuellement dans un monde d'abstractions exprimées en un langage si désespérément obscur qu'il est tout au plus possible de se rendre compte très en gros de la marche de la pensée et qu'il faut renoncer à donner une traduction exacte du tout. Les quarante commentaires explicatifs passent dans l'Eglise pour des adjonctions faites au Sûtra par quelqu'un d'autre que l'auteur et postérieures à lui. Aussi plus eurs des meilleures éditions déclarent-elles ouvertement qu'ils ne font pas partie intégrante du code. Passons à la seconde partie de notre Sûtra.

¹⁸ V. De Groot op cit 17-19.

Fa ching (ca 591) in his *Chung Ching Mu lu*²⁰ to list our text as doubtful while remarking that most of the older catalogs do the same. In addition, it might be noted as significant that Hui lin (817) in his *I ch'ieh Ching Yin I*²⁰ comments upon only the second chapter and remarks that there are no notes for the first chapter.

That our text has existed in its present form since the Sui dynasty is proved not only by the above reference from the *Li Tai San pao Chi* but also from a commentary compiled by Chih i and Kuan ting²¹. It is notable, however, that although these commentators knew the first chapter of our text their detailed notes are given only for the second chapter. To this same category belong also the commentaries by I-chi²² and Ming k'uang²³. With the exception of the *Fan wang ching Ku-chi Chi* by Tai hsien²⁴ the five other commentaries²⁵ dating from the T'ang

²⁰ 法經, 眾經目錄 5 *Taishō* 55 140A. I have not found any additional information regarding Fa-ching.

²¹ 慧琳, 一切經音義 ch 45 *Taishō* 54 007AB.

²² 智顗 and 灌頂, *Fan Wang P'u sa Chieh Ching I Su 梵網菩薩戒經義疏* in two ch. Chih i is the reputed founder of the Tien tai 天台 school of Buddhism better known to us under the name Tendai. His biography is in the *Hsü Kao Seng Chuan 續高僧傳* 17 *Taishō* 50 564A 568A. His dates 531-598. Kuan ting's biography is in the *Hsü Kao Seng Chuan* 19 *Taishō* 50 584A 585C. The commentary is published in the *Hsü Ta Tsang 續大藏* (Kyōto) I 59 3.

²³ 義寂 *Fan Wang Ching Su 梵網經疏* in three ch. I-chi is a Korean monk of the Hsin lo 新羅 kingdom but I have been unable to find any biography for him. His commentary is published in the *Hsü Ta Tsang I* 60 1.

²⁴ 明曠 *Fan Wang P'u sa Chieh Ching Su Shan Pu 梵網菩薩戒經疏刪補* in three ch. I have found no dates for this author but the *Fo Tsu Tung Chi 佛祖統紀* 10 *Taishō* 49 202A mentions him as associated with Kuan ting (v note 21). The commentary is in *Hsü Ta Tsang I* 59 3.

²⁵ 太 (or 大) 賢 *梵網經古近記* in three ch. Tai hsien or Ta hsien both forms are found. He was a Korean monk of the Hsin lo period. He is mentioned at the end of the *San Kuo I Shih 三國遺事* 4 *Taishō* 49 1009C where an event in his life is dated 753. The commentary is No 1815 in *Taishō* 40 and is also found in *Hsü Ta Tsang I* 60 3.

²⁶ (1) Fa hsien's *Fan Wang Ching P'u sa Chieh Su 法銑 梵網經菩薩戒疏* in four ch. of which only the first is preserved and published in *Hsü Ta Tsang I* 60 3. I have found no further information regarding Fa hsien.

(2) Chuan ao's *Fan Wang Ching Chi 傳奧, 梵網經記* in two chuan published in *Hsü Ta Tsang I* 59 5. No further information on Chuan ao.

(3) Fa tsang's *Fan Wang Ching P'u sa Chieh Pên Su 法藏, 梵網經菩薩戒本疏* in six ch. It is published as No 1813 in *Taishō* 40 and also in

dynasty restrict their notes to the second chapter. Is it possible that they too found the first chapter incomprehensible? It is not until the Ming dynasty and later and in Japan that we find a series of commentaries which attempt to explain the text as a whole.

Without claiming to have proved his point at all, the present writer would suggest as a working hypothesis that the second chapter of our text, beginning on p. 1004 B¹¹ of the Taisho edition, is the *P'u sa Chieh Pen* of Kumarajiva, whereas the first chapter is a text of unknown provenience which was attached to the work of the famous translator. A similar explanation has also been offered by Chih shêng²² 智昇, author of the *Kai yuan Shih chiao Lu* (730) 開元釋教錄, in ch. 4, Taishō 55 513B, of his catalog, where he states his suspicion that the *P'u sa Chieh Pen* is to be identified with the second chapter of the *Fan Wang Ching*, and shows thereby that the *P'u sa Chieh Pen* was no longer current under that title in the eighth century.

Hsi Ta Tsang I 50 1. According to his biography in the *Sung Kao Seng Chuan* 宋高僧傳 5, Taishō 50 732A, the author flourished ca. 700.

(4) Chih-chou's *Fan Wang Ching Su* 知(或智)周, 梵網經疏 in five ch. of which only the second and fourth are preserved. It is published in *Hsi Ta Tsang* I 60 2. The author is said to have been born in 679, but I have found no further information regarding him.

(5) Shêng-chuang's *Fan Wang Ching P'u sa Chieh Pen Shu Ch* 勝莊, 梵網經菩薩戒本述記 in four ch. It is published in *Hsi Ta Tsang* I 60 2. I have no further information on the author.

²² Chih shêng has a short biography in *Sung Kao Seng Chuan* 5 Taishō 50 733C.

Immediately outside the prosperous Tun huang oasis, with its fertile land imbedded in a rich verdure of trees along roads and irrigation channels, the desert begins. The road soon enters an absolutely barren gravel *sai* bordered on the south by mountains. Not far from Tun huang is a low range of Nanshan foothills. On their slopes enormous sand dunes tower, sometimes so high that the hills are entirely covered up by the masses of sand. In the gravel *sai* the Tangho River cuts a cañon about 20 meters deep which is hidden from view until one reaches within a few meters of the perpendicular sides. It is in the sides of this cañon, not far north of the place where the Tangho River cuts through the foothills that the new caves have been excavated. The place is marked by a *suburga* (a religious mound) standing on the gravel *sai* at the side of one of the main roads running from Tun huang to the rich pasture grounds at the northern foot of the Nanshan and to the land of the Dede Mongols which begins south of the first of the high mountain ranges.

From the gravel *sai* near the *suburga* a steep road leads down to the present bed of the Tangho River which here flows roughly from east to west. On the left side of the river, about 6 meters above the bottom of the canon and about 10 meters below the *sai*, the temple is seen as a single row of caves in the perpendicular wall of coarse conglomerate. To the left of the part seen in the figure lie a couple of caves, evidently once cells in which the monks of the T'ang dynasty lived, now occupied by the present keepers, two Taoist priests with their only domestic animal, a cat. A very small patch of land in the river bed is cultivated and provides the priests with some vegetables.

The westernmost of the true temple caves is the most complete one. In its present state it consists of a hall, wide open towards the river and with doorways into one interior and one side room. The next two (and probably also the third) caves towards the east have a massive central pillar surrounded by a narrow passage with richly decorated walls. Each of these caves thus has (at least at present) two openings in the direction of the river. So far, it is possible to pass from one cave to another, but the rather primitive passages forming narrow shelves on the conglomerate wall deterred me from an attempt to reach all of them. Of those which I visited I made a rough sketch (fig 2) to make it possible to locate my photographs of the wall paintings. I did not have time to take any measurements of the caves.

The caves further towards the east can be reached only one by one by means of a ladder. The cave with the most beautiful and the best pre-

served paintings lies at the eastern end of the complex (fig 3) It is, at least at present, one single square room, the outer (southern) wall of which is only partly preserved In the back wall there is a recess with the remains of a richly painted idol Great portions of this idol, together with fragments of the painted plastering of the roof, are piled up around the walls as a low bench for small clay incense burners The rooms are carefully cut with walls at right angles and a vaulted ceiling, evidently after the pattern of the halls of common temples but on a rather small scale The rough conglomerate surface of the walls and the ceilings is plastered with clay mixed with chopped straw, this plaster being white-washed and decorated with figures in various colours The paintings evidently were made at different times In some places where the colour had peeled off a second layer of figures was uncovered and I had the impression that the older paintings were more carefully executed and that they had been replaced, when they started to obliterate by later ones in a rather rough style My photographs will give a fairly good idea of the paintings, but being no expert, I am not able to enter further into the question of motifs and styles

Manuscripts have evidently not been found in these caves A few objects of a character unknown to me are said to have been recovered and delivered to the Yamen in Tun huang but the mayors have recently changed very often and I could not get any information from the officials who were appointed in the spring of 1931 My time did not allow me to try a reconstruction of the original plan of the temple, but it is clear already from my figures that a great part of the original establishment must have been removed by erosion, as evidently only the back wall of some of the caves is preserved Also the largest one of the caves in fig 2 has probably had a somewhat wider extension towards the south

This description will I hope, in spite of its deficiencies draw attention to these newly discovered caves It is possible that they soon will disappear The river is undermining the precipice and threatens their existence And before Nature has done its work Man will have done his best to eradicate the paintings—they will be blackened by incense they will be worn by the stiff broom which I saw one of the priests use to dust them and even the paintings will not be safe from the red paper slips which the Chinese paste on the walls at New Year Already there are ugly looking traces of such treatment According to Sir Aurel Stein the work of removing the plaster with its decoration is a very difficult task when the substrate is a rough conglomerate surface Thus there is very little hope that something will be done to bring the paintings to

safety What I have said here about the new temple and its future fate is at least, to a certain extent, applicable to the far more beautiful Tung Ch'ien Fo Tung as is seen from the following extract from Stein's *Innermost Asia* (p 360)

Here, too, some fifty shrines in the upper rows which formerly could be reached only by means of rickety wooden ladders or still more rickety galleries had been rendered easily accessible by the simple but destructive expedient of cutting passages from one cave shrine to another right through the rock wall separating them Mural paintings in the way of the opening on either side had been ruthlessly destroyed in the process

EXPLANATION OF FIGURES

- Fig 1 Map of the Tun huang region showing the position of the cave^t temples After Stein
- Fig 2 Approximate plan of two of the caves
- Fig 3 Approximate plan of a cave to the left The ceiling is indicated by interrupted lines
- Fig 4 At *a* in fig 2
- Fig 5 At *b* in fig 2
- Fig 6 At *d* in fig 2 (the niche in the central pillar and a part of the back wall)
- Fig 7 At *c* in fig 2



Fig. 1

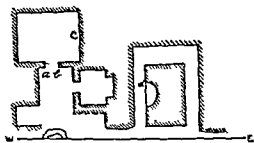


Fig. 2

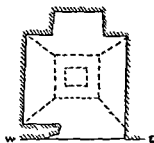


Fig. 3



Fig 4



Fig 5

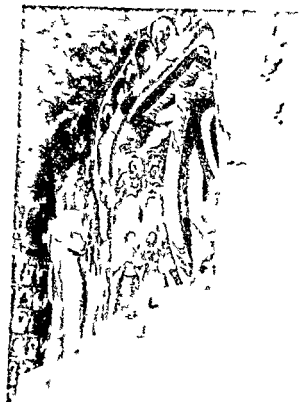


Fig 6

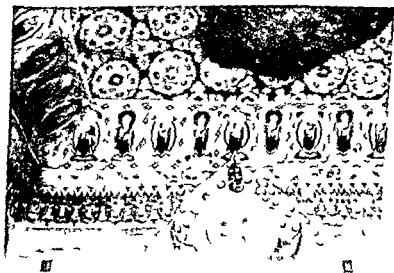
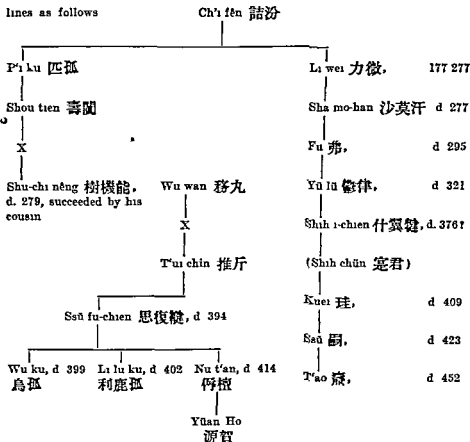


Fig 7

the efforts of Professors Kurakichi Shiratori and Paul Pelliot* that the following equivalences have been established between Chinese transcriptions and reconstructed T'o-pa titles:

1. *K'o sun* 可孫, *KD* 414, 833: *k'á-suən*—"title of the T'o pa Empress," *G* 57. *Tk.* **qasun-qatun* < *qayatun*—"wife of the sovereign"

lines as follows



The reader might be surprised that Shih chün 寔君 is designated as the father of Kuei. The author has been forced however, to accept this conclusion and will sometime undertake to demonstrate this correction of the *Wei Shu*.

* SHIRATORI Kurakichi, Über die Sprach der Huungnu und der Tungbu Stämme, *Bulletin (Izvestia) de l'Academie Imperiale des Sciences* 1902, vol 17 2 pp. 015 018 henceforth quoted as *Izv*, Über die Sprache des Tung bu Volks (Pt VI and VII), *Shigaku Zasshi* 史學雜誌 22 11 and 12 pp 1 24 and 1 27, quoted as *SZ* PELLIOU'S occasional observations are scattered in numerous brief notes in *JA* and *TP* as indicated in the text of this article.

THE LANGUAGE OF THE T'Ō-PA WEI *

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In the second decade of the third century A D, a century which proved to be so eventful in the history of China, when the wily Ts'ao Ts'ao 曹操, having triumphed over his chief rivals north of the Yangtse, was turning his attention to the great "Problem of the Frontier" and to the re-establishment of Chinese communications with Central Asia, there appeared in the northern marshes of Shansi a little tribe of nomads who were predestined to leave an indelible stamp on the life of the Middle Kingdom in the tragic centuries to come. Their fame was to spread through the entire continent from ocean to ocean, and they were to bestow upon China one of her many names.

Their advent passed almost unnoticed by the Chinese (so far as we can judge from contemporary sources) in the midst of the manifold problems that confronted Ts'ao's and his successor's chancellery in dealing with the complex relations existing at the time between China and the Hsiung nu 匈奴, Hsien pi 鮮卑, and Wu huan 烏桓 nomadic organizations. Ch'u pei 去卑, then regent of the Hsiung nu by the grace of Ts'ao, must have, however, reported to Yeh 鄴, the Chinese capital, about the pressure exercised upon his northern frontier by the newcomers.¹

* Abbreviations used. Capital letters followed by Roman numerals indicate the Twenty Four Dynastic Histories (the 1902 reprint of the Chien lung 1739 edition by the *Shih hsueh Hui she* 史學會社) and chapter referred to viz. E—Chin Shu 晉書, F—Sung Shu 宋書, G—Yan Ch'ü Shu 南齊書, J—Wei Shu 魏書, K—Pei Ch'ü Shu 北齊書, L—Chou Shu 周書, O—Pei Shu 北史. 2P—Hsin Tang Shu 新唐書. KD—B. KARLGRÉN *Analytic Dictionary of Sino-Japanese* pht.—posthumous title, tk.—Turkish, mo.—Mongol, ma.—Manchu, tk. mo.—"turco-mongol."

¹ O 53 1 b, biography of P'o-liu han Chang 破六韓常 (cf K 27, 1 b), has preserved for us the only mention of the early clashes between the T'o-pa and the Hsiung nu. Chang traced his ancestry back to P'an liu hsi 潘六奚, younger brother of Ch'u pei who was sent by the regent to stop the inroads of the T'o-pa, but was defeated and taken prisoner together with his five sons.

These invaders, known as T'o-pa 拓跋, formed at first part of the great Hsien pi confederacy under T'an shih hua 檀石槐² in the second half of the second century, and possibly entered into the loose union of tribes created about 225 by the Hsien pi chieftain K'o pi nung 柯比能. They emerge as a distinct political entity under the "First Progenitor" (Shih-tsu 始祖) of the future emperors of Wei, T'o pa Li wei 拓跋力微. In 248 Li wei, heretofore subject to the Mo lu hui 沒廌回 horde, murdered its chiefs and became the supreme head of a nomadic organization numbering "over 200,000 bowmen" (J1, 1b). Ten years later, he established himself on the Chinese frontier and entered into close relations with the Ts'ao Wei Empire. We shall find the T'o-pa in the welter of the great movement of the "Barbarians" which caused the "Fall of the Chinese Empire" half a century later, and see them achieve supremacy over the entire North of China by 450 A. D.

It must have been prior to the rise of Li wei that a group of T'o pa, known in Chinese history as the T'u fa 秃髮, led by Li wei's elder brother P'i ku 匹孤, detached itself from the main body and, skirting the western bend of the Yellow River, proceeded southwestward into Kansu, where they founded a kingdom of their own, the Southern Liang 南涼, which flourished from 397 to 414 and was destroyed by the Western Ch'in 西秦. J 99, E 126, and *Shih lu Kuo Ch'un ch'iu* 十六國春秋, ch 88, in their account of the ancestry of the T'u fa kings, do not mention the blood relationship uniting them with the T'o pa, but from J 41 (biography of Yuan Ho 源賀, cf. *infra* § 20) and the brief genealogy of the Yuan 源 family preserved in 2P 75 A, we know that this relationship was recognized by the T'o pa Wei rulers.^{2a}

Who were, then, these T'o pa or T'u fa and what was the "barbarian tongue" which resounded in their tents before they established themselves as rulers of China and exchanged it for the genteel Sinitic monosyllables? Before attempting to reconstruct and analyze their name, the author would think wise to pass in review the fragmentary vocabulary material of T'o pa which has been preserved to us in the Chinese sources.

Our knowledge of the T'o pa language is chiefly derived from titles and proper names that can be culled from the *Wei Shu* and from two of the histories of Southern Chinese dynasties, primarily F 95 and G 57. Proper names have not heretofore been studied, while it is mainly through

² KD 987 883 460 *d an d iak g wa* < mo **daldarav*— secret hidden ? Cf. the story of his birth and childhood *San Kuo Chih* 30.

^{2a} The genealogy of the two branches of the T'o pa presents itself on general

the efforts of Professors Kurakichi Shiratori and Paul Pelliot* that the following equivalences have been established between Chinese transcriptions and reconstructed T'o-pa titles:

1. *K'o-sun* 可孫, *KD* 414, 833 *k'á suan*—"title of the T'o pa Empress," *G* 57. *Tk. *qasun~qatun < qayatun*—"wife of the sovereign

lines as follows

Ch'i fên 詰汾

P'i ku 匹孤

Li wei 力微, 177 277

Shou tien 壽天

Sha mo han 沙莫汗 d 277

X

Fu 弗, d 295

Shu-chi nêng 樹機能, d 279, succeeded by his cousin

Wu wan 務丸

Yu lu 鬱律, d 321

X

Shih i chien 什翼健, d. 376†

T'ui chin 推斤

(Shih chün 寔君)

Ssü fu-chien 思復健, d 394

Kuei 珪, d. 409

Ssü 嗣, d. 423

Wu ku, d 399
烏孤

Li lu ku, d 402
利鹿孤

Nu t'an d 414
斛檀

T'ao 燾, d 452

Yüan Ho
源賀

The reader might be surprised that Shih-chün 寔君 is designated as the father of Kuei. The author has been forced however, to accept this conclusion and will sometime undertake to demonstrate this correction of the *Wei Shu*.

* SHIRATORI Kurakichi, Über die Sprach der Hiongnu und der Tunghu Stämme, *Bulletin (Izvestia) de l'Academie Imperiale des Sciences* 1902, vol 17 2, pp 015 018 henceforth quoted as *Izv.* Über die Sprache des Tung hu Volks (Pt VI and VII), *Shigaku Zasshi* 史學雜誌 22 11 and 12, pp 1 24 and 1 27, quoted as *SP*. PELLIOU's occasional observations are scattered in numerous brief notes in *JA* and *TP*, as indicated in the text of this article.

(khan)," which is found in T'u chueh Turkish as *k'o ho tun* 可賀敦 KD 342, 1143 *k'a-ya tuən* < *qayātun* (L50, 1a), and in T'u yu hun as *k'o tsun* 可尊, KD 1112 *k'a tsuən* (*ibid*), cf K SHIRATORI, *Izv*, 15, 18, and SZ, 22 5, 75 84, also P PELLIOU, JA 1930, 260 *tun, sun, tsun* may be a feminine suffix which re appears in Hsien pi a ma tun 阿摩敦 KD 1,593 *'a muā tuən* < **aβayātun*?—"mother" (L 11, 2a, cf O 57), cf T'u yu hun *mo ho* 莫何, KD 638 *maḥ, muo g ya* < **(a)ba-ya*—"father" This suffix possibly corresponds to the mongol feminine suffixes *lun, tant, tai* *

2 *K'o po chen* 可薄真, KD 764, 1194 *k'a b'ak t'sien* < *tk qapayčün*—"door keeper," *ibid*, *Izv*, 17, SZ 22 12, 20, PELLIOU, JA 1925, I, 255 The initial sonant of 薄 *b'ak* offers no difficulty as we have the same title appearing in F 95 as the name of the T'o pa prince Yu 余, son of T'o pa T ao, in the form 可博真, with 博 KD 50 *paḥ* for *b'ak*

3 *Ch'v-wan chen* 乞萬真, KD 332, 1295 *k'iet m'wən tsien* < *mo kalmarcin*—"interpreter," *ibid*, *Izv, loc cit*, SZ 17 19, PELLIOU, *loc cit* The Turkish form of the same word (with initial t for k) **tılmac(ı)* > germ Dolmetscher, russ tolmač, may underlie the nickname of the ancestor of the Ho lien Hsia Hsiung nu, T'ieh fu 鐵弗 -T'ieh fa 鐵伐 (KD 991 *t'iet*, 47, 16 *puət, b'wət*) Liu Hu 劉虎, who was according to J 95, the son of a Hu 胡 father and a Hsien pi mother (and, therefore, bilingual and able to interpret both languages?)

4. *Pi te chen* 比德真, KD 714, 981 *pji* (or *b'ji*) *təl tsien* < *tk mo bitakcin* or **pitakcin*—"scribe," *ibid*, *Izv*, 16, SZ 11 14, PELLIOU, 254 255 This word calls for no observations, outside of those made by Pelliot, while a whole monograph would be required to determine the origin (Chinese or Indo European?) of *tk *bitig*—"writing" *

5 *Hsien chen* 咸真, KD 148 *yam* (<*ypm*) *tsien* < *tk yamcin* > russ *yamčuk*—"rider of the post," *ibid*, *Izv*, 7, SZ 21 24, PELLIOU, TP 1930, 192 195, B VLADIMIRTSOV, *Zametki k drevne tyurkskim telstam, Doklady Akademii Nauk* 1929, 290 294

* On which cf PELLIOU TP 1932 50 51 also B VLADIMIRTSOV *Traces du genre grammatical dans la langue mongole* (in Russian), *Doklady Akademii Nauk* 1925 31 34

* If one pre-suppose that the chief of the Kirghiz was the proud possessor of a "secretariat" one could see in the obscure *mi ti-chia* 幕的支 KD 617 860 1212 *mi ti-ti* *ti-ti* of 2P 217 B designating the large tent of the Kirghiz ruler a variant transcription of **bitig* It is through a strange lapsus that Father Hyacinth in his *hobranie sredeni* I: 2 445 identifies this term with *tk meşed* < ar *maşid*—"mosque"

6 *Tou lu* 豆盧, KD 1015, 579 *d qu luo*—'to become loyal' (歸義) < *th. mo toru*—"law," "right," O 68, 1 a, *Izv*, 18, SZ 78 The same word is found in *Tou lu t'u* 豆盧突, KD 498 *d au luot uat* (with the final *t* quiescent) < **torulu*?, the cognomen of Yu wen Chao 宇文招, prince of the Northern Chou, L13, 1 a

Several other identifications proposed by Shiratori are tempting, but not conclusive, attention to some of them will be called when occasion demands. As to the following list of T'o-pa words most of them have been discussed by the writer before,* they include, besides words identifiable through Chinese translations, many terms the meaning of which has been established through phonetic equivalences or their occurrence in "etymological" contexts

7 The T'o-pa prince Jen 仁, prince of Yung-ch'ang 永昌 (J 17) is called in F 95 *K u jen chen* 庫仁眞, KD 431, 930 *h uo nēiēn tsien*. Here again a prince of the blood is bearing a title of a dignitary. Although there is no clue as to the meaning of the T'o-pa word the almost perfect phonetic equivalence makes it clear that we have here the turco-mongol term *qoyincin-qonincin*—'sheep herdsman' Chinese initial *nz* transcribing equally well "altaic" *yt* or *ni*. The root of this word *qoyin-qonin*—'sheep' appears transcribed by the same Chinese characters as the personal name of the Hsiung nu regent of the T'o-pa kingdom from 376 to 383, *Lau K'u jen*†

8 The *mo* term *agan*—'elder brother,' which is registered in the *Tu yu hun* language (cf PELLIER, TP 1920 21, 329) doubtless underlies the T'o-pa title *a lan* 阿干, KD 396 *a lan* < **agan* attested chiefly in the combination *nei a lan* 內阿干—'agan of the interior' Cf J 15, biography of T'o-pa Tsun 遵 who bore that title, and 2 P 71 B 15 a where it is mentioned as a position held under the Wei by Yu wen Hsi 宇文弼

9 *K'o-han* 可汗, *k a lan* < *qayan*. Although the title 'Khan' is not mentioned in the texts as the one borne by the early T'o-pa rulers we are justified in assuming that this was the case for the following reasons in 310 T'o-pa I lu 猗盧 is given in addition to the title of duke of Tai 代, that of great *shan yu* 單于, which in Chinese texts of the period is a "learned" archaic equivalent of *qayan* the T'o-pa Empress as we have

* In *Sino-Altaica* Series I IV (privately mimeographed)

† Another *Liu Ku jen* 庫仁 is mentioned in J 26 biography of Wei Chuan 尉遲, as one of eight high officials of the Wei and the same element enters into the name of a Juan Juan chieftain, appearing on the same page

seen, bore the corresponding feminine title *qayātun*. In the famous song of Mu lan 木蘭, which was undoubtedly composed in the North during the time of T'o pa domination, the Emperor is referred to as *l'o-han*. The title, made famous by the Orkhon Turks, was probably derived by them from the Juan-juan, who, in turn, must have borrowed it either from the T'o pa or the Mu jung.

10 Most of the T'o pa princes of the blood mentioned in F 95 and G 57 are referred to as *Chih-chün* 直勤 (or 慙), KD 1220, 389 *d'æk-g'ien*. This is obviously the equivalent of *t'ê chin* 特勤, KD 811: *d'æk-g'ien*, which transcribes regularly in T'ang texts the Orkhon Turkish *tigin*, *tagin* > *mo čigin*—"prince".

11 *Chih chên* 直眞, *d'æk-lsien*—"chief officers of the interior" 內左右, G 57. In *Izv*, 16, SHIRATORI suggests *tk ič*—"interior," basing himself on the modern pronunciation of *chih* 直; in *SZ* 9-10, the no more acceptable *ma dolo*—"lining" and other tungus forms. In order to understand the T'o pa term, one must compare it with the parallel title of the "chief officers of the exterior," which was, according to the same Chinese source

12 *Wu ai-chên* 烏矮眞, KD 1288, 1306 ·*uo-ai tsien* < **u'aičin* or **u'aičin*. Shiratori unwarrantedly alters *wu* 烏 into *niao* 鳥, KD 662 *tiou*, and adduces again Tungus forms (*op cit* 10 11). The Chinese terms *nei* 內 and *wai* 外 mean also "agnatus" and "cognatus," respectively, and it is doubtless in those meanings that we must take the above two expressions. **Tägin* must, thus, in all probability be connected with the *tk* root of § 10, found in Orkhon Turkish *tag*—"Geschlecht," while **u'aičin* is derived from *tk uq*—"id," a synonym of *tk mo urug* "family relations on the mother's or wife's side." We have further substantiation of this etymology in a passage in J 113, 1 a, where it is stated that in the early T'o pa organization various clans not directly related to the T'o-pa but who joined their confederacy were collectively called *Wu wan* 烏丸, KD 1293 ·*uo-yuân*. The two chiefs appointed over such *Wu wan* must undoubtedly be the officials termed **uoyaičin*.

13 14 In its description of the Wei army during the campaign of 495, G 57, 3 a, speaking of the retinue of T'o-pa Hung and the enormous chariot in which he traveled, says that the chariot was surrounded by 矚刺眞梁多白眞駝 "lances of the *ho la chen* and yak tailed standards of the *to po chên*". KD 73, 509 *yât lât-lsien* yield us a T'o pa form **atlačin*, while KD 1006, 685 *tâb'uk-lsien* gives **tabaqčin*. **Atlačin* is

* Cf. the proper name *tê chên* 𐰽𐰺𐰍𐰏 < **tägin*, occurring in L 17, 2a.

beginning of the fifth century occupied the post of governor of Yu chou and died in the seventh month of 406 (J 28 and J 2) Mu Ch'ung was one of the trustiest supporters of T'o pa Kuei and, at the time of the establishment of the Wei Empire, received the title of *shih chung* 侍巾 and was appointed *t'ai wei* 太尉. It is possible that the name or title which is given him by the Southern Chinese history, *So tu chen* 索度真, KD 818, 1128 *sak dah* (or *d uo g*) *tsiën* < **sagdaqcin* or **sagducin* contains the tk root **sag*—"bewahren," mo *saki*—"to guard," and means "guardsman" (possibly "commander of the guard," *i e t'ai wei*)

The same root might underlie *So kan* 索干 < **sagan* which is given in G 57, 2 b as the name of the capital of the T'o pa. **Sagan* could indeed mean "watch," "guarded place" (cf tk *sagla*—"dwelling"), although it is also possible that it is simply a variant form of *Sang kan* 桑乾, KD 769, 299 *sang kân*, the region of the Sang kan river in Shansi, where the T'o pa *ordo* was then situated

**Sagdaq* can, on the other hand, be connected with mo *sayadaq*, tk *sadaq*—"quiver" > russ *saidak*—"quiver" Mu Ch'ung may thus have borne the title of **sayadaqcin*, an old Turco mongol term for the later mo *qorcu*—"quiver bearer"

17 *Pu ta chen* 僕大真, KD 760, 952 *p'âk d ai tsien*—title of the "officer in charge of (the ruler's) clothes," 擔衣人, G 57, SZ 22 12, 14 15, where rather unsatisfactory mongol and tungus parallels meaning "to cover" are offered. In the light of the above etymology of *hu lo chen*, it would be tempting to identify in *pu ta chen* the officer in charge of one of the most important pieces of turco mongol apparel, the *boghtaq*, a head dress the wearing of which was not in ancient times exclusively limited to women. The initial surd of *p'u* would then present the same problem as the initial of *pi* 比 in § 4. The history of the term *boghtaq* < tk *boqtaq*-*boqta'* would require a special study (cf PELLIOU, JA 1925, I, 222). It is most probably of Chinese origin

18 *Che hui chen* 折潰真, KD 1185, 456 *tsiat-yuai tsien*, G 57, 爲主出受辭人, which Shiratori translates (*Izv*, 16) "ein Mann welcher um des Herrn willen den Gruss erwidert" It seems to me that *tz u* 辭 should be taken here rather in the judicial sense of "pleas and accusations". The T'o-pa term could then represent **jilyuaicin* < mo *jiluya* (*duq*) *ci*—"administrator" < tk mo *jiluya*-*jiluyu*—"reins", possibly, although the vocalization of the T'o pa term speaks against it mo *jaryaci*—"bailiff" or *jaryuci*—"judge"

19 *A chen* 阿真, 'a *tsiën*—a title entering into the designation of a

part of the T'ŏ-pa palace, the *a-chên* kitchen 廚, G 57. Shiratori is inclined (SZ 22 12, 15 16) to interpret a 阿 as being a mistake for *fu* 附, KD 44 *b'iu*, which appears in the title *fu chen* 附眞, equated by him with th. *mo* **baγurčīn*—"cook." The vocalization of the Chinese character does not, however, support this hypothesis. One would rather think that 'a *tsjĕn* represents the common tk **aciŋ* < *ašciŋ*—"cook" < *aš*—"food" 21

20 In the list of Wei generals which appears in the letter of T'ŏ-pa Hung to a Sung transfuge (F 95) is mentioned a T'ŏ-pa *t'ai-wei* *Chih-chin* Chia t'ou pa-yü-chih 直黠弩頭拔羽直, who is without any doubt to be identified with Yuan Ho 源賀 who was appointed *t'ai wei* in the third month of 466 (J 6)

The biography of this prominent individual (J 41) yields us all the necessary clues for deciphering his "barbarian" name. Yuan Ho was the son of T'u fa Nu t'an 禿髮奴檀, last ruler of the Southern Liang, and had sought refuge with the Wei after the destruction of his father's kingdom. Acknowledging the original relationship which united the T'ŏ-pa and T'u fa, T'ŏ pa T'ao conferred upon him the surname Yuan 源 (= "origin," "-al"). This was apparently tantamount to accepting the fugitive prince as a member of the Imperial Clan and explains the title *chih chin* 直黠 < *tägin*—"prince of the blood"

The young prince's original personal name was P'ŏ Ch'iang 破羌 (= "smiting the Ch'iang"), and the name Ho 賀, says J 41, was given to him by T'ŏ-pa T'ao for his distinguished services in campaigns against Kansu barbarians. "Having chosen a personal name," said T'ŏ-pa T'ao in conferring the new name, "a man must strive to realize its meaning (in his deeds). How can yours be said not to correspond (it be untrue)?" As Ho 賀 and Chia 契 are often graphically interchanged, it seems clear that the Wei Shu name is only a sinicized monosyllabic abbreviation of *Chia t'ou pa yü chih*. KD 342, 1015, 750, 1320, 1220 give us *γā d'əu b'wat* (g) *iu d'jəh* < **afibālgūtag*, possibly, if the lost consonant of *d'əu* was still sounded in that period, < **afiybalgūtag*. In this Turkish phrase we can distinguish the elements *at*—"name," *bālgū*—"omen," *tāg*—"like," "as." In the light of the above story of the cir-

21 *Ch'ī kai-chên* 乞街眞 *ḷ pət-γāt tsjĕn*—"executioner" might contain any of the numerous th. *mo*. stems **KFS*—"to cut" or *mo* *kisuga*—"sword." As to the remaining two titles *yung-chên* 平眞—"high official" and *fu chu-chên* 拂竹眞—"postmen of the lower rank" (cf. PELLIER *loc cit*) they do not yield to analysis. For the last equations advanced by both Shiratori and the present writer seem to be unsatisfactory.

circumstances under which the name was conferred, it seems obvious that the emperor nicknamed the prince "*Nomen Atque Omen*" The grammatical structure of the phrase is not, however, entirely clear We can interpret it as *at* 1 (possessive suffix) *balgu tag*—"his name (is) like an omen," although in that case we should expect *balgu* to be in the instrumental case There is also the faint possibility that in *at* 17 we have the accusative of *at*—"name," while *b'wat* (g) *iu d iak* might be a verbal form of *bakut*—"to establish," or *balgurt*—"to reveal" The phonetic equivalence would, however, be less good, in addition, the weakness of the *g* in (g) *iu* suggests strongly *balgu*-dial *balyü* *

21 According to both F 95 and G 57, T'o pa Hsun 淳 (440-453-465), son of T'o pa Huang 晃 (428-451), and fourth sovereign of the Wei dynasty bore the cognomen (*tzu* 字) Wu lei *chih chin* 烏雷直勤 1 e "Prince Wu lei," KD 520 'uo *luai tigin* The biography of this T'o pa prince (J 5, O 2) yields, I believe, an explanation of his title Hsun was greatly loved by his grandfather, T'o pa T'ao, who conferred upon him the title (*hao* 號) of "Imperial Grandson of the Line" 世嫡皇孫 'Uo *luai* doubtless contains the Turkish term *ur*—"son," "male descendant" (attested already in Orkhon Turkish, cf *uruy*—"posterity")

22 G 59 mentions a certain Chia lu hun 鄒鹿渾, prince of P'ing yuan, as commander of the T'o pa army during a campaign against the Juan Juan The same individual appears in G 57 as Fu lu ku Ho lu hun 伏鹿孤賀鹿渾, duke of Chu lu 鉅鹿 and governor of Hêng 恒 chou, and is said to have been one of the leaders of the 496 rebellion against T'o pa Hung

According to J 113, the T'o pa surname Fu lu ku was later abbreviated to Lu 陸 The official described in G 57 and G 59 is thus unquestionably to be identified with Lu Jui 陸叡, son of Lu Li 麗, who, according to his biography in J 40 a) commanded the T'o pa army against the Juan Juan in 496, b) bore from 466 to 492 the title of prince of P'ing yuan 平原, and that of duke of Chu lu from 492 to his death, c) perished in the conspiracy of 496, together with Mu T'ai 穆泰, J 27 (who had just succeeded him as governor of Heng chou) and other high officials

Jui's mother, the lady Chang 張氏, had been formerly a concubine of T'o-pa Huang and was undoubtedly given in marriage to Lu as a reward for the important role the latter played in the counter revolution of 453 which placed T'o-pa Hsun on the throne Jui was thus the issue of a union between commoner and a "lady of the palace"

In the light of this evidence, it would not be unreasonable to suppose

that in Jui's "barbarian" name, Ho lu hun 賀鹿渾, KD 576, 508 *γā-lu-lu-γiuan*, we have the earliest transcription of the Turco mongol term **aryun*—"métis," "half breed," "Bâtard," the original of the well known Argon—"half breed" of Marco Polo (cf PAUTHIER, 214 217, YULE CORDIER, I, 290 292, PELLIOU, JA 1927, 2, 265, note)

23 The common turkish *tuman*—"ten thousand" forms without any question the original of T'u wan 吐萬, KD 1129 *t'uō mī^wan* < **tuman*, the name of a T'o pa prince, a great grandson of T'o pa Kuei. The same two characters appear in the *T'ung Chih* 19, 9 b, as a Northern surname derived from the name of a Tai 代 tribe

24 The T'o-pa surname Ch'u chin 去斤, KD 491, 385 *li^wo(b) li^wan*, later changed to A: 艾 ("artemisia," "old man"), is a good transcription of *tk lok, mo kōle*—"blue" We have in this case an apparent attempt on the part of those responsible for the change to suggest, while simplifying the surname, the turkish original semantically *Kōl* forms undoubtedly the base of *mo kōlsin*—"old man" ("blue gray haired"? Ch A: 艾—"old man" < "moxa haired," while "artemisia" suggests "sage brush-colored"—"blue") The same word Ch'u chin 去斤 occurs in the *Yuan ho Chun hsien T'u-chih*, ch 3, as the Hsien pi name of the Ch'ing 清 ("clear"—Ch. 青 *ch'ing*—"blue") river in Shensi

25 The original surname of Tou Pin 竇賓, chief of the Mo lu hui horde who befriended Li wei, was, according to J 113 and 2 P 71 B, 2 b, Hou tou ling 侯豆陵 or Ko-t'u lin 紇突隣, KD 79, 560 *γau dōu liang*, KD 332, 498, 556 *γust d uet liēn*. At the basis of this transcription lies possibly the common Turkish *qudu*—"father in law," the name of the Tou clan being undoubtedly derived from the fact of their inter marriage with the early T'o pa ¹²

26 Yu lien 宥連, KD 251, 551 *γi^wu(< g u) lian*, Northern surname later changed into Ch Yu 雲—"cloud," J 113, < *mo egulen*—"cloud" The same Mongol word appears as a proper name in L 17, 2a in the transcription Yu lien 祐連, KD 150, pronunciation identical

27 Ch'ī nu 叱奴, KD 1055, 674 *tsiēt* (with the final *t* quiescent) *nuo*, Northern surname later changed into Ch lang 狼—"wolf," *ibid* < *mo cinoā*—"wolf" Possible variant Ch'ou nu 醜奴, KD 460 *tsi^wu nuo* registering the *mo* form *cono*—"id" ¹³ There is no evidence that

¹² The term *qudu* appears already in the Hsiung nu language as a designation of dignitaries belonging to clans other than that of the *shān γu* the *kū tū hou* 骨都侯. It is uncertain whether *hou* 侯 is here a suffix or the Chinese title *hou*

¹³ Both of these surnames may have been derived from the names of tribes of

both these terms were genuine T'o-pa surnames or words. There exists, on the other hand, some indication that the tk word for "wolf," *burī*, is present in the cognomen of T'o pa T'ao, Fo-lī 佛狸, KD 47, 529: *b'īust-lī*.

28 Among the genuine T'o-pa surnames, particularly arrests our attention that of I-chan 乙旌, KD 176, 965: *'īēt-tśuan*. This surname was borne by descendants of the uncle of T'o-pa Lan 隣, pht. Hsien 獻, the grandfather of Li-wei, later the surname was changed to Shu-sun 叔孫 (*shu* = "uncle"). The first part of the T'o pa word contains without any question the tk term *īci*—"elder brother," "uncle" (uig. *īci*, orkh. *ači*). **Icin* or **īci en* can be compared in structure with *tigin-tagin*, < *tag*, which contains the same derivative suffix.

29. Ho-jo 賀若, KD 938. *γā nīzīah*, T'o-pa surname, explained in *T'ung Chih* 29, 7 b as meaning "upright in determination" 志正, most probably from tk. (uig) *ayay*—"honor."

30 G 57, 2 b describes a religious ceremony performed by T'o-pa Hung in which the Emperor, prior to sacrificing to Heaven on a special altar, would ride, accompanied by his chief officers on horseback, around the altar once, while his retinue performed the same rite seven times. The ceremony was called "stamping 蹋 the altar" *T'a 蹋*, KD 958: *t'āp*, might represent a genuine T'o pa word, and not the Chinese "to stamp," "to tread on"; indeed, *t'āp* can be equated with the tk root *tap*—"to worship," re-appearing possibly in the surname T'a lu 咨盧, *t'ap-luo* (J 113), and in T'a kan 咨干 < **t'apgan*, a proper name in J 30, 4a.

31. Another T'o-pa surname, Yu-tu-chin 郁都甄, KD 251, 1187, 278. *īul-tuo-kīēn*, and Yu tou-chuan 郁豆眷, KD 495. *īul-d'ou-kīēan*, the name under which prince T'o-pa Chia 紇 (J 18) appears in F 23 and G 25, contains another important tk root connected with the preceding, namely *otūg*—"to pray," which underlies the name of Mt. Ūtūken, the sacred mountain of the Orkhon Turks. On *tap* and *otug* as Turco-mongol idioms used at court functions cf. PELLLOT, *TP* 1930, 33, note.

32 Another Turco-mongol term of interest may underlie the surname A-fu-kan 阿伏干, KD 46. *'ā b'īul-kān-Sū* fu-chien 伏斤, KD 183. *dz'ī b'īul-kīēn* (but cf. PELLLOT, *TP* 1928-29, 225-229, for the archaic pronunciation of *sū* 伏) possibly < *mo ebugen*—"old man," "forefather." The same word under the first transcription occurs in

purely Mongol origin which had been incorporated into the T'o pa organization. The identification of *yu lien* and *ch'ī nu* was made by Shiratori and, independently, by the present writer in *Sino-tibetica* I

F 95 as the name of a T'ŏ-pa general who is in all probability to be identified with Wei Chuen 尉建 of J 29, 2b Cf also the name of an important mountain in the old territory of the Wei, where T'ŏ-pa Ho nu 賀得 fixed his capital in 342, Mu kên shan 木根山, KD 643, 312 *mukkon* < **ebugen*?

The above list contains most of the T'ŏ-pa words that can be identified with some degree of certainty. Many tempting equivalences have been discarded on the ground of insufficient evidence,¹³ but the author feels that with further careful analysis of the texts of the Chinese dynastic histories and meticulous correlation of the Northern and Southern versions of many events of the period, we should be able to reconstruct a great deal of the lost language of the T'ŏ-pa.

Thus far we have not touched upon the origin and the meaning of the name T'ŏ-pa itself. In order to be able to analyze it properly, we shall find ourselves obliged to review in some detail the traditions concerning the origin of the T'ŏ pa preserved in the first chapter of the *Wei Shu*.

The T'ŏ-pa traced the origin of their ruling house eighty two generations back from T'ŏ pa Li wei to the times of "Emperor" Shun. In writing his introduction to T'ŏ-pa history, Wei Shou 魏收¹⁴ undoubtedly tried to correlate their traditions with Chinese chronology. His chronological scheme can, indeed, be reconstructed as follows, counting a generation as equal to 30 years (the usual number in Chinese sources) and marking the three crucial points of T'ŏ-pa "pre history"

1 Shih-chun 始均, the reputed Chinese ancestor of the house, *circa* 2210 B C, corresponding to the "Standard Chronology" date of Shun 67 generations later brings us down to Mao 毛, pht Ch'êng 成, who united under his leadership "36 tribes 國 and 99 clans 姓," 2210 2010 (67 x 30) = *circa* 200 B C, corresponding to the period of the great process of unification going on in Mongolia at the time of the formation of the Hsiung nu Empire.

2 Counting 5 more generations (including that of Mao) until the time of T'ui yin 推寅, pht Hsuan 宣, under whom the first migration of the T'ŏ pa took place,¹⁵ gives us the date 50 B C, which doubtless

¹³ Some of these however require special treatment and the author hopes to return to them in the near future.

¹⁴ For a clear and thorough account of Wei Shou and his work see J. R. WARE *Notes on the History of the Wei Shu* JAOS 52 (1932) 35-40.

¹⁵ From their home in the extreme North to the shores of a 'Great Lake' 大澤 a thousand li in circumference. The question of the location of that home and of the path of the T'ŏ-pa migration constitutes a problem in itself. Accord

3. Roots meaning "to cross a mountain," "to pass through," "to bore through" a) tk. *aš*—"to cross a mountain," *ašin*—"id"; it is most probably this root which is hidden beneath the Chinese transcription of the clan name of the T'u chueh Turks, A-shih-na 阿史那, KD 1, 885, 647: 'āsina, and A-shih-tê 阿史德, KD 981 'āsita¹⁹ b) mo *toyl*—"to penetrate, pass through", *toyla*—"to accomplish", *tegus*, *dugur*—"to accomplish," tk *tula*—"to finish", *tok*—"to pour out", mo *čoyu*—"through", *čoyul*—"to bore through", *tolbur*—"a boring instrument" (cf Tegus—the name of one of the ancestors of the Mongols who found refuge in the Ergene kun).

4 The last root is connected in Mongol with words designating metallurgical terms *duyulyan*—"tin," "lead", *duyulya*—"helmet", ¹⁹ *toya*, *toyon*, *toyoan*—"cauldron" ²⁰ (in the KOK series, cf *kugurge*—"bellows," *kugurgede*—"to blow a fire").

*TO'OL also underlies, in my belief, the name of the T'u yu-hun 吐谷渾, KD 425 *t'uo kuk-yuən* (cf. PELLiot, TP 1920-21, 323-331), also possibly **t'uo-luk-yuən* (as 谷 is often pronounced 鹿 *luk* in transcriptions of Northern names), corresponding to Thu-lu-hun, the Tibetan rendering of the name of that people. Note that the T'u-yu-hun were a tribe "migrating through mountains" and settled eventually in the Kokonor region.

Great built his wall against Gog and Magog in the "Pseudo Callisthenes" story, μαζοι βορρᾶ, "the breasts of the North" (cf ANDERSON, op cit, 25), a half translation, half popular etymology of two elements of an original turkish compound in the wolf version of the legend (*kok*—"breasts" and *burs*—"wolf")?

¹⁹ A form **tugurik* > **tu'urik* > **turik* might, indeed, be the real etymology of the very name of the Turks.

²⁰ This etymology of A shih na is much to be preferred to that advanced by the writer in *Sino Altaica* I, 15, where **dānā* is derived from **ar činoā*—"ten wolves."

²¹ The above discussion suggests also a revival of the etymology of T'u-chüeh 突厥 (< Türküt, as established by Pelliot) by **duyulyat* the plural of *duyulya*—"helmet." Cf *T'ung Chih* 29 15a, where the T'u-chüeh are referred to as 突厥窟, **d uət k'wət k'wət* < **duyulyut*?

²² This word is, I believe attested already in the language of the Mu jung 濊人 and forms the base of T'u ho 徒河, 徒何, KD 1129 *duo-ya*, the name of an important subdivision of the Hsien pi of the Manchurian frontier, closely related to the Mu jung. Thus Mu jung Hui 濊客廐 is referred to in J 1, under the year 307, as the great *shan yü* of the T'u ho. As a variant of the name we have Tuan 段, KD 1135 *d uən* < *toyan*, T'u ho-chên 吐賀真 *t'uo-ya tsien*, name of a Juan Juan khan, J 103 (in F 95 苑客廐, KD 1132, 57 *t'uo-yat tsien*) < *toyačn* T'u-chü chên 吐屈真, KD 427 *t'uo luət tsien*, the name of a river in the T'u yü hun country, is undoubtedly derived from the root *toyl*, as is the name of the river Tula < *Toyla*.

In the light of the above, the nickname of the two T'Ō-pa leaders T'ui-yin, < t'uāi-ŷén < *t'u'ayin, assumes great importance. We see the T'Ō-pa as sharing in the common Turco-mongol tradition of tracing their origin to "Borers." Although there is no direct evidence of the early T'Ō-pa being engaged in metallurgical occupations, their practice, attested since the latter part of the IVth century, of determining the choice of consort by the success of a prospective candidate in casting a metal image of herself,²¹ seems to indicate the existence of metal-working traditions in their midst.

It is in the same direction that, as it seems to me, we must look for an etymology of the name T'Ō-pa 拓跋, KD 883, 750. t'al b'uât. Already in TP 1912, 792, Professor Pelliot had suggested that in *t'al-b'uât we have the original of the early medieval designations of Northern China, tk. Tabγač, ar. Tamghā, طماح, Byzantine Greek Ταγαστ. The metathesis of b-β and γ~q explains the Chinese *Taγbač (with the final -t of b'uât representing tk. č).

The Chinese sources at our disposal give the following interpretation of the meaning of T'Ō pa²²

1. J 1, 1 "lord of the soil" "Huang Tī (the ancestor of both Chinese and "Barbarians") became ruler by virtue of the soil (one of the Five Agents 五行), as in the language of the North they call "soil"—t'al 拓, and "lord"—b'uât 跋, the T'Ō-pa adopted "lord of the soil" as their surname"²³

2. As we have seen, the T'ū fa 禿髮, KD 1131, 750 t'ul-pi²⁴nt, are identical with the T'Ō pa, the etymological explanation of their name should, therefore, help us to restore and to understand the original of T'al-b'uât. According to J 99, the meaning of the compound T'ū fa was "covered with a blanket" or "(born) in a blanket," their eponymous ancestor having been born in this, rather natural, fashion

²¹ T'Ō-pa Kuei is said to have chosen by this method the daughter of Mu jung Pao for his "Empress," while another of his wives, the daughter of Liu Chuan 劉春, failed in the test

²² The etymologies given by the Chinese historians for barbarian names have often been discounted, unjustly so for while the etymology might be fanciful, it nevertheless gives priceless phonetic hints as to the original word. One must say, on the other hand, that the Chinese historians (prior to the notorious Ch'ien lung commission) have always been careful to qualify their statements with numerous 蓋, "it seems that" and 或云, 'according to some information'

²³ Cf. also T'ung Chi 29, 9a, where T'Ō-pa is considered to be an abbreviation of 拓后跋 t'al-γu b'uât, and b'uât is interpreted as shou 受—'recipient'?

3 A comparatively recent source, the *Chi-lan* 集覽 of the *Tz'ü-chih T'ung-chien Kang-mu*, ch. 16, under 270 A. D., insists that T'u-fa meant "slave."

4 Both T'u fa (*t'u*—"bald," *fa*—"hair") and the purely Chinese (*Nan Shih*) designation of the T'o pa, So T'ou 索頭 (= braided heads") might also contain some semantic indications (through some play on words) concerning the meaning of T'o-pa

For the first interpretation, in the light of the Chinese meanings and division of words, *tk baš*—"head," "lord" immediately suggests itself for the second element. The first part would then be the *tk* root **top*—"soil" > *tk. mo tobraq*, *mo. tobaraq*, *toburaq*—"id." There is, indeed, a phonetic possibility that **Taβyač* could have been understood or interpreted folk etymologically as **Taβyač* > *Toβwač* > *Top baš*. *Tk. tay-tayu* ~ *mo daβaya*—"mountain," also meaning "Northland" might have entered into the etymological considerations of the historians, while **Tabaqč(i)* > *Taβqač(i)* (cf *supra*, § 14)—"the ground ers," "those of the soil" would offer an excellent *tk -č(i)* form of *tabaq*—"ground."

For the equation of T'u-fa < *t'uk-pi-wnt* with *Taqbač* we should postulate the same metathesis of *k* and *p* as in *t'ak-b'uat* and reconstruct the form as **Tupqač*. The blanket of the nomad is, of course, his saddlecloth. The common turkish term for "saddlecloth" is *čapraq* (< *čap*—"to cover") whence eng "shabrack," in *mo toxom*, which would indicate an original **tap-top*. The Chinese etymology could thus have arisen from **Toβač* mispronunciation of *Tabqač* and a popular etymological association with a root **tap*—"to cover" > "saddlecloth" and an unconscious attempt to include paronomastically the root *toγ*—"to be born."

As to the *Chi-lan* explanation, it is obviously based on *tk tapryč-i-tapuqč-i*—"slave" < *tap*—"to worship," "to serve" (cf § 30)

The association of the name of the **Taqbač* with the way they apparently dressed their hair also finds an explanation in *tk* words very close phonetically to the first syllable of the T'o pa name, namely *mo tuiba*—"braided hair," *toγorčaq*—"hair tied in a knot," *tk tüpe*—"braid of hair left on the top of the skull" (the root of these words is semantically

"The root *čap*—"to cover," "to put on" exhibits in Turkish an interesting shift of the initial *č-t-q*, which has not so far been duly analyzed by 'Altaists'. Cf *mo qom*—"felt" vs *toxom*, *qubča*—"to dress" vs *jubčarya*, *čuba*—"fur coat," "coat"; also in *qaba*—"crack" vs *taba*, *čaba*—"ib". This shift had already been observed by Abū l Ghazī who records it in *Qipčaq* > *Čipčaq* (cf PELLIER, TP 1930, 280).

affiliated with the stem for "round" discussed above, as well as with **dobo*—"protuberance", curiously enough, we find in Mongol the word *kūlel*—"braided hair" (the root of which also seems to be linked with the semantic series *KOK* mentioned before) The second element would again be *baš*—"head"

The variety of the etymologies, all of which, as we have seen, are justifiable on phonetic grounds and are based on a mispronunciation or misinterpretation of an original **Taβyač*, suggests that the real explanation of their name was suppressed by the T'o pa, either because it evoked their low origin or because of sacred associations I am inclined to derive, basing myself on the connection of the T'o pa with the "Gog and Magog Complex" outlined above, **Taβyač* > T'o-pa from Turkish form of *mo daβa*, *daβaya*- "to cross mountains," "to make one's way through a defile" (*mo d-* often represents *tk. t-*, cf *mo daβayan-tk tayu*—"mountain"), and interpret the name of the great T'o-pa Wei as "*Transmontani*," "*Ultramontani*"

The T'o-pa vocabulary thus reveals itself as being essentially Turkish, with a certain admixture of Mongol elements Except in a few cases, where pure Mongol terms can only be explained as reflecting the composite nature of the T'o-pa confederacy, seemingly Mongol forms can always be traced back to Turkish or proto-turkish originals This conclusion may sound bold Admittedly an amateur in the field of "Altaic" linguistics, the writer has primarily attempted to call the attention of specialists to the "Case of the T'o-pa" The right of pronouncing the final verdict belongs to Turkologists

THE INTRODUCTION OF SPECTACLES INTO CHINA

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The earliest systematic discussion by a Westerner on the introduction of spectacles into China known to the writer is that by Berthold Laufer, late Curator of Anthropology in the Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago and former President of the American Oriental Society in his article *Zur Geschichte der Brille in Mittheilungen zur Geschichte der Medizin und der Naturwissenschaften* 6 4 (1907), 379-385. This article was used by Dr. George Sarton as the principal source for his account of the introduction of spectacles into China in his *Introduction to the History of Science* 1 2, 1024-1025. Through the kind suggestion of Dr. Sarton, I was recently led to this interesting topic, my object at first being merely to identify for him a few Chinese characters for the Chinese titles and authors mentioned by Laufer, which Dr. Sarton said that he had been unable to elicit from Laufer for many years. My research, however, has led me deeper and deeper into the subject until I have found all the Chinese sources used by Laufer, whereupon I find quite a few mistakes as to the facts given in his article and as to the actual Chinese characters given in Dr. Sarton's account, which he himself has felt doubtful about for some time.

First, let me quote from Dr. Sarton (cf. *supra*) the relevant passages, which are an accurate digest of Laufer's account except for the Chinese characters which he failed to give.

"The earliest Chinese mention of spectacles occurs in Tung¹ tien² Ch'ing lu^{3*} (12294, 11177, 2188, 7386) written by Chao⁴ Hsi lu^{5*} (498, 4048, 6248), a member of the imperial Sung family. Chao had borrowed his own information from the 'account of people of the Yuan dynasty,' Yuan² jen² hsiao³ shuo^{1*} (13744, 5624, 4294, 10164). He speaks of glasses called ai⁴ tai⁴ (21, 10561)², by means of which old people can read fine script which they could not read otherwise, and says that they come from Central Asia. Other works of about the same time, the Pai⁴ shih⁴ lei⁴ pien¹ (8563, 9893, 6853, 9178), and the Fang¹ chou¹ tsa^{2*} yen² (3435, 2446, 11454, 13025), also refer to

¹ Published by the Carnegie Institution Washington D C 1931

the Central Asiatic origin. On the other hand, according to the K'ang¹ hsi¹ tzu⁴ tien³ (5908, 4115, 12324, 11177), the dictionary produced under the patronage of the Ch'ing emperor K'ang hsi (c 1717), spectacles were introduced into China from Malacca, this would postpone the introduction at least until the fifteenth century. Assuming the origin of the earlier introduction, it is probable that Central Asia was not the real origin but only an intermediary, the origin might be in India or the West?

"It is difficult to date this earliest Chinese record. Laufer suggests c 1260, but I do not see how such an early date can be arrived at. The *Yuan jen siao shuo* can hardly have been written before the Yuan dynasty was well under way. The end of the thirteenth century seems to me to be the earliest possibility.

"At a later time the name of Chinese glasses was changed from ai tai to yen³ ching⁴ (13129, 2170), which means eye-mirror (cf. German, Augen Spiegel). The new name is definite enough but it dates only from the XVIIIth century."

In this account as in Laufer's German original, it is stated that Chao Hsi ku 趙希鶴 was a member of the imperial Sung family and that he had borrowed his own information from a book entitled *Tales by People of the Yuan Dynasty*. Diese Nachricht wird von Chao Hsi ku, einem Mitglied der kaiserlichen Familie der Sung, gegeben, in seinem Werke *Tung tien ch'ing lu*, mit der Angabe, das sie aus einem Buche "Erzählungen von Leuten der Yuan (mongolischen) Dynastie" (*Yuan Jen Siao-shuo*).² Dr. Sarton further suggests that "the *Yuan Jen Siao shuo* could hardly have been written before the Yuan dynasty was well underway." Now the imperial Sung household ruled China from 960 to 1279 A. D. How could a Sung dynasty person borrow his information from a supposed Yuan dynasty (1280-1368 A. D.) book? It is quite true that members of a former imperial family might have continued to live and write after the end of that dynasty, just as many members of the Ch'ing 清 dynasty are still living or writing today, though the dynasty itself is a thing of the past. But an examination of the probable date of Chao Hsi ku reveals that he was active around the year 1240. In the *Ssu K'u Ch'uan Shu Tsung Mu* 四庫全書總目, ch. 123 the description given under the title *Tung Tien Ch'ing Lu* 洞天清錄,³ relates that Chao Hsi ku was a descendant of the prince of Yen and that his exact dates were unascertainable, but in his book the author tells that in 嘉熙²²

¹ *Mitt. zur Geschichte der Med.* xiv 6 380

² As given in the *Introduction to the History of Science* 通典清錄 (Giles Dictionary character no. 12294 11177) the first two characters are wrong

庚子 (1240 A. D.) he was returning from the North to I-ch'un 宜春 (present I ch'un Hsien in Kiangsi Province), which was his home. Again according to Sung Shih 宋史 217, Genealogical Table No. 8, Genealogy of the Imperial Household No. 3,⁴ Chao Hsi ku was a descendant in the ninth generation of Prince Tê chao of Yen 燕王德昭, a second son of the founder of the Sung dynasty. From these two records it is possible to establish that the date of Chao Hsi ku would probably fall between 1200-1280. Therefore it is clear that he could not have derived his information from any book supposed to be written when the Yuan dynasty was well under way.

This mistake of Laufer's was due to (1) his failure to establish the date of Chao Hsi-ku and (2) his misreading of the passage in the *K'ang-hsi Dictionary* 康熙字典, where three books are cited under the term *ai tai* 靛鞵. These books are (1) *Chêng Tzû T'ung* 正子通, the great dictionary produced under the Ming dynasty, (2) *Tung T'ien Ch'ing Lu* and (3) *Fang Yu Shêng Lueh* 方輿勝略, one of the books proscribed by Emperor Ch'ien lung 乾隆. The passage in question does not mean that Chao Hsi ku derived his information from any such alleged book as a *Yuan Jên Hsiao shuo* 元人小說, which is not a book at all. The compilers of the *K'ang hsi Dictionary* simply pointed out the fact that some novels of the Yuan dynasty related that *ai-tai* or "spectacles" came from the Western Regions. If *Yuan-jên hsiao shuo* were the title of a book, it would have a rectangle around it, like the other three titles and there would be no such character as *yen* 言 under it.

A few words must be said about the variations in different editions⁵ of the *Tung T'ien Ch'ing Lu*, because they have a bearing upon the problem. Four editions common at the present time do not have any reference to the term *ai tai*. The review in the *Ssü K'ü Ch'uan Shu Tsung Mu* points out that the original Kiangsi edition printed by Prince Ning hsien 寧獻王 (Chu Ch'uan 朱權), of the Ming dynasty is different from the Hangchow edition assembled by Chung Jên chieh 鍾人傑 in his *T'ang Sung Ts'ung shu* 唐宋叢書 which is full of later interpolations, not written by Chao Hsi ku. Evidently, the compilers of the *K'ang hsi Dictionary* must have used an edition which contained some

⁴ The reference given by NANA Toshisada, Fnanshi ni Mietaru Megane ni tsuite, SG 3 8 (July, 1924), 621 那波利貞, 淮南子に見えたる金目に就いて (The Chin mu in Huai Nan Tsü) is wrong.

⁵ They are as follows: The *Tu hua-chai Ts'ung shu* 讀畫齋叢書, *Mei shu Ts'ung shu* 美術叢書, *Hai-shan hsien luan Ts'ung shu* 海山仙館叢書, and *Shuo fu* 說部 edition.

section, chuan 58, on *yen ching* 眼鏡 (modern name for spectacles) quotes at length from a *Pai Shih Lei Pien* 裨史類編 and the *Fang Chou Tsa Yen* 方洲雜言, both stating that spectacles were secured from the Western Regions. The *Pai Shih Hui* 裨史彙編 is one of the works merely listed by the *Ssü K'ü Ch'üan Shu Ts'un Mu* 存目, but not included in the *Ssu K'ü Ch'üan Shu*. It is a reference work of miscellaneous notes compiled by Wang Ch'ü 王圻, a native of Shanghai who became a *chin shih* 進士 in 1565. The *Fang Chou Tsa Yen* 方洲雜言 is also a work listed merely in the *Ts'un Mu* and contains miscellaneous anecdotes. It was written by Chang Ning 張寧 (*tsü Ching chih* 靖之, hao Fang chou 方洲) of the Ming dynasty, who became a *chin shih* in 1454.

Another serious mistake committed by Laufer¹² is his assertion that the modern Chinese term for spectacles *yen ching* dates definitely only from the 18th century. He cited the *Shu Wu I Ming Su* 庶物異名疏 as his authority, which was also mentioned by Ch'ên Yuan lung in his *Ko Chih Ching Yuan*. According to the *Ssü K'ü Ch'üan Shu Tsung Mu* the *Shu Wu I Ming Su* was written by Ch'ên Mou jên 陳懋仁 of the Ming dynasty, who was an official in the office of the governor of Ch'üan Chou 泉州, Fukien province, with the title *ching li* 經歷 during the period Wan li 萬曆 (1573-1620)¹³. He certainly could not have written the *Shu Wu I Ming Su* in the 18th century! As a matter of fact, other Ming dynasty books such as the *Ch'ü Hsiu Lei Kao* 七修類稿 by Lang Ying 郎瑛 (born 1487 and still living in 1566), also used the modern term *yen ching* 眼鏡. Therefore we may conclude that the term *yen ching*, which is still in use today, was probably already prevalent among the people in China at the beginning of the 16th century.

Now let us come back to the important question of the exact period when spectacles were first introduced into China. I believe for the following reasons that the passage quoted above from two out of six editions of the *Tung T'ien Ching Lu* is a later interpolation.

First, Chao Hsi ku's *Tung T'ien Ch'ing Lu* was an important work

* 舟 as given in the *Introduction to the History of Science* is wrong.

¹² The character *hui* is a synonym of *lei* and is sometimes pronounced *lei* and was probably used interchangeably by Ch'ên Yuan lung in his *Ko Chih Ching Yuan*.

¹³ Available now in the *Hsueh Hai Lei Pien* edit on 學海類編.

¹⁴ *Op cit* 380.

¹⁵ *Provincial Gazetteer of Fukien* 福建通志 (1829) 103.

¹⁶ *Cf its Hsiu Kao* ch 6.

highly valued by scholars and antiquarians. It would certainly have been known to the Ming scholars who had discussed the origin of spectacles. Yet both of the Ming books which contain lengthy sections on spectacles. Lang Ying's *Ch'ü Hsiu Lei Kao* with a *hsü lao* and Chang Ning's *Fang Chou Tsa Yen* made no mention of Chao's work. This would indicate that editions of Chao's work current at the time when Lang Ying and Chang Ning wrote contained no passage on *ai tai* (spectacles). Secondly, the *Ssü K'u Ch'üan Shu Tsung Mu* points out that the edition printed by Chung Jün-chieh in his *T'ang Sung Ts'ung shu* had been retouched, because it mentions many events and persons connected with the Ming dynasty. It is only in this edition and also in the *Chü Chia P'ei* edition that this particular passage on spectacles is to be found. Third, the text of Chao's work in the four editions mentioned above in note 5 is of the same origin. All these editions are based upon the text collated by Ho Cho 何焯 in 1713 with an early Ming manuscript (澄生堂鈔本) and first printed by Pao T'ing-po 鮑廷博 in 1795. Ho Cho charged in the colophon that recent editions changed the character 祿 to 錄 and dropped the character 集, and wrongly divided the book into eleven sections instead of ten as stated by Chao in his preface. The text in the *T'ang Sung Ts'ung shu* is in eleven sections, and the character *lu* is written 錄 instead of 祿. Fourthly, great Ch'ing scholars, except the compilers of the *K'ang hsi Dictionary*, who had written on the subject of spectacles, such as, Ch'ên Yuan lung in *Ko Chih Ching Yüan* 58, and Chao I 趙翼 (1727-1814) in his *Kai Fu Ts'ung K'ao* 陔餘叢考, ch. 33, did not make use of Chao's *Tung T'ien Ching Lu*, because they must have felt that the editions of Chao's work containing this passage on spectacles were unreliable, otherwise it would not be understandable why they overlooked Chao's work, which has been considered an important book since the Southern Sung to the present day.

With Chao's work out of the way, the next earliest books which make mention of spectacles were the works of Ming authors, like the *Ch'ü Hsiu Lei Kao* and the *Fang Chou Tsa Yen*. From their accounts it is clear that spectacles were introduced into China from the Western Regions during the latter part of the Yuan dynasty, that is the 14th century. There is some foundation for the reference in the *K'ang hsi Dictionary* that according to the legends or accounts 小說 of people of the Yuan dynasty spectacles came from the Western Regions. Lang Ying says in the *hsü lao* to his *Ch'ü Hsiu Lei Kao*, ch. 6, that spectacles were sent as tribute from the foreigners 夷人 (i e non Chinese) in Kansu. Chang

Ning said in his book¹² that spectacles were gotten by bartering good horses for them with merchant-foreigners from the West¹³ 以良馬易得于西域賈胡. Both of these Ming books have been quoted by later writers on spectacles. For instance, the *Ch'ü Hsiu Lei Kao's* *hsu kao* was quoted by the *Pei Shih Hui Pien*, which was in turn quoted by Ch'ên Yuan-lung in his *Ko Chih Ching Yuan*, which also used passages from the *Fang Chou Tsa Yen*. Again, Chao I in his *Kai Yu Ts'ung Kao* quoted at length from these two books. He also mentioned two other interesting facts: (1) the commissioner of education of Chao yang 潮陽 in Kwangtung Province, a Mr Ling, had a pair of spectacles, which came from a foreign boat from Malacca, and (2) under the Sung dynasty (960-1280) judges in deciding cases in the court used rock crystal or quartz 水晶 to read illegible legal documents in the sun, but people at that time did not know how to make spectacles out of quartz. Finally, he came to the conclusion that in ancient times there were no spectacles, that people under the Sung dynasty knew how to use quartz only as magnifying glasses, that in the early part of the Ming dynasty spectacles were extremely expensive things and that they were used only by members of the imperial family and by very rich people, that spectacles coming from abroad were made of glass and that later people in Kwantung, following the foreign pattern, made spectacles out of quartz which were superior to the imported ones. Now Chao I was a critical, historical scholar of the first rank, being the author of the famous *Erh shih erh Shih Cha chi* 二十二史劄記. It seems safe to accept his conclusion.

It is necessary to say a few words about the origin of the term *ai-tai*. According to the *K'ang hsi Dictionary* the correct characters should be 優逮 and not 優逮, but as a matter of fact, the correct characters could not very well be determined, since this term seems to be the transliteration of some foreign word. The reasons for believing *ai tai* to be a transliteration rather than an original Chinese term are (1) before the Ming dynasty the term *ai-tai* was never used for spectacles and (2) when the Ming authors did use the term *ai tai* for spectacles they each employed different characters to denote the sound, to wit: (1) It is 優逮 in the

¹² *Hsueh Hsi Lei Pien* edition 12b 13a

¹³ After the text as given here the Chinese has the two characters 滿刺, but since they make little sense I have dropped them as did also Chao I when quoting this passage in his *Kai Yu Ts'ung Kao*. They were probably inserted by the author as a sort of name for the merchant foreigners. In Naba's article the passage is punctuated 西域賈胡滿刺似. 聞其名爲優逮. It seems to me that the circle should be placed before the 似.

Fang Chou Tsa Yen, (2) 眼鏡 in the *Shu Wu I Ming Su* and (3) 矮納 in Ch'ên Jên hsi's *Ch'ien ch'io chu Lei shu* 陳仁錫 潛確居類書

The two characters 眼鏡 were used, on the whole, more than the others, and it was probably for this reason that the compilers of the *A'ang hsi Dictionary* pronounced them to be the correct ones. In seeking for some foreign word to which they might correspond my mind immediately turned to the Arabic language, since the Arab merchants were numerous in Malacca during that time. My friends, Mr. Wang Tu-chien 翁獨健 and Dr. Sarton, have helped me to find the Arabic word *uainat* for spectacles, which corresponds very closely in sound to the Chinese characters *ai-na*. Because the Chinese accounts pointed repeatedly to Malacca¹⁷ as the source of spectacles, I tentatively set down the origin of the Chinese term *ai na* and *ai tai* as Arabic, until somebody can indicate some other foreign language as the source of our early Chinese term.

¹⁷ Of course these early accounts do not name the place where spectacles were invented. We know now that spectacles were invented in the West during the thirteenth century. The credit is attributed by some to Alessandro di Spina, a Florentine monk, and by others to Roger Bacon. Cf. SARTON *Introduction to the History of Science*. G. H. OLIVER, *History of the Invention and Discovery of Spectacles*. London 1913. CARL BARCK *History of Spectacles*. Chicago 1907.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE ASTRONOMY OF THE HAN PERIOD III *

ASTRONOMY OF THE LATER HAN PERIOD

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I INTRODUCTION

In our "Contributions to the Astronomy of the Han Period I and II" ¹ we attempted to explain the *San t'ung* 三統 calendar system, which dates from the late Han 漢 period. We sought to determine the accuracy of the astronomical fundamental numbers of this calendar, which was devised by Liu Hsin and his associates, and which represents a further development of Ssü ma Ch'ien's 司馬遷 *T'ai ch'u* 太初 calendar. We then explained the methods of calculation, the various formulae which were employed, and the significance of the many numbers which were required therefor. Next, in the light of the results thus obtained, we examined several old texts which philologists and historians thought, as a result of their study, altered or falsified. The examination of the *Tso Chuan* 左傳 indicates the probability of a revision by Liu Hsin 劉歆 and his associates, investigation relative to the date marking the beginning of the Chou 周 dynasty ² proves that this date was subsequently recalculated according to the formulae of the *San t'ung* calendar. In both cases some reasons for the revision, as well as for the extrapolation of the date, could be given.

In the following investigation, the materials of the Later Han period

* [EDITORS NOTE. This article has been translated from the German under the sole direction of the editors. The author has seen neither the translation nor the proofs.]

¹ Part I. *Beiträge zur Astronomie der Han Zeit I* SBAW, phil. hist. Kl. (1933), 209-229; part II. *ibid.* 937-979.

² Cf. *Sinica* 1934, Franke-Festschrift.

will be handled in the same manner. First, a historical introduction will be presented which treats of the history of calendar systems and calendar reforms. Our study will begin with the time of Liu Hsin, and will then cover the development of the *Ssü-fên* 四分 calendar of the Later Han period, as well as its relationship to politics and to the various literary groups. There then follows an examination into the fundamental numbers of the calendar and their accuracy, together with an explanation of the astronomical formulae. The last chapter is devoted to an examination of texts such as the *Bamboo Annals* 竹書紀年 and the *Chou Pi Suan Ching* 周髀算經, a falsification being suspected in these cases.

II. DEVELOPMENT OF THE CALENDAR IN THE LATER HAN PERIOD

The science of the measurement of time according to the calendar and, therewith, astronomy, is clearly recognizable only from the Han period. We have some information regarding the calendar of the Chou period, although we are not familiar with the exact astronomical basis and the methods by which the calendar was devised and corrected. The *San t'ung*, or Three Cycle calendar, calculated by Liu Hsin and those of his circle, is the first of which all details are available. We have shown (in parts I and II) that the astronomical facts serving as bases for this calendar compare rather favorably with modern values, the formulae for computing the time of the new moon hold good without appreciable error over a period of many centuries, and, although the other formulae are not equally precise, they are relatively accurate. This is a further development of the *T'ai-ch'ü* calendar which was worked out at the end of the second century B. C. by Ssü-ma Ch'ien and his circle, particularly Têng P'ing 鄧平. His calendar shows by comparison with the latter appreciable development—not only is the length of the year more accurately determined, but the formulae permit calculations of time backwards and forwards over long periods. This *San t'ung* calendar apparently never completely prevailed, at least not beyond the period of Wang Mang 王莽 (from ca. 6-23 A. D.). The reason for this is obscure when we realize that this calendar was a great improvement over the then present one, only by taking cognizance of the political situation and the scientific research of the day may an answer be found.

According to the texts which they used, the philologists of that time were divided into two groups: the Old Script 古文 School and the New Script 今文 School. The latter basing itself mainly on the version of the *Shu Ching* 書經 which, in turn, was established upon the unwritten tradition of the *Fu Shêng* 伏勝 School, held the predominant position

during the Earlier Han period. At the end of the Earlier Han there appeared the opposing Old Script School which was founded upon a *Shu Ching* text which supposedly had been found in a wall of Confucius' home. The leaders of this school were Lau Hsin and his circle. Since in China scientific research was always influenced by politics and sought certain political goals, it will be necessary for us to inquire into the significance of this school. Of the texts of the Old Script School only three are now of interest to us: the *Shu Ching*, the *Chou Li* 周禮, and the *Tso Chuan*. It can be shown that the *Tso Chuan* text was revised in certain parts by Lau Hsin. The motive of this was apparently, for the most part, to support the politics of Wang Mang.³ An examination of the biography of Wang Mang (*Han Shu* 99A C), clearly reveals that in all his speeches he attempts to imitate the style of the *Shu Ching*, and his decrees follow the contents of the *Chou Li*. Textual criticism has⁴ produced nothing decisive with respect to either text. Astronomically they offer too few specific facts to permit an application of exact tests. It has merely been shown that the beginning of the Chou, as traditionally given (1122 B C), was calculated on the basis of Lau Hsin's astronomy, but this shows nothing conclusive about the Old Script text itself.

Of importance, then, is the fact that the Old Script text bears a close relationship to Lau Hsin as well as to the politics of Wang Mang. At the same time, the *San t'ung* calendar is also associated with Lau Hsin, as well as with the Old Script text, since the *Tso Chuan* is partly based upon the *San t'ung* calendar. We are thus confronted with a complex problem. This close relationship between the Old Script research and the *San t'ung* calendar is particularly apparent as a result of several declarations in a work by Ts'ai Yung 蔡邕 written in the middle of the second century A D. In his essay, "Questions and Answers Concerning the *Yueh Ling*" (*Yüeh Ling Wen Ta* 月令問答), Ts'ai Yung defends his stand with respect to certain questions relating to his work on the *Yueh Ling* of the *Li Chi* 禮記. He states first that in his opinion the *Yüeh Ling* is closely related to the *Tso Chuan* and the *Chou Li*—that they all form, to a certain extent, a unit. The *Tso Chuan* and *Chou Li* are the most important texts of the Old Script School. The follow-

³ [EDITOR'S NOTE: The utter baselessness of these charges has been ably proven by CHU HSI-MU, Liu Hsiang Hsin Fu Tzu Nien-p'u 1 CHP 7 (1930), 錢穆, 劉向歆父子年譜 (Annalistic Biography of Liu Hsiang and Liu Hsin, Father and Son) [also in Ku SHIH I-chen 古史辨 5 (1935), 101-240] and H. MAURIZIO, Composition et date du Tso-tchouan *Mélanges chinois et bouddhiques* (Institut Belge des Hautes Études Chinoises) 1 (1932), 137-215.]

ing question is, therefore, very important Question "In view of the fact that you hold to the Old Script text, why do you use, instead of the *San tung* the *Ssu fen* calendar?"** That is to say, the Old Script research and the *San tung* calendar were still regarded as a fixed unity in the second century A D

The *San tung* calendar is, as stated, a development of the *T'ai ch'u*, it fixes the length of the year at $365\frac{385}{1539}$ days as opposed to the *T'ai ch'u* year of $365\frac{385}{1540}$ days A further great accomplishment of this calendar is the successful establishment of a numerical harmony with respect to the year, the month, the day, the major cycles, and the revolutions of the sun, moon, and all the planets The scheme is extended to comprise the *I Ching* 易經 numbers, old historical dates, the doctrine of the five elements, the *Yin Yang* 陰陽 speculations, the length of tubes to produce musical notes, the units of length and volume, the standards for religious buildings (e g the *Ming Tang* 明堂), and for court ceremonies and attire Thus the *San tung* calendar established more than a calendar system, it created a world concept such as has been approximated perhaps only by that of Pythagoras The transition from the *T'ai ch'u* calendar to the *San tung* occurred very quickly Already during the formation of the *T'ai ch'u* variations appeared which approximate the *San tung*, so that this is not necessarily entirely a work of the *Liu Hsin* group so far as the theoretical foundation is concerned The *T'ai-ch'u* calendar is actually a *Ssu fen* or Four Part calendar since it is based, like the *Ssu fen* of the Later Han period, upon a division of the year into $365\frac{1}{4}$ days ($365\frac{385}{1540}$ see above) The calendar of the Hou Han period is in its important parts simply the *T'ai ch'u* calendar All figures cited by the *Huai nan Tzu* (淮南子, 天文訓 ch 3) and *Ssu ma Ch'ien* (史記, 歷書) are exactly like those of the Hou Han calendar

It is above all the typical figure 940 that appears in all fractions as does the number 1539 in the *San tung* calendar The chief point of difference is that the *T'ai-ch'u* calendar apparently employs much more primitive formulae than does the *Ssu fen* If one attempts to recalculate the dates in the *Li Shu* of the *Shih Chi* for the first years of the *T'ai-ch'u* calculation by means of the formulae of the *Ssu fen* as well as of the *San tung* calendars difficulties are encountered which prove that the

** [EDITORS NOTE Cf Yen Ko-chün *Ch'üan Hou Han Wên* 嚴可均, 全後漢文 80 3a 問者曰, 既用古文, 于曆數不用三統用四分何也? For the rest of this text the *Ssü-pu Pei Yao* edition of Tsai Yung's collected works is better than the text as given by Yen Ko-chün]

T'ai ch'ü formulae must have been simpler. The *Ssü fen* calendar had thus retained only the general fundamental numbers, as for the planets, the fundamental numbers are markedly changed, and new corresponding formulae were devised—probably patterned on the formulae of the *San-t'ung* calendar.

One would expect, according to the above cited text of Ts'ai Yung, that the *Ssü fen* calendar would be closely associated with the New Script School. That was probably also the case, but it is less easily recognizable than the connection between the *San-t'ung* and the Old Script School. The New Script research was of a traditional nature true to the dynasty, and did not need to be so exacting as did the other, of revolutionary character. Moreover, those following the conservative path were far less interested in astronomy than were those of more radical leanings. If one excepts the *Shu Ching* text from which are to be gained only a few basic astronomical rules, the only text in which astronomy plays an important part is the *Yueh Ling* which was valued for morals and politics. The *Ch'un ch'iu* 春秋 research of the New Script School followed the same course. The conservatives cultivated that from the text which dealt with ethics and national politics. They considered the *Yin Yang* theory as somewhat less important and a special development with which they were less closely associated. Those following the revolutionary course may, on the other hand, perhaps best be designated as "scientific." They exerted themselves to find laws of nature, a knowledge of which would allow a determination in advance of the course of the world, or even an influencing of it, at any rate, an understanding thereof. Astronomy played an important part, as it does with all peoples when a scientific and realistic course of thought appears. Historically, the first century B. C. marked a revolution in thought which had its reformation and continuation in the Later Han period with Wang Ch'ung and others. Numerous signs indicate that foreign influences could have had an effect.

Although the relationship between the *Ssü fen* calendar and the New Script School doubtless existed, it was apparently of little historical importance when compared with the other factors that were beginning to loom large. In the last decades of the first century B. C. appeared for the first time a tendency which never came entirely to the surface and which was so thoroughly destroyed by later tendencies that it is today hardly recognizable. It is that of the so-called Secret Books and Apocrypha. These may be divided into two closely related classes, the Oracle Books 讖 and the Apocrypha 緯.

The Apocrypha purported to be secret explanations of the inner, deeper meaning of the classic texts. They were, however, similar to the Oracle Books, texts of a half magic, astronomical character. It was their intent from certain supposedly suggestive portions of the classics to predict the future, they were of a strongly revolutionary character. Along with the teachings of the five elements according to the theory of Tsou Yen 騶衍 (fourth century B. C.) there appeared in the first century B. C. the theory that dynasties enjoyed but a limited span and new dynasties must of necessity follow. One group attempted to determine the time of the Han downfall, and to establish the name of the successor, then from another group the re-establishment of the Han was prophesied and the name determined. Both groups were equally revolutionary. The first directed itself against the Han, the second against Wang Mang. Opposed to them stood the conservative scholars who by means of different experiments sought to retard or prevent the downfall of the Han. It is clear that the Secret Books School, given these tendencies, had to be completely suppressed. Its history, therefore, is difficult to follow. The first of this school may well have been Kuei Hung 眭弘 of Lu 魯, specializing in the *Ch'un-ch'iu* according to the tradition of Tung Chung shu 董仲舒, who contended in the year 78 B. C. that someone from the Kung sun 公孫 family would become emperor. The relationship to Tung Chung shu and the *Ch'un-ch'iu* show that he followed the Yin Yang mischievous doctrine which began to form in the second century at the latest, under the influence of the *Ch'un-ch'iu*. There is ground for suspicion that as one from Shantung 山東 he belonged to the school of the magicians which, from the time of Shih Huang ti 始皇帝 at the latest, were widely prevalent in the provinces of Ho pei 河北 and Shantung, and which must have had a great influence upon the entire development of philosophy. Kuei Hung was executed for high treason,* but his prophecies may still be found in the *Hsi shou Huo Lin Ch'an* 西狩獲麟記, a book whose title reveals a connection with the *Ch'un-ch'iu*. These prophecies were referred to himself by Kung sun Shu 公孫述 who made himself king of Ssu ch'uan 四川 in the year 24 A. D., by reference to the above-mentioned book, thus they had not been lost but lived on for 100 years below the surface as it were.⁶

Side by side with the Secret Books School which surely had many other adherents—in the last analysis Wang Mang followed it, although perhaps somewhat indirectly—there was the school which was true to

* For texts and sources cf. Ku Shih Pien 古史辨 5 470-471 (Peiping 1935)

⁶ Cf. Ku Shih Pien 5, 466-467

the dynasty but which at the same time proved to be hostile to Wang Mang. Its greatest adherent was Kan Chung k'o 甘忠可 of Ch'1 齊, who is supposed to have been executed in the year 23 B C through the efforts of Liu Hsiang 劉向, the father of Liu Hsin. His teachings leaned, as the title of one of his books (*T'ien kuan Li* 天官歷) shows, towards astronomy, although at the same time there was the magical about them as the title of his other book (*Pao yuan Tai-ping Ching* 包元太平經)²² indicates. It will certainly not be false to state that the whole tendency of the Secret Books was influenced by magic. The teachings of Kan Chung k'o were spread by his pupils, above all by Hsia Ho-liang 夏賀良, and were even recognized by Ai Ti 哀帝, but were then apparently suppressed by Liu Hsin and his adherents in the year 5 B C.²³ The reason seems to lie in the particular interests of this group to whom a renewal of the Han appeared highly unsuitable. Under Wang Mang the Secret Books became more numerous and clearer. To be sure, some are found which favored Wang Mang, but in general it is clear that they opposed him and stood for a re-establishment of the Han. Liu Hsiu 劉秀 is the one repeatedly named as the future ruler.

Detached remnants of these Secret Books and Apocrypha which remain today show that their astronomical character is not uniform and that numerous schools had, as we have already related, developed, but for the most part they rely upon the figures of the *Ssu fen* calendar, and reveal themselves to be developments of the *Tai-ch'u* calendar and precursors of the *Ssu fen*. There appear the cycles of 1520 and 4560 years, the course of the moon in one month is fixed at $29\frac{49}{140}$ days, which corresponds to both the *Huai-nan tzu* and the *Ssu fen* calendar, the beginning of the world is determined as in the *Ssu fen* calendar—quite contrary to the *San tung* calendar—apparently a further development of the calculation for the beginning of the world that the *Tai-ch'u* calendar gives. Also the extent of the heavens is determined in relation to the statements of the *Huai-nan Tzu* as in the Later Han period.

Liu Hsin's attitude toward these Secret Books is very interesting. His father had agitated against them in the year 23 B C and had had the Secret Books banned but with little success. Liu Hsin himself was also opposed to them and had Hsia Ho-liang overthrown in the year 5 B C. It is very plain, however, that he was apprised of the contents of the

²² Possibly only the title of one book is concerned. The expression 花元 occurs in an epitaph for Lao tzu 老子 from the Later Han period composed by Pien Shao 邊韶 and quoted in the *Li Shih* 隸釋 ch. 3.

²³ Cf. *Ku Shih Pien* 5: 478-479.

books as much through the confiscation in 23 B C—his father must first have read them before he could have expressed himself as opposed to them—as from the events before 5 B C, when he was requested to co-operate. Liu Hsin changed his name in the year 6 B C to Lau Hsin 劉秀. Two reasons may be given for this, the change was made owing to the similarity in sound of *hsin* 歆 with *hsin* 欣 the personal name of the Emperor Ai, who had just come to the throne.⁷ On the other hand, since the symbols were not the same, the change was not absolutely necessary. Moreover, Lau Hsin also chose a new agnomen. Another possible reason might have been a desire that the name coincide with the one mentioned in the Secret Books as the future emperor.⁸ It is a fact that in the year 23 A D Wang Shê 王涉, a friend of Liu Hsin's attempted to instigate with him a revolution in favor of the latter. Liu Hsin hesitated somewhat, the affair was discovered, and Lau Hsin was compelled to commit suicide.⁹

Lau Hsiang and Lau Hsin worked out the *San t'ung* calendar which was devised between the years 32 B C, and 5 A D.¹⁰ It appears to have been first published at the time of the death of P'ing Ti 平帝 [beginning of 6 A D] which was the moment when Wang Mang actually took over the government. To change the calendar and to create a new calendar, for the Chinese, is to form a new dynasty. Apparently the *San t'ung* calendar was the calendar for a dynasty yet to come. The falsification of the books must have occurred in the year 6 B C or shortly previous thereto, for in this period the influence of Wang Mang was already very great. We must conclude, therefore, that Lau Hsin and those of his circle, to which Wang Mang belonged, by means of the creation of a new calendar and a reworking of old texts created the foundation for the planned establishment of a dynasty. Now was this dynasty that was to be established really that of Wang Mang?

It would be incomprehensible how or why Lau Hsin, a member of the Imperial Family of Han, should have participated in its downfall. It has been common to represent him as a traitor to his cause. We have tried to show above that Lau Hsin—assuming that our hypothetical interpretation should prove itself correct—himself had the intention of becoming emperor. From this, one might surmise that he had made the text and calendar primarily for himself, thinking that with the help of the Wang Mang group he could rid himself of his rivals in the Han

⁷ *Op cit.* 169

⁸ *Op cit.* 163

⁹ *Op cit.* 245

¹⁰ *Op cit.* 182

family of Liu, but Wang Mang succeeded in employing these devices for his own benefit. Thus there remained nothing for Liu Hsin to do but support the policies of Wang Mang until he should again have an opportunity to further himself. This opportunity came in the year 23 A.D. when Wang Mang was threatened from all sides and finally fell. All this, of course, is only a hypothesis, but it explains psychologically the conduct of Liu Hsin, as well as the other difficulties encountered in the *Tso Chuan*, where, although there are changes which are clearly connected with Wang Mang, there are also others which bear a closer relationship to the Han. Thus Liu Hsin's change of name would represent a second attempt to further his cause by another plan—setting his name in agreement with the Secret teachings—and by displacing the proponent of the teachings by his father, thus assuring that there would be no disclosure and that these teachings would be taken over by the ruling branch of the Han.

The Secret Books proved to be right. A Liu Hsin actually became the Emperor Kuang-wu 光武, the first emperor of the Later Han dynasty. It is for the moment unimportant whether he took his name in accordance with the prophecies. Of importance is the fact that because of the realization of the prophecies he held the Secret Books in high esteem, and regarded them authoritative for all questions. The biographies of the people of his circle in the *Hou-Han Shu* are alive with excerpts from the Secret Books. From them we also derive some explanation of the early times. It is stated that Liu Hsin held the Secret Books in high regard (*Hou-Han Shu* 45, 1a¹⁰⁰), that his change of name is accounted for by the prophecies, that he had done this in order to become emperor (*Hou-Han Shu* 53, 2a). In another place it is stated that the *Tso Chuan* with its references to the Han (see above) coincides with the Oracle Books (*Hou-Han Shu* 56, 7a b). The Wang Mang period and the first decades of Kuang-wu T1 must have seen a marked flourishing of the Secret Books, as there appeared prophecies for various pretenders to the throne,¹¹ but in general they all agreed upon Kuang-wu T1. He was regarded so highly that he was unwilling to listen to any of the opposing views (*Hou-Han Shu* 58A, 3a) which were always forthcoming from the philologists. It was, therefore, understandable that he

¹⁰⁰ [EDITOR'S NOTE. The author's references are to the *T'u Shu Chi Ch'eng* edition, but for the problems which he discusses in this paper Wang Hsien chien's edition (see note 15) must be used.]

¹¹ For a Liu Yang 劉陽 (*Hou Han Shu* 51, 5a) and a Chang Feng 張鳳 (*Hou Han* 51, 4a).

adopted as his calendar that of the Oracle Books, and not the *San t'ung* calendar which was discredited by Liu Hsin and Wang Mang. He was thus in agreement with most scholars, who, however, did not want the calendar of the Secret Books since they regarded it as uncanonical and inferior, but who desired rather the *T'ai ch'u* calendar of the classic period which had been created by members of their school. Thus the *Ssu fên* calendar of the Hou Han period grew out of the calendar of the Secret Books and the *T'ai ch'u* calendar which had preceded them.

This *Ssu fên* calendar, however, was not a particularly fortunate creation. During the entire Hou Han period it was constantly in need of improvement. Its errors became very apparent particularly as it followed closely the *T'ai ch'u* calendar and its astronomical determinations. It was very soon established that the *T'ai ch'u* calendar was as much as five degrees in error. An attempt was made to explain this, but it was very difficult because the *T'ai ch'u* which had just been adopted could not be declared false. Precession, which accounts mainly for the inaccuracies, was still unknown. The matter is further complicated owing to the following. Shortly before 85 A. D. the ecliptical system appeared for the first time in Chinese astronomy. Chia K'uei 賈逵 showed in 92 A. D. that this method was far more exact, and he determined, through the use of the calculations of his predecessors, the sun's course in the ecliptic. He encountered, however, contradictions, particularly because new instruments were required for this new method of calculation, the use of which was not accurately understood. In 103 A. D. such an ecliptical sphere was ordered constructed. Shortly thereafter the ecliptic method was generally adopted. (Previously Chinese astronomy had been equatorial.) In the first century A. D. occurs a marked departure which is of great importance. An attempt was made to explain the old dates as though they had been calculated on an ecliptical basis, but this only confused the issue far more. Afterwards, however, a very ingenious solution was arrived at. Calendars hold true only for definite periods of time, they are not permanently valid because the path of the celestial bodies is not altogether regular, the calendar must be changed about every 300 years. This is a premonition of precession. The entire Hou Han period saw much discussion of the calendar which grew out of this unfortunate situation. The *San t'ung* calendar was also involved. Scholars from the Liu Hsin School were very numerous in the first century A. D., Chia K'uei, just mentioned, also was of his school and had become acquainted with the text of the New Script School only late in life (*Hou Han Shu* 66, 6b-8a). At this time all calendar systems were a subject of study,

be expressed as 32, 487, and 7 The number of days in a *ch'i* is, therefore, $487\frac{1}{32}$ or $15\frac{1}{32}$)

(Zn) The *mo* rule 沒 is 7 It is the *chang* intercalation (7 is $\frac{1}{3}$ of Zl, 19 years have 19×12 "norm months" or 228, there are, however, 235 months 7 thus represents the difference between the 235 months in 19 years and the 228 "norm months" in the same period)

(Zo) The surplus of days is 168 (168 is 24×7 , an amplification of the 24 yearly divisions The *ch'i* has a surplus of $\frac{7}{32}$ days over 15 24 *ch'i* have a surplus of $168\frac{1}{32}$ days— $5\frac{8}{32}$ days surplus per year—or, in 32 years, 168 days)

(Zp) The *chung* rule 中 is 32 (See Zm All numbers from Zm to Zp are important for the calculation of the winter solstice Zp was called the "pan-surplus" in the *San tung* calendar)

(Zq) The major period 大周 is 343,335 (343,335 is 235 times 1461, a denominator for calculating with 235 months or 19 years If this number is divided by Ze, the result is $365\frac{235}{940}$ or $365\frac{1}{4}$ —length of year Dividing by Zk yields $12\frac{10227}{27759}$ or $12\frac{7}{19}$ —number of months)

(Zr) The period of the moon 月周 is 1016 (This is the number for the sidereal revolutions of the moon in one *pu* cycle, that is, in 76 solar years, see Astronomy I, 13 under Zm the same number there being given for a cycle of 19 years There are 254 revolutions in 19 years—in 76 years four times this amount There are $13\frac{7}{19}$ revolutions per year)

(Zs) *Yuan* meeting 元會 is 41040 (This is 80×513 , the adjustment of the number 513 (see Zu) to the *yuan* cycle, furthermore, it is twenty times Zt)

(Zt) The *pu*-meeting is 2052 (This is four times Zu, adjustment of the *pu* cycle to 76 years which is four times the 19 year cycle Further more, this is 76×27 years (see Zu) In 2052 years the intercalary period and 76 year cycle coincide)

(Zu) The Year number 歲數 is 513 (Proceeding from the already familiar fact that there are 23 eclipses in 135 months (Astronomy I, 13 and Zn), that is, an eclipse every $5\frac{2}{3}\%$ months, it will be now calculated how many eclipses occur in one year The calculation yields taking the year as having $235\frac{1}{19}$ months (see Zf and Zg), $255\frac{1}{13}$ or $108\frac{1}{513}$ eclipses 513 is the denominator which results Furthermore, 513 years is the shortest concordance period of lunation, solar year and average eclipse day [Finsterisstichtag] (see Astronomy I, 11 2) 513 years is 27×19 , or 27 *chang* cycles)

- (Zv) The Eclipse-number 食數 is 1081 (1081 is the numerator appearing in the calculations under Zu There are 513 eclipses in 1081 years)
 (Zw) The Month number is 135 (In 135 months there are 23 eclipses, an observed fact, see also explanation to Zu)
 (Zx) The Eclipse-rule is 23 (See Zm)

Besides these fundamental numbers chapter 13 of the *Hou Han Shu* has a considerable number of formulae for calculating the course and degrees of sun and moon which we shall outline in Part 3 The fundamental numbers for the five planets then follow They are arranged similarly to the *Ch'ien Han Shu* fundamental numbers for the planets which have been analyzed by R Henseling (Of part I) Here we shall examine closely only the numbers for Jupiter in order to show the difference in their computation as compared with the earlier numbers The numbers for the other planets will be merely tabulated

Fundamental Numbers for Jupiter

- (Ja) The Period 周率 is 4327 (In 4725 years Jupiter makes 4327 revolutions From this may be computed that a single revolution requires $398\frac{1464}{17308}$ days Expressed decimally, 398.846 days)
 (Jb) The Day number 日率 is 4725 (See Ja)
 (Jc) The number of accumulated months 合積月 is 13 (One revolution requires 398 days Converted, this is $13\frac{41606}{82213}$ months per revolution)
 (Jd) The Monthly Excess is 41606 (The fractional part of a month from Jc)
 (Je) The Monthly Rule 月法 is 82213 (See Jc.)
 (Jf) The Major Excess 大餘 is 23 (If the 13 months [Jc] are converted into days, the result is $383\frac{847}{940}$ days, this is an excess of 23 days over the 360-day round year, which corresponds to the 60-cycle)
 (Jg) The Minor Excess is 847 (See Jf)
 (Jh) The Empty Parts 虛分 are 93 (Jf contains the fraction $\frac{847}{940}$ To secure $\frac{940}{940}$, $\frac{93}{940}$ must be added)
 (Ji) The Entered month Days 入月日 are 15 (The 398 day period of Jupiter exceeds the round month number of 383 days by 15 days)
 (Jk) The Day-excess is 14641 (This is the numerator of Ja.)

and particularly the position of the winter solstice, the eclipses, and the origin of the world were discussed. Of these the most difficult question was the calculation in advance of eclipses because the *T'ai-ch'ü* calendar was almost completely valueless, and the *San-t'ung* calendar proved very inaccurate. The Han solution remained similarly unsatisfactory. The development ended in the appearance of a great essay by Ts'ai Yung in 175 A. D.¹² wherein the calendar was fixed as shown later in *Hou-Han Shu* 13 the most important parts of which we shall translate. Ts'ai Yung's system shows far-reaching assimilation: The *T'ai-ch'ü* and the *San-t'ung* calendars together with the statements of the Oracle Books were combined and developed into the *Ssü-fên* calendar system of *Hou-Han Shu* 13.

At almost the same time there appeared a newer calendar which was standard for the San-kuo period, and which appears to have been at that time much more independent than the officially adopted calendar. It freed itself from the Secret Books which were still of much importance in the middle of the second century A. D.¹³ This new *Ch'ien-hsiang* 乾象 calendar of Liu Hung 劉洪 represents a more scientific study of the problem—it seeks to free itself of suppositions and book traditions, and to rely upon observation and experience, thus the approach is more inductive, rather than deductive as in the Han period (Liu Hsin, Ku Yung 谷永 and others). One of the first proponents of this order of thought in the field of philosophy is Wang Ch'ung 王充, and later there belonged, in a certain sense, to this group also Chung ch'ang T'ung 仲長通, Wang Fu 王符, K'ung Jung 孔融, and, above all Chang Hêng 張衡, who at this time launched one of the most vigorous attacks against the Secret Books (*Hou Han Shu* 89, 5b-6a), which came to be generally disregarded by the conservative scholars of both schools as well as by all others.

III. THE CALCULATION METHODS OF THE SSÜ-FÊN CALENDAR

The examination of the calendar of the Hou Han period is beset with difficulties owing to the fact that the text of all editions is in a regrettable state of preservation. Many numbers are in error and prolonged calculation is necessary to determine the correct figure. We have substituted the correct figures in all cases without regard to the variations in the different editions. *Hou-Han Shu* 13 opens with a short general

¹² Cf. *Hou Han Shu* 12.

¹³ Cf. *Hou Han Shu* 84, 9b where predictions are given for Tung Cho 董卓.

introduction in which are given only some basic rules, and in which are then enumerated, pp 2a b, the cyclical fundamental numbers which are shown in our translation and explained within parentheses. The explanation makes clear the relationship of the numbers, their meaning, and their astronomical foundation.

(Za) The *yuan* rule 元 is 4560 (4560 years is the concordance period for the sexagesimal cycle, the lunation, the solar year and the eclipse period, it is three times Zb)

(Zb) The *ch* rule 紀 is 1520 (1520 years is the concordance of the length of the day, lunation, year, and eclipse period, furthermore, 1520 is the product of 80×19 , it is 20 times Zd)

(Zc) The *ch* month 紀 is 18,800 (18,800 is the number of months in 1520 years, $18,800$ is $12\frac{1}{19} \times 1520$, furthermore, the number of the days is $555,180 - 20 \times Zk$.)

(Zd) The *pu* rule 部 is 76 (76 years is four times the intercalary period of 19 years, it is the first agreement in the course of the sun and moon, since $365\frac{1}{4}$ days are counted to a year, and round numbers appear only every four years)

(Ze) The *pu* month 部 is 940 (940 is the number of months in 76 years 940 is $12\frac{1}{19} \times 76$ The month has $29\frac{9}{40}$ days)

(Zf) The *chang* rule 章 is 19 (19 is the intercalary period of 19 years. In 19 years there are seven intercalary months)

(Zg) The *chang* month 章 is 235 (235 is the number of months in 19 years $235\frac{1}{19}$ is $12\frac{1}{19}$)

(Zh) The celestial period is 1461 (1461 is the number of days in 4 years, and at the same time represents the number of degrees of the sun's course in 4 years)

(Zi) The sun rule is 4 (4 is the denominator of Zh)

(Zk) The *pu*-day is 27,759 (This is 19 times Zh, that is, the sum of the fractional days in 19 years, similarly the total number of days in 76 years (19×4), furthermore one month has $27\frac{759}{40}$ days)

(Zl) The *mo*-number 沒 is 21 (This represents the surplus expressed in $\frac{1}{4}$'s between the solar year of $365\frac{1}{4}$ days over the 360 day round year, in the same way it is the whole-number surplus in four years)

(Zm) The General Rule 通法 is 487 (487 is $\frac{1}{3}$ of Zh, a year has 24 divisions (ch: 氣) in $365\frac{1}{4}$ days. The year has $5\frac{1}{4}$ days more than 360 days. Four years have 96 ch's and 1461 days, with a surplus of 21 days. Since all these last numbers have the common denominator 3, they may

(J1) The rule for the number of degrees for the day 日度法 is 17308.
(This is the denominator of Ja.)

(Jm) Accumulated Degrees are 33. (Jupiter's course subtends 33
10314 $\frac{1}{17308}$ degrees.)

(Jn) The Excess of Degrees is 10314. (See Jm.)

The conversion of degrees, years, months and days into other units, as is often done, is in accordance with the relative proportions given in the previous section—Fundamental Cycle Numbers.

The numbers for the planets Mars, Saturn, Venus and Mercury are, according to the text:

	Mars	Saturn	Venus	Mercury
Period	879	9196	5830	11908
Day number.....	1876	9115	4661	1989
Accumulated months.....	26	13	9	1
Monthly excess.....	6631	138637	98405	217660
Month-rule	16701	172824	110770	226252
Major excess.....	47	54	25	29
Minor excess.....	754	348	731	499
Empty parts.....	186	592	209	449
Entered-month days.....	11	23	26	27
Day-excess	1872	2163	281	44805
Rule for the number of degrees of the day.....	3516	36384	23320	47631
Accumulated degrees.....	49	12	292	57
Degree excess.....	114	29451	281	44805

These numbers are followed in the text of the *Hou-Han Shu* by a series of planetary formulae. These we do not translate since they are not necessary for determining the genuineness of texts. They present nothing essentially new.

Then follows a survey of the movements of the five planets, which also is presented in tabular form (Table 1 a, b). The chapter closes with a survey of the extension of the lunar stations and the length of the 24 parts of the year 氣; these we do not present.

The statements from the *Hou-Han Shu* under Zd and Ze make possible a determination of the accuracy of the astronomical data for the sun and moon. Thus:

	<i>Hou-Han Shu</i>	Actual Value
1. Length of the year...	365.250 days	365.2422 days
2. Length of the month..	29.5308 days	29.53059 days

Planetary data may be derived from the period number and day number, for instance, Jupiter makes 4327 revolutions in 4725 years. The results thus obtained are presented in the table below, it being necessary to double the result for Venus and Mercury since the text provides the data for half revolutions only. Thus

	<i>Hou Han Shu</i>	Actual Value	Deviation
Jupiter	398 8459	398 8840	+0 031 ^d = +0h55m
Mars	779 5324	779 9360	+0 4036 ^d = +9h41m
Saturn	378 0594	378 0918	+0 0324 ^d = +0h47m
Venus	584 0241	583 9213	-0 1028 ^d = -2h28m
Mercury	115 8813	115 8774	-0 0039 ^d = -0h 6m

The *Hou Han* values are thus remarkably accurate. The deviation of Mars is greatest since this planet has the greatest eccentricity in its orbit, which renders a determination of its synodic revolution most difficult. The values given vary only one-fourth as much as the *San t'ung* calendar of the earlier Han period and thus indicate progress.¹⁴

A number of formulae for the *Ssu fen* calendar are given in this section. The list is not complete, as only fourteen formulae, according to *Hou-Han Shu* 13, 2b¹⁰-4b⁶, are given. They are intended to give an insight into the astronomical thought and calculation of this period. Furthermore, some of these formulae will be later (in part IV) employed in calculations designed to prove whether or not texts are genuine. We present first the translated formula, then an example of our selection calculated by means of the formula. This serves to clarify what is often a complicated text better than would a detailed explanation. The manner of investigation is exactly the same as that employed with respect to the formulae of the Earlier Han period (*Cf* part II, *SBW* 1933, 209-229), thus making possible a comparison of the formulae of the Earlier Han period with those of the Later Han, and permitting the characteristic differences to be recognized.

Formula 1 (p 2b¹⁰) Calculation of the year number in the current *pu* year: the number of years passed since the beginning of time is divided by the *yuan* rule (Za). The remainder is divided by the *chi* rule (Zb). The number thus gotten beginning with the Heaven *chi* and calculating exclusively, is the *chi* being entered, the remainder is the number of the current year in the *chi*. If this is divided by the *pu* rule

¹⁴The astronomical calculations of this part were performed by Dr. Rolf Mueller of Potsdam.

(Zd), the result, beginning with the *chia tzü-pu* and calculating exclusively, is the current *pu*, the remainder is the current year in the *pu*. Designating it from the year symbol in the current *chi* and reckoning it up, [one gets as a result] the position of Jupiter for the desired year (see Table 3) 推入蔀術，曰以元法除去上元。其餘以紀法除之。所得數從天紀算外則所入紀也。不滿紀法者入紀年數也。以蔀法除之，所得數從甲子蔀起算外【所入蔀也。不滿蔀法者入蔀年數也。名以】所入紀歲名命之算上，即所求年太歲所在。

Example for Formula 1 *Hou Han Shu* 12, 5b, states that 2,760,000 years passed from the beginning of time until the capture of the unicorn as reported in the *Ch'un ch'iu* 275 years then elapsed until the beginning of the Han dynasty, and a further 45 years until the year 161 B C, thus the year 161 B C is the year 2,760,320 This number is then divided according to the formula by the *guan* rule ($Za = 4560$) which gives a result of 605 *guan* cycles, with a remainder of 1520 years This is divided by the *chi*-rule ($Zb = 1520$) which yields 1 with no remainder Since the calculation was exclusive the 1 becomes 2 Thus the year falls in the second *chi*-cycle, and is the first year of this second *chi* cycle of the 606th *guan*-cycle

Further example for Formula 1 I calculate now the year 61 B C $2760420 - 4560 = 605 \text{ guan}$, remainder 1620 $1620 - 1520 = 1$, remainder 100 This remainder is divided by the *pu* rule ($Zd = 76$), giving 1 and a remainder of 24¹⁴⁴ We calculate exclusively, and find ourselves, therefore, in the 25th year of the second *pu* of the second *chi* cycle of the 606th *guan* cycle From Table 3, where this year may be found in column 2, row 2, we must proceed 24 symbols beyond symbol

¹⁴⁴ [EDITORS NOTE There is no doubt that a very literal interpretation of Formula 1 forces us to establish for the year 61 B C the equation 入蔀年數 = 24 It is questionable therefore whether Dr Eberhard is justified in using 25 in Examples for Formulae 3 6 and 10 In Example for Formula 5 he has used 24 but the apparent inconsistency could be explained by insisting that the calculation here was directly for the year 62 B C Yet in this case one could object that an inconsistency is to be found in the use of an Intercalary Excess of 16 The latter number being good for 61 B C should presumably be used only with a 25 since the Intercalary Excess for 62 B C is not 16 but (according to our calculation) 9 At this writing we can do no more than indicate what appears to the uninitiate to be an inconsistency and we wonder if Eberhard's choice in such cases has not been governed by an attempt to get results according with Hoang's *Concordance* To us however it would seem better to recalculate with these formulae the calendar actually in use under the Hou Han from 85 A D on We see no reason why they should be valid for the details of 6th and 61 B C]

33 (= *ping shen*) and arrive at symbol 57 (= *keng shên*), the cyclical designation of the year 61 B C. If the quotient of the division by 1520 is 1 we must use the row (Table 3) called Heaven *chî*, if it is 2, the row Earth *chî*, if zero, then row Man *chî*.¹⁵ The individual symbols in the rows are always 76 symbols apart. Each row has 20 symbols ($20 \times 76 = 1520$) corresponding to the *chî* cycle, the sum of the three rows ($3 \times 20 \times 76 = 4560$) corresponds to the *guan* cycle. This formula thus serves only for the calculation of the position of a civil year in the astronomical system, and therewith the calculation of the cyclical designation of the year.

Formula 2 (p. 2b¹¹) On eclipses of the moon. (Cf. Formula 14.)

Formula 3 (p. 3b¹⁰) Calculation of the celestial norm 天正. From the number of the current year in the *pu* cycle, 1 is subtracted. The remainder is multiplied by the *chang* month (Zg). The full number of *chang* rules (Zf) [contained in the preceding calculation] is called the Accumulated Months. [Any] remainder is Intercalary Excess 閏餘. If this remainder exceeds 12, the year has an intercalary month.

Example for Formula 3. I calculate to determine whether the year 61 B C has an intercalary month. First, the calculation of Formula 1 must be made. The result attained (see above) was that the year 61 B C is the 25th current year. I subtract 1 from 25, and the 24 thus obtained is multiplied by 235 (Zg) yielding 5640. I compute the number of *chang* rules (Zf = 19) by dividing by 19, get 296 Accumulated Months and an Intercalary Excess of 16, thus there is an intercalary month since the remainder exceeds 12.

Formula 4 (p. 3b¹¹) Calculation of a day of the new moon 朔日 of the Celestial Norm. The number of Accumulated Months in the current *pu* year is multiplied by the number of the *pu*-days (Zk). The full number of *pu* months (Ze) is called the Accumulated Days. The remainder is the Minor Excess. The number of Accumulated Days is

¹⁵ [EDITORS NOTE: Dr Eberhard's explanation fits his Table 3 which is labeled in accordance with Chien Ta-hsin's 錢大昕 suggestion (cf. WANG Hsien-chien 王先謙, 後漢書集解, 後漢書 3 8b-9). It means however that in the series of three *chî* Man would be first, Heaven second and Earth third. Li Jui 李銳 (cf. WANG Hsien-chien op. cit. 3 8b¹¹) has given an interpretation of this *Hou Han Shu* text which implies a re-naming of the rows in the *Hou Han Shu* table reproduced as Eberhard's Table 3 but which restores the more normal order Heaven Earth Man. He says "If nothing is gotten [from the division by 1520] i.e. if the quotient is zero it is the Heaven *chî*; if one is gotten, it is the Earth-*chî*; if two is gotten, it is the Man-*chî*." 無所得, 爲天紀。得一, 爲地紀。二, 爲人紀。]

The result is 23376, which is then subtracted from 8240040, leaving 8216664. This number is then divided by 940 (Ze). The result is 8741, with a remainder of 1064. 8741 is divided by 60, making 145, with a remainder of 41. As in the case of Formula 4 Table 3 is employed, 40 is added, the full cycle of 60 is subtracted. The result of 21 is the cyclical symbol of the new moon day of the 11th month of the year preceding 61 B C, as above. The celestial norm indicates that the civil year begins with the cyclical symbol *tsü* (1), the terrestrial norm *ch'ou* (2) and man's norm *yin* (3) the (so-called Chou, Yin, and Hsia calendars). If a year begins with the symbol *tsü* it is an indication that the beginning of the civil and astronomical years coincide (winter solstice).

Formula 6 (p 4a³). The calculation of the 24 parts (*ch'* 氣) of the year. From the number for the current year of the *pu*, 1 is subtracted and the remainder multiplied by the excess of days ($Zo = 168$). Full *chung* rules ($Zp = 32$) are added, this is the Major Excess. The remainder is called the Minor Excess. Full 60's are set apart from the Major Excess. The remainder is determined according to the table of year names (Table 3) and by calculating exclusively the date of the winter solstice for the previous year is found.

Example to Formula 6. I will calculate the winter solstice of the year preceding 61 B C. The year 61 B C was the 25th year of the current *pu*-cycle (according to Example 2 under Formula 1). I multiply 25 (the statement that 1 is to be subtracted must be a mistake in the text) by 168 (*Zo*), making 4200. This I divide by 32 (*Zp*) and the result is a Major Excess of 131 and a Minor Excess of 8. I now divide 131 by 60, making 2, with a remainder of 11. Since the calculation of Example 2 under Formula 1 indicates that the year 61 B C falls in the second *pu* of the second cycle (see above), it will be necessary to employ symbol 33 (*ping shên*) which appears in Table 3, column 2, row 2. To this is added 11. The day of the winter solstice is thus indicated by the cyclical symbol 44. Recalculation shows, then, that the winter solstice occurs in December of the year 62 B C. The manner of computation in this instance is similar to that of the *San t'ung* calendar (Cf part II).

Formula 7 (p 4a⁴). If the second of the parts of the year is desired, 15 should be added to the Major Excess, and 7 to the Minor

Notation to Formula 7. This is merely an elaboration and an addition to Formula 6 based upon the statements which appear in *Zm*. Therein it was stated that the length of one of the 24 parts of the year (*ch'*) was

and finally the day of the new moon¹⁸ are obtained. If the Minor Excess for half or full moon is less than 260 it should be multiplied by the 100 parts (of the day). Each full *pu* month ($Ze = 940$) results in one part of the day. The remainder is added as 1 day if it approximates the midnight of a *chieh* 𠄎 and *ch'i*-division¹⁹ (that is, the 24 parts of the year).

Notations to Formula 9. The day is divided into 100 parts. These 100 parts are classed as day and night parts. The shortest day, that of the winter solstice, contains 55 night parts. This multiplied by the *pu* month number yields 51700 (55×940), the number of time units of the day of the winter solstice from sunset to sunrise. The period from sunset to midnight, or from midnight to sunrise contains $\frac{1}{2}$ this number — 25850. The number 260 expresses in round numbers the mean in hundreds. When multiplied by 100 it becomes comparable to 25850. This part of the formula, therefore, makes it possible to avoid with respect to the exact date of the full moon small inaccuracies which were found in the formulae of the Earlier Han period. The first part of the formula is based upon the statements under *Ze*, according to which the month has $29\frac{499}{940}$ days. A quarter of this is $7\frac{359}{940}$.

Formula 10 (p. 4a¹⁰). Investigation relative to the *mo*-part or "exact divisibility." The number of years elapsed in the current *pu*, less 1 is multiplied by the *mo* number. Full day rules become units, which are called Accumulated *mo*. The remainder is the *mo*-excess. The Accumulated *mo* are multiplied by the General Rule. Full *mo* rules create units called Major Excess. The remainder is Minor Excess. In the case of the Major Excess full 60's are divided out. The balance is retained with the "table for determining the *pu* name" (Table 3) and thus, calculating exclusively, the *mo*-day after²⁰ the winter solstice of the previous year is found.

¹⁸ [EDITORS NOTE. Add of the following month.]"

¹⁹ [EDITORS NOTE. We find Eberhard's German very obscure. Der Rest wird wenn es nahe bei den *chieh* und *ch'i* Abschnitten (also den 24 Jahrestellen) bei Mitternacht ist als 1 Tag hinzugefügt. The Chinese reads 不滿其數近節氣夜漏之半者, 以算上爲日 and would seem to signify literally. As for the remainder when this number [the quotient of the preceding division] approximates midnight of a *chieh-ch'i* [the division coming at the beginning of the month] it is added in to form a day. We make this translation with all reserves and call attention to the fact that for 數 Lu Jui (see note 15) would read 所 which permits us to translate "when midnight of a *chieh-ch'i* is approximated [by the preceding quotient]."]

²⁰ [EDITORS NOTE. The text reads literally "As for its remainder designating it by the *pu* symbol [Table 3] and calculating out exclusively [one gets

If the next *mo*-day is desired, 69 is added to the Major Excess, 4 to the Minor. If the Minor Excess becomes a full *mo*-rule it is added to the Major Excess. The remaining calculation is as above. If no balance remains it is "exactly divisible."

Example to Formula 10: I calculate the *mo*-part for the year 61 B. C. According to Formula 1, this year is the 25th of the current *pu*-cycle. 24 is, therefore, the base number. Multiplication by the *mo*-number ($Z_1 = 21$) yields 504. Division by the day-rule ($Z_1 = 4$) yields 126 accumulated *mo*, and a *mo*-excess of 0. The accumulated *mo* are multiplied by the General Rule ($Z_m = 487$). The resulting 61362 is divided by the *mo*-rule ($Z_n = 7$). The Major Excess is then 8766, and there is no Minor Excess. The Major Excess is divided by 60 which leaves a remainder of 6. According to the usual method of calculation with Table 3 (see above), 40 is added and, the calculation being exclusive, the 46 becomes 47. Thus the cyclical symbol of the *mo*-day following the winter solstice of the year 62 B. C. (the year preceding 61 B. C.) is combination No 47.

According to the explanations under Z_m to Z_p the *mo* part is that fraction of a day which results from the fact that the 24 parts of the year have $15\frac{3}{32}$ days which as a practical matter must be counted as 15 days. Equalization occurs only every 4 years. This is called Exact Divisibility. At such times the *mo* day and the day of the winter solstice coincide.

Formula 11 (p. 4a¹⁵). According to another method the Minor Excess of the winter solstice is multiplied by 15, and the product is subtracted from the General Rule ($Z_m = 487$). The full *mo*-rules ($Z_n = 7$) are units. This is the *mo*-day following the winter solstice.

Example to Formula 11. According to the example under Formula 6 the minor excess in the year 61 B. C. was 8. Multiplying by 15 makes 120. 487 minus 120 leaves 367. Dividing by 7 yields 52, with a remainder of 3. Thus the symbol of the *mo*-day falls 3 days after the cyclical symbol of the day of the winter solstice. This was determined to be 44 in Example for Formula 6. We find in Formula 10 that the *mo*-day has the symbol 47. It is a peculiarity of the *Hou-Han Shu* to present in many cases two methods of calculation, the second of which is

the cyclical designation of] the *mo* day previous to the winter solstice of the preceding year." For the 前 which we translate in italics Hui Tung 惠棟 [cf. Wang Hsien-ch'ien's edition, see note 15] says that the *Ch'ien Hsiang* calendar reads 後. For the following 後 in our text the *Ch'ien Hsiang* calendar has 次.]

usually simpler than the first. This peculiarity probably has its explanation in the development of the *Hou Han* calendar.

Formula 12 (p 4b¹) Calculation of the degree during the conjunction. The number of accumulated days in the current *pu*-cycle is multiplied by the *pu* month ($Ze = 940$). Full periods ($Zq = 343335$) are subtracted. Full *pu* months ($Ze = 940$) resulting from the balance are units which are called Accumulated Degrees. The remainder forms the Excess Degree-parts. To the accumulated degrees there are added the 21 degrees of *tou* $\frac{1}{4}$ as well as the 235 parts. This is then divided by the number of degrees, the remainder is the degree during the conjunction.

If the altitude of the next conjunction is desired, 29 is added to the degrees, and 499 to the parts. If the fractions amount to a full *pu* month ($Ze = 940$), one more degree results. If it is contained in the *tou* (lunar station), the 235 parts are divided by it.

Example to Formula 12 In the year 61 B C the number of accumulated days, according to the example under Formula 4, was 8741. These are multiplied by 940 (Ze). The product of 8216540 is divided by 343335 (Zq). The result is 23, with a remainder of 319835. This is divided by 940 (Ze). This results in 340, with a balance of 235 Excess Degree-parts. 21 is added to 340 because the winter solstice falls in the 21st degree of the lunar station *tou*—more exactly in the $21\frac{1}{4}$ degree ($21^{235/940}$). This $\frac{1}{4}$ degree is expressed as 235 parts of 940 which must be added to the Excess Degree-parts. Had the resulting number of degrees exceeded $365\frac{1}{4}$, it would have been necessary to divide by $365\frac{1}{4}$, and the remainder would have been the number of degrees, but in the case presented the degree is 310²¹ and 470 parts of 940. At the next conjunction the sun, which advances daily 1 degree, has advanced $29^{499/940}$ degrees since the month contains $29^{499/940}$ days. If the resulting degree part is less than 1, it is necessary to calculate with the Excess Degree-parts.

Formula 13 (p 4b¹) According to another method the Intercalary Excess is multiplied by the Celestial Period ($Zh = 1461$) and the result is subtracted from the Major Period ($Zq = 343335$). The remainder is divided by Ze ($= 940$) and to the whole number of this quotient are added the $21\frac{1}{4}$ degrees of the *tou*. Then the degree of the conjunction in the celestial norm is obtained.

²¹ [EDITORS NOTE It is our understanding that this ought to be $340 + 21$, or 361.]

Example to Formula 13. In the same example the intercalary excess (example under Formula 3) was 16. If this is multiplied by 1461 the product is 23376. 343335 less 23376 is 319959. This number is divided by 940. To the result of 340 are added the $21\frac{1}{4}$ degrees as in the case of Formula 12. The result is 361 degrees and $\frac{1}{4}$ part. A small remaining part of a degree has been disregarded in this calculation. If this remaining degree part is considered, the result of both calculations (Formulae 12 and 13) is the same.

We omit the further numerous formulae for calculating the degrees of sun and moon, as well as a part of the formulae for calculating eclipses (relative to Formula 2 which was also omitted) and present as a final example the following Han formula for eclipse calculation.

Formula 14 (p 5b¹¹). According to another method one divides the number of years elapsed since the beginning of time by the number of the year ($Zu = 513$). The remainder [is multiplied by the *chang* month 章 ($Zg = 235$). In the case of a full *chang* rule ($Zf = 19$) units result which are called] Accumulated Months. This is multiplied by 112, and the full numbers of the month ($Zw = 135$) are subtracted²² from the product. From the balance, in the case of full eclipse rules ($Zx = 23$), units are derived. This is the eclipse after the Celestial Norm.

Example for Formula 14. The text of this moon eclipse formula is incomplete. The text lacks the portion placed in square brackets²³.

The following is a computation for the second eclipse of the year 89 A.D. The number of years elapsed to that date was 2760569 (see the statement in Example for Formula 1). A division by 513 (Zu) results in a quotient of 5381, with a remainder of 116, and this multiplied by 235 (Zg) yields 27260. This in turn is divided by 19 (Zf), with a result of 1434 Accumulated Months and a balance—the intercalary excess—of 14. The product of the multiplication of 1434 by 112 is 160608 which, divided by 135 (Zw), nets 1189 with a remainder of 93. This remainder must be converted into full units of 23. It will be necessary to take five units, since 4×23 is only 92. This latter would be the number for the first eclipse of the year. The second eclipse of a year is always $5\frac{2}{23}$ months later than the first. In round numbers, therefore, our result is 10. Converting to the Celestial Norm, and taking cognizance of the fact that

¹¹ [EDITORS' NOTE. The text reads 去 which signifies 'divide' and in his example below Eberhard divides.]

²² [EDITORS' NOTE. Eberhard has translated in accordance with Li Jui's emendation (see note 15 and WANG Hsien-chien op cit 3 16b¹²)]

the year elapsed in the meantime contained an intercalary month which was not counted, it is found that the eclipse occurs in the 8th month

This example is also discussed by the commentator²⁴ on *Hou-Han Shu* 12 His manner of calculation is similar, although it is somewhat abbreviated. He obtains the same number of accumulated months as I, but he then multiplies by 23 (Zx) and the product of 32982 is divided by 135 (Zw) from which he receives a quotient of 244, with a remainder of 42. In order to increase this remainder of 42 to 270 (2×135 for computing the second eclipse), it is necessary to add 10×23 (230 plus $42 = 272$). Counting 10 months beyond the celestial norm, it is determined, if cognizance is taken of the intercalary month which fell between, that the eclipse occurs in the 8th month. The number 112 in our formula simplifies the calculation somewhat, it is secured by subtracting 23 from 135.

The basic character and the method of treatment of all these formulae is the same, they are readily understandable if we examine the evolution of the fundamental numbers. The year desired is always first converted into the current year of the major cycle, thus it is fixed from an astronomical point of view. By substituting in the various formulae the current year may be then readily converted into months, days, or other time units, then by simple counting or division of the eclipse, new moon, 60, or other cycle elapsed in this interval of years, months, days, or other units, the result is obtained. This method was already in use in the Earlier Han period, also in the *Shih Ch'i*, it is found to have been in use later as well. In many respects the formulae of the *Ssu fen* calendar are more unwieldly and less intelligible than the earlier and later ones, this is their special characteristic.

Each of these old Chinese calendars had two requirements to fulfill first, it must be astronomically as correct as possible, second, it must present that numerical harmony, in which there was a firm belief, between the universe, earth, and man. It was this numerical harmony which was the true world bond, which kept everything in its place and made a "cosmos" of the world. The two requirements are contradictory because the periods of the sun, the moon and the planets do not bear a simple numerical relationship to one another, and it is far less possible to discover such a numerical relationship between celestial and terrestrial

²⁴ [EDITOR'S NOTE: Fieberhard wrote "vom Kommentator" whereas "a commentator" or more specifically Li Jui is better. Cf. WANG Hsien-chien, op. cit. 2: 18a⁷⁻¹¹.]

events The fulfillment of this demand always resulted, therefore, in a sort of compromise

The *San t'ung* calendar realized the second condition of numerical harmony in a beautiful and perfect manner, but astronomically it was not as accurate as it might have been Investigations relative to the exactitude of old Chinese astronomical observations, and the drawing of a conclusion therefrom as to the then prevailing standards of astronomy, must always be predicated upon this situation The *Ssu-fen* calendar of the Later Han period gives more emphasis to the astronomical side The numerical harmony is not as perfectly expressed

The later Han period is important in the history of Chinese astronomy This period marks the transition from the equatorial to the ecliptical system The first tendencies to transformation appear, to be sure, in the early Han period, but this new phase now finds complete development The new celestial theory, the *kun tien* 渾天 (cf A FORKE, *World Conception of the Chinese*, London, 1925, p 18), fitted into this new conception which became more and more dominant during the Han period Finally this concept prevailed and displaced the older *Kai tien* 蓋天 system The latter appears to have still prevailed about the beginning of the Christian era It was adhered to by the Secret Books, the *Chou pi* (see chapter IV), and by numerous authors, such as for instance Yang Hsiung It considered the heavens to be a hemisphere which lay upon the convex earth This renders the concept of the planetary orbits somewhat complex and offers even more difficulties with respect to the orbits of the sun and moon The ideas would have to be extremely complicated if it were sought to explain all celestial events in accordance with this theory, one must imagine numerous spheres in various positions

The new system avoids all this and conceives the heavens as a globe comparable to an eggshell in which is situated the earth as the yolk of an egg It was responsible for the construction of numerous astronomical instruments, particularly the celestial globe and, later, others which would have been extremely complicated if applied to the *Kai tien* system

IV EXAMINATION OF TEXTS THROUGH APPLICATION OF THE METHODS OF THE CALENDAR OF THE HOU HAN PERIOD

Of the texts which are thought to have been falsified besides the *Tso Chuan*, the *Chu shu Chi-nien*—the *Bamboo Annals*—is of most interest The text was found in the Chin 晉 period and was admittedly

revised. The possibility thus results that the revision of the astronomical parts of the *Bamboo Annals* was done in the light of the astronomical knowledge of that later time. The astronomical formulae used might have been those of the Hou Han period. Only two dates in the *Bamboo Annals* can be verified—two solar eclipses—the one, the famous *Shih Ching* eclipse of the year 776 B. C. which has been the subject of research by W. Hartner²⁴, the other, the eclipse of the *Shu Ching* which, according to the *Bamboo Annals*, took place in the year 1948 B. C. Hartner has shown that this solar eclipse of the *Shih Ching* could not have taken place in the year 776 B. C. because this eclipse was not visible in China, but since the *Bamboo Annals* mention specifically that it occurred in this year, this portion of the text of the *Annals* must have been falsified. In connection with the eclipse this correct notation appears, "first day of the month." Applying now Formula 1 to the year 776 B. C., the resulting cyclical symbol is that which is given in the *Bamboo Annals*. Further computation is then made using Formulae 3 and 4. From this is derived the cyclical symbol 26, whereas the text of the *Annals* states it to be symbol 28. Our results agree with the tables of P. Hoang. Thus the investigation proves that the date of the solar eclipse, even in its preliminary stage—the date of the new moon—cannot have been calculated according to the formulae of the Hou Han period.

From the computation with respect to the solar eclipse in the year 1948 B. C., the same year symbol as given in the text is derived, calculating according to Formula 1. When Formulae 3 and 4 are applied, however, gross inaccuracies of more than 20 cyclical symbols appear. Applying other formulae to the above we find that an error in the number of the year must exist, and that instead of the fifth year of King Chung-k'ang the sixth year is correct. Such manuscript errors are frequent in Chinese texts, particularly in the case of figures. It might be argued that the *Bamboo Annals* states the date according to the calendar then current in the year 1948 B. C., about which we have no certain knowledge. In this case, however, it would be possible to verify the eclipse. Since, however, no corresponding eclipse is found, this view can not hold.

The computations for the year 1947 B. C., according to Formulae 3 and 4, indicate the cyclical symbol 40 for the day of the new moon of the ninth month. According to the text the symbol is 47. The variation is considerable but it is rendered comprehensible by the following. The results of calculation for the year 776 B. C. according to the Hou Han

²⁴ [EDITORS' NOTE: PP. 31, 183, 236.]

formulae may vary by two symbols from the results of computations according to the T'ang formulae, since the error is cumulative a difference of seven symbols is possible for the year 1947 B C. Thus, the variation may be traced to a cumulative error in the formula. Calculation according to the T'ang formulae produces the same cyclical symbol as the text of the *Bamboo Annals*. These calculations will be treated, therefore, in a special paragraph of this article. In any event, the investigation reveals that this eclipse reported in the *Bamboo Annals* could not have been calculated according to the formulae of the Later Han period.

Similarly, the dates marking the beginning of the Chou, Shang, and Hsia dynasties could not have been determined by means of the Hou Han calendar, whereas they show evidences of the calendar methods of the early Han period (cf *Sinica*, Franke Festschrift).

AN EXAMINATION IN THE LIGHT OF THE SUI AND T'ANG CALENDAR METHODS OF THE DATES OF THE ECLIPSES OF THE SUN GIVEN IN THE *Bamboo Annals*

Since both eclipses mentioned in the *Bamboo Annals* were not visible in China, and since the other dates were computed by neither the Hou Han nor by the Ch'ien Han astronomical methods, but could have been added to the text during the Han period or shortly thereafter, it must be concluded that they were computed subsequently. Wang Kuo wei has shown in his work in connection with the *Bamboo Annals* that both of the eclipse dates were apparently not included in the oldest form of the texts that we can reconstruct, but he shows that the dates of the eclipses are mentioned in the *Hsin T'ang Shu* (25, 1b—the eclipse of the year 776 B C, 27a, 7a—the eclipse of the year 1948 B C). The eclipse of the year 776 B C had already been discussed in *Sui Shu* 27, 5b and its date computed. It is always said that recalculation had confirmed its occurrence. On the other hand, concerning the eclipse of the year 1948 B C, it is said that earlier research had incorrectly determined the year in which this eclipse occurred, and that a recalculation had shown that it transpired in the year mentioned. This is very strange. If the text of the *Bamboo Annals* had contained this passage it is probable that it would have been accepted as fact. No doubt would have occurred as to the year in which the eclipse supposedly took place. This finding indicates that a recomputation is quite likely.

A. Eclipse of the Year 776 B. C.

1. Calculation According to the Methods of the Sui Calendar for the Year 608 A. D.

In connection with this eclipse date the day of the new moon is calculated (as was done in the investigation based upon the Han astronomy). The formula in the *Sui Shu* (17, 11a) reads: "The number of years elapsed since the beginning of time until the year in question is multiplied by the *chang* month (5071). Full *chang* years (410) result in units called Accumulated Months; the remainder is Intercalary Excess. The Month Rule (33783) is multiplied by the Accumulated Months. Full (Day) Rules (1144) result in units known as Accumulated Days, the remainder is the Minor Excess. The Accumulated Days are divided by 60, the remainder is the Major Excess. Using *chia-tzū* and computing exclusively, the result is the day of the new moon, according to the Celestial Norm."

The year desired is calculated as follows: In *Sui Shu* 17, 10b, the year 608 A. D. is called the year 1427644, thus the year 776 B. C. would be the year 1426261. Multiplication and division performed according to the formula shows the result to be cyclical symbol No 28, as stated by the *Bamboo Annals*, and differing from the results of the Han calculation and the tables of Father Hoang.

2. Calculation According to the Methods of the Early T'ang Calendar for the Year 626 A. D.

In the *Hsin T'ang Shu* (25, 2b) the formula for computing the date of the new moon reads: "The *chang* month (8361) is multiplied by the Year Number. Full *chang*-years (676) result in units known as Accumulated Months. The units called Accumulated New-moon Days are derived from full Day Rules (13006), which, in turn, result from the multiplication of the Accumulated Months by the Month Rule (384075). The remainder is the Minor Excess. If full 60's are subtracted from the number of days, the remainder is the Major Excess. This is determined in terms of the *chia tzū* cycle and, computing exclusively, the day of the new moon according to the Celestial Norm is obtained."

The computation for the desired year is accomplished as follows. *Hsin T'ang Shu* 25, 2b states that the year 626 A. D. has the year number 164348. Correspondingly, the year 776 B. C. would be the

year number 162947 All computation is made according to the text, the principle remaining always the same The cyclical symbol No 28 results as in the case of the previous formula

3 Result

W Hartner has shown that the eclipse in the 10th month of the year 776 B C was not visible in China It must, therefore, have been recalculated Our investigation shows that to obtain the results given in the *Bamboo Annals* it only could have been calculated by means of the formulae of the year 608 A D Thus, this part of the *Bamboo Annals* can have existed only since this time The assignment of the statement of the *Shih Ching*, in which the year of the eclipse is not indicated, can also date only from the Sui period This confirms a supposition expressed by W Hartner

B Eclipse of the Year 1948 B C

1 Calculation According to the Methods of the Sui Calendar for the Year 608 A D

The result of calculation according to the Sui formula for the new moon of the 9th month of the year 1948 B C deviates from that of the *Bamboo Annals* by about 20 cyclical symbols The computation is made for the year 1947 B C instead of the year 1948 B C The resulting cyclical symbol 47 agrees with that of the text of the *Annals* It is, however, not computed according to the Hsia calendar If this is used, the cyclical symbol 46 results

2 Calculation According to the Method of the Early T'ang Calendar of the Year 626 A D

Similarly, computation for the year 1948 B C, according to this formula, leads to an entirely different symbol If the computation is made for the year 1947 B C, the cyclical symbol 46 results instead of the symbol 47 of the *Annals* Calculation according to the Hsia calendar results in symbol 45

3 Calculation According to the Method of the Later T'ang Calendar of the Year 724 A D

Computation is now made for the eclipse of the year 1948 B C with those formulae which, *Hsin T'ang Shu* 27A, 7a states, have confirmed the accuracy of the date The formula reads (according to *Hsin T'ang Shu* 27A, 1a and *Chiu T'ang Shu* 34, 1b—the texts supplement each other) “The *Ts'eh shih* 災眚 (1110313) is

multiplied by the number of years elapsed. The results are the mean Accumulated Parts. Years are divided by the *tieh* rule 揲法 (89773). The remainder is subtracted from the mean Accumulated Parts. Accumulated new moon parts result. Full *t'ung* rules yield days. Calculation then follows as before (namely, divided by 60 and the remainder treated according to the *chia tzu* cycle) and the day of the new moon according to the Celestial Norm results."

This formula is at variance with the other new moon formulae in so far as the 24 parts of the year ("media") are first calculated before the new moon computation is begun. This accounts for the unusual division in the computation. The procedure is as follows. The year 724 A. D. is, according to *Hsin T'ang Shu* 28a, 1a, year number 96,961,740. According to this the year 1948 B. C. would be the year number 96,959,069. No result is obtained by computing on this basis. Calculation with the year 1947 B. C. yields the cyclical symbol No. 47 as in the *Bamboo Annals*. By using the Hsia calendar symbol 46 is obtained.

4. Result.

The computations have shown that only the year 1947 B. C. could have been meant. The date was calculated in the T'ang period according to the last mentioned formula and the result is stated to be the year 1948 B. C., 9th month, cyclical symbol 47. Our recalculation shows that it must have been the year 1947 B. C., 9th month, cyclical symbol 47. According to this the *Hsin T'ang Shu* contains an error in the text. This textual error is also found in the *Bamboo Annals*. The eclipse was actually not visible in China in either of the two years. It must, therefore, be recalculated, which could be done with the Sui formula as well as with the later T'ang formula. This must be between the years 608 to 724 A. D. A notation in the text of the *T'ang Shu* indicates that it was more probable that it was really recalculated in 724 A. D. The false year-date appears in the T'ang annals by error. This error, together with the correct month and cyclical symbol was carried over into the present text of the *Bamboo Annals*. Thus, the two eclipse dates of the *Bamboo Annals* were subsequently entered, probably in the 8th Century. One difficulty must still be mentioned—the computation for the year 1947 B. C. was made throughout with the normal calendar, not with the so-called Hsia calendar.

According to tradition, the *Chou Pi Suan Ching* was written by Chou kung and dates from the beginning of the Chou period. It is today generally recognized that this is impossible. The high order of astronomy, the manner of calculation, as well as the terms and figures employed, preclude the possibility that the book dates from before the Han period. Only its precise date is doubtful. As for world theory the *Chou pi* recognizes the *Kai-tien* theory (see above, ch III, p 220). It has the same status as the *Huai nan tzu* and many later theorists. The attempts of the *Chou Pi* to determine the size of the world and the distance to the sun and the sky makes this obvious (cf part B of the *Chou Pi*). The determination of the year's length as $365\frac{1}{4}$ days, and the length of the *chang* month as 235 (see Zg), and the period of the moon as $13\frac{1}{19}$, is important in order to fix the time of its origin. Numbers are employed which appear in the early calendars, particularly in the *Huai nan tzu*, as well as expressions which are typical of the *San tung* calendar. The length of the year is also given as $365\frac{235}{940}$ or $365\frac{4405}{17860}$ days, the moon year as $354\frac{348}{940}$ or $354\frac{6612}{17860}$, the leap year as $383\frac{847}{940}$, the month as $29\frac{499}{940}$, also included are degrees expressed in fractions with a denominator of 17860 and the number 1461 (see Zh), finally, the cycles of *chang* (see Zf = 19 years), *pu* (see Zd = 76 years), *sui* (逡 = 1520 years and corresponding to Zb), *shou* (首 = 4560, corresponding to Za) and *chi* (極 = 31920 years). The Pythagorean theorem²² and calculation of circumferences wherein 3 is taken for π , appear in the computations to which the first part of the *Chou Pi* is devoted.

From this the following conclusion may be drawn. The division of the year into fractions with a denominator of 940 is first employed by the *Huai-nan tzu*, then in the Secret Books and in the *Ssü fen* calendar. Similarly, the number 1461 is typical for the *Huai-nan tzu* and the *Ssu fen* calendar. The other dates also similarly coincide with those of the *Ssu fen* calendar, the elaboration of 940 to 17860 (19×940) is the only peculiarity which does not seem to appear elsewhere. The name *sui* for the cycle which is otherwise called *chi* (Zb), as well as the name *shou* for the *yuan* (Za) is strange, the numbers appear in the Hou Han calendar. The elaboration of this cycle into a still greater *chi*-cycle is

²² [EDITOR'S NOTE. It should be noted that only one special case of the Pythagorean theorem is treated in the *Chou Pi* viz. that of a rectangular triangle with the sides 3, 4 and 5. There seems to be no reason to suppose that the general concept of this theorem was recognized by the Chinese during the Han dynasty.]

a play upon cosmological speculations. The Pythagorean theorem appears to have been familiar to the *Huai-nan tzü*. The formula for computing circumference and the knowledge of π , however, does not appear in the *San-t'ung* calendar, although the Secret Books had them. π was customarily taken to be 3 in the early Hou Han period. The method of calculation itself in the *Chou pi* appears somewhat awkward; in some cases the Pythagorean theorem was employed by preference. Pure astronomical data, which could be verified with present-day means, are lacking in the book.

I believe, therefore, that, owing to the presence of certain terms, to its purely mathematical computation, and to the application of the circumference formula, the *Chou Pi* can only be placed chronologically between the *San-t'ung* calendar of the early Han period and the *Ssü-fên* calendar of the later Han period. Since the book was quoted at the end of the 1st Century A. D. it could not have had a later origin.

Numerous other investigators have recently arrived at the same conclusion (cf. *AM*, Franke-Festschrift, 9 (1933), 610). They also regard an earlier origin as impossible.

a. *Shang shu Ta-chuan* 尚書大傳.

This book exists today only in fragments which have been supplemented by quotations from widely varied works. It is supposed to have been written by Fu Shêng at the beginning of the Han period. In its present form it contains no astronomical statements which can be verified. Investigations into the cosmological speculations concerning the five elements permit it to be said that the kind and complexity of these element-theories are not contradictory to the time officially given as that of its origin. In my opinion, a falsification at the end of the first Han period is improbable.

b. The Secret Books

The Apocrypha and the Secret Books (see above, ch I) are similarly preserved only in fragments and by quotations. These fragments no longer contain astronomical data which may be verified, nevertheless, they contain some material of interest which I list as follows: (a) statements concerning the sun: it advanced 1 degree daily, $365\frac{1}{4}$ degrees per year (*Yüan-ming-pao*²⁶). This corresponds to the statements of the

²⁶ [EDITORS' NOTE. (It is incredible that the author's manuscript as presented for publication should have lacked the information, Chinese characters included, which we are forced to supply particularly in this and the following notes.) This is the *Ch'un-ch'iu* Wei *Yüan-ming-pao* 春秋緯元命苞, cf. *Yü han-shan*.

early and the *Ssü-fên* calendars. Moon it advances $13\frac{7}{19}$ degrees per day. The month has $29\frac{49}{940}$ days (*K'ao-ling-wei*²⁷), this similarly corresponds to the *Huai-nan tzü* and the *Ssü-fên* system. Planets the period of Saturn as given in the *Yuan-ming pao*²⁸ is at variance with the periods given in other sources. Cycles. the *Ming-li-hsu*²⁹ and the *K'ao ling-yao*³⁰ show cycles of 304 (4×76), 760 (10×76), 1520 (20×76) and 4560 (60×76) years. This corresponds particularly well with the *Ssü-fên* calendar,³¹ while in the *Huai-nan tzü* the 76 year period occurs but it does not play such an important rôle. Size of the world and world-theory. The *K'ao-i-yu*³² and *K'ao-ling-wei*³³ both define the size of a degree of the celestial sphere in agreement with the statements of the Hou-Han period. The *K'ao ling-wei*³⁴ divides the circumference of the heavens into 36 "heads" 頭 of $10\frac{14}{96}$ degrees each. This number is unusual but the total is again the usual $365\frac{1}{4}$ degrees. One of the *Hsiao-ching* 考經 Apocrypha,³⁵ as is apparent from its statements and degrees, reveals the world theory of *Kai-t'ien*. Age of the world. the end-cycle as given by the *Li Chi Tou-wei-i*³⁶ is a *t'ai su* 太素 of 291,840 years. This may be resolved into 64×4560 which corresponds to the usual *yüan*-cycle (Za), which itself is merely multiplied by the number 64 of the *I Ching*. The *Ming-li-hsu*³⁷ gives for the period from the close of the Ch'un-ch'iu to the Han period a cycle which was adopted by the *Ssü-fên* calendar. Similarly the final year of the Ch'un-ch'iu period (year when the unicorn was captured) is fixed as the year 2,760,000 (see ch. III, Formula 1). This is essentially the material which is available

fang Chi I shu 玉函山房輯佚書 58, where this particular item of information is given in ch. 2, 3a⁴]

²⁷ [EDITORS' NOTE. We find no such book. This must be the *Shang Shu Wei K'ao-ling yao* 尚書緯考靈曜; cf. *Yü han shan fang Chi I shu* 53 P. 5a⁴]

²⁸ [EDITORS' NOTE. See note 26, ch. 2, 14a⁴⁻⁵]

²⁹ [EDITORS' NOTE. This is the *Ch'un ch'iu Ming li hsu* 春秋命歷序; cf. *Yü han shan fang Chi I shu* 57 P. 5a⁴ 5b¹]

³⁰ [EDITORS' NOTE. See note 27. For this text we find in the *Yü han* edition only the cycle of 4560 years; cf. p. 9b¹]

³¹ The cycle of 304 years is mentioned in *Hou Han Shu* 60B, 5b, it is the lifetime of one of the five elements ($5 \times 304 = 1520$, a full cycle)

³² [EDITORS' NOTE. There is no such book. This must be the *Ch'un-ch'iu Wei K'ao-i-yu* 春秋緯考異郵; cf. *Yü han* 55, 1a⁴⁻⁵]

³³ [EDITORS' NOTE. See note 27 P. 2a⁴⁻⁵]

³⁴ [EDITORS' NOTE. See note 27 P. 5a⁴]

³⁵ [EDITORS' NOTE. Nine such books are given in *Yü han* 581]

³⁶ [EDITORS' NOTE. 禮緯斗威儀 cf. *Yü han* 54, 1a⁴]

³⁷ [EDITORS' NOTE. See note 29 P. 1a⁴]

to us from the preserved portions of the Apocrypha. We note that they contain no material of ancient character, we have no cause, therefore, for doubt as to the statements of Chang Hêng (*Hou-Han Shu* 89, 5b-6a), who places their origin in the time of Wang Mang or shortly before. It could not be much later since they were already used in the *Hou-Han* calendar and were repeatedly quoted in the *Hou-Han* period.

UNICORN AND LUNAR ECLIPSE CYCLE

The number 2,760,000 has been mentioned several times as the number of the current year in the last year of the *Ch'un-ch'iu* period, the year of the unicorn's capture. The magnitude of the number which is purely artificial need provide no astonishment since the first year, according to the count of the present year, was always chosen by the various calendars as one in which all the cycles of sun, moon, and the planets began simultaneously, thus representing a "complete beginning." It is, however, noteworthy that the number for this year is a round sum. The *Ch'un-ch'iu* concludes with the year of the unicorn's capture. The *Shih Ch'i* also concludes with the capture of a unicorn in the year 122 B. C. (or better, 121 B. C.). At least, this is the theory in both cases. Let us examine these two statements by substituting the number of the current year.

	A <i>Ch'un-ch'iu</i> Unicorn		B <i>Han</i> Unicorn
2,760 000 = a	$5,380 \times 513 \text{ (Zu)} + 60$	a	$5,380 \times 513 \text{ (Zu)} + 7 \times 60$
b	$20,440 \times 135 \text{ (Zw)} + 60$	b	$20,447 \times 135 \text{ (Zw)} + 15 \text{ (= } \frac{69}{4} \text{)}$
c	$120,000 \times 23 \text{ (Zx)}$	c	$120,015 \times 23 \text{ (Zx)} + 15 \text{ (= } \frac{69}{4} \text{)}$

The solution is noteworthy—it clearly indicates that an astronomical significance was attributed to the final year of the *Ch'un-ch'iu* period. Aa, Ab and Ac all indicate a lunar eclipse cycle (see ch. III). Ac is particularly obvious. The capture of the unicorn of the *Han* period also shows obvious relationship to the cycles of lunar eclipses. On the other hand, there is a purely numerical relationship to the capture of the unicorn of the *Ch'un-ch'iu*. The coincidence in the B column is not as good because the year 104 B. C., which is important for the *T'ai-ch'ü* and the *San-f'ung* calendar, had to be brought into harmony with the periods. The following, however, is important: if the number of the current year is analyzed according to the *T'ai-ch'ü* system for the year of the *Han* unicorn capture, the result is: $200 \times 23 \text{ (Zx)}$. This indicates then that the association of ideas—unicorn, moon eclipse cycle—must have existed at the time of Ssü ma Ch'ien. Thus, it could not have been created in the *Later Han* period.

What, then, are the facts which must be made to correspond? Had Confucius already associated the unicorn and the lunar eclipse cycle, that he interrupted the *Ch'un ch'iu* with such a year, and, analogously, later Ssü ma Ch'ien his *Shih Chi*? Or did the latter first recognize this association, and shorten or lengthen the *Ch'un ch'iu* so that it closed with such a date? Or was that first done by his successors? Had an animal designated as a unicorn really been captured at the end of the *Ch'un ch'iu* period? Had the unicorn really been captured at the end of the *Shih Chi* period? I am admittedly unable to solve these questions. This could be determined with certainty only by general research with respect to the number speculations perhaps hidden in the *Ch'un ch'iu*. Much material appears in the *Ch'un ch'iu* which is open to suspicion—the period comprises 12 princes (12 stellar stations, 12 months), the Han period similarly comprises 12 (recognized) rulers, comprises 24 droughts (2×12), 36 solar eclipses (3×12), 36 assassinations of princes (3×12)³⁸. It may be resolved into three known periods of 81 years (9×9), an important number for this, as well as for the *San t'ung* calendar. The fact that one year is missing is excusable³⁹.

Number speculations are perhaps already present in the *Ch'un ch'iu*. If this is granted, therefore, the number speculations would have been again taken up in the Han period. This would require a concept of the status of astronomical and cosmological speculation far different from what we have previously had with respect to this period. Were these speculations inserted into the text in the Han period? How does it happen that the 64 hexagrams of the *I Ching* 易經 may be changed exactly 384 times, 384 being the number of days in a year with an intercalary month, that is, the greatest number of days which a Chinese year have. The works of Lu Pu wei 呂不韋 and Ssu ma Ch'ien have an astronomically significant number of chapters. Similarly, the *Tao Te Ching* acquired an astronomically significant division of chapters in the Han period. The number of chapters of the *Ch'ien Han Shu* is significant. Likewise, even the round number of 300 selections in the *Shih Ching* is strange. Stranger still is the number of chapters in the *Shu Ching* 書經, the so called earlier, the old one, as well as in the new one⁴⁰. All these questions cannot be solved. Hu Shih was perhaps really

³⁸ Cf. Apocrypha (Kao-i yü) and *Hou Han Shi* 67, 6a²⁻³, text and commentary [Editors note: See note 32 P. 9b³].

³⁹ Cf. Apocrypha to the *Hsiao Ching* [See note 35].

⁴⁰ [Editors note: Eberhard wrote: Noch seltsamer die Anzahl der Kapitel im *Shu ching* sowohl in angeblichen früheren dem alten wie dem neuen. We and our German scholar friends find this incomprehensible.]

right when he once said that today we still do not understand sixty per cent of the canonical books!

c. *Huang-ti Su-wên* 黃帝素問 and *Ling-shu Ching* 靈樞經.

These texts are supposed to present medical knowledge from the time of the mythical Emperor Huang-ti. Their authenticity has previously (for instance in the *Ssü K'ü Ch'üan Shu Tsung Mu T'ü Yao*) been doubted and with good reason. From their nature and style it is apparent that in their present form they could not have originated earlier than the Han period. An investigation of the theory of the five elements (*Beiträge zur kosmologischen Spekulation der Chinesen in der Han-Zeit*, *Baessler-Archiv* 16, Berlin, 1932, p. 78) shows that the *Su-wên* represents a special phase of the theory, one which was hardly traceable in the other literature but whose theories are otherwise only mentioned in writings of the Han period. I, therefore, considered it probable that the *Su wên* belonged to the Han period or, at least, not much earlier.

From the astronomical point of view, there is little material in the *Su-wên*. The sun's course is fixed as one degree daily, that of the moon as 13 degrees "and more" (chapter 3). It is then stated that thirty years have 720 parts (氣) of 15 days each; 60 years, 1440 parts. Sixty years form one period (周) (chapter 19). This only shows that the conception of sixty years as a unit leads to the 60 year cycle, which according to all appearances, first prevailed in the time of Wang Mang. The other numbers are rounded out, and fall completely within the limits of Han astronomy, but they are too inexact to permit further verification. Chapter 20 presents a large table of years which is outstanding owing to its unusual division into 100 parts, which first became more popular in the Hou-Han period. The length of the 12 parts of the year is fixed, according to Chinese calculation, as $30^{43\frac{3}{4}}/100$ days or $30\frac{7}{16}$ days. This corresponds exactly to one-half the length of the 24 yearly parts (both divisions are closely related) in the Hou-Han calendar (see Zo). This is important for dating the *Su-wên*. Because of its astronomy I would assign it to the Hou-Han period.

The *Ling-shu Ching* contains only one statement which is interesting from the astronomical or, better, astrological point of view: an enumeration of the 9 palaces 九宮. Their names (ch 12) are

1. Hsieh chih 叶蟄
2. T'ien-liu 天留
3. Ts'ang-mên 倉門
4. Yin-lo 陰洛
5. T'ien-kung 天宮
6. Hsuan-wei 玄委
7. Ts'ang kuo 倉果
8. Hsin-lo 新洛
- 9 Chao-yao 招搖

The first eight palaces each govern 45 or 46 days, the ninth is attributed to the center. Thus there results a year of 366 days which is otherwise known only in the *Shu Ching*. Here it is probably thought of as a round number. *Chao-yao* for the center is also encountered elsewhere in astrology. The other names are strange, they do not appear elsewhere and seem to be transcriptions of foreign words. The first mention of the nine palaces, as far we know, is in *Hou-Han Shu* 89, 5b, the biography of Chang Hêng. The names of the palaces, however, are not given.

The series of nine palaces appears, for instance, in the *Wu Hsing Ta Ch'uan* 五行大全 (Chapter 5, 3b-4b 5b 6b) by Hsiao Chi 蕭吉 of the Sui period (preserved in the *I Ts'un Ts'ung-shu* 佚存叢書). It is also found in the *T'ang Hui Yao* 唐會要 and elsewhere. Here the various palaces bear names of celestial bodies (Table 5, column 2) which are frequent in old Chinese astrology and astronomy and have (in column 1) additional secondary names which are difficult to explain. Furthermore, they are coordinated with the eight trigrams of the *I Ching* and the center (column 3), also to the nine colors with white strangely appearing three times (column 4), to the directions (column 6), and to the five elements (column 7). The names of these palaces are for the most part names which are otherwise secondary names of Jupiter. The rudiments of this series are plainly recognizable in *Huai-nan tzu* 3, the coordination of the elements varying in the different texts. Sacrifices were made to the spirits who reigned over the palaces and from their positions predictions relative to the fortunes and misfortunes of the nine Chinese provinces were made (see *Wu Hsing Ta Ch'uan* 5, 4a). This series of nine palaces was used in China only for astrological and geomantic purposes. According to the *Tz'ü Y'üan* (s. v. 九宮) it was employed particularly in the T'ang and Sung periods, but at any rate it has been used at least from the 5th and 6th centuries. Its conception is well adapted to Chinese astrology; its fundamental parts are derived from an

old stock, yet the manner of coordinating the colors and the secondary names of the palaces gives a non Chinese impression

This series of nine palaces is usually closely coupled with a series of nine constellations (Table 4), and although the relationship is close, the latter series is clearly one which has been increased from seven to nine members, the coordination of the elements (Table 4, column 2), which varies markedly within itself, differs widely from the palace series. The correlation of the trigrams (column 4) and the directions (column 5) remains the same. Table 4 is compiled from the statements in the *Tz'u Yuan*, in the *Wu Hsing Ta Ch'uan* (4, 14b), as well as in various other old and modern geomantic works. In the *Wu Hsing Ta Ch'uan* it is given as a quotation from a *Huang ti Tou-t'u* 黃帝十圖, which is a work mentioned in the *Sui Shu's Ching Chi Chih*, and whose title bears a noteworthy similarity to the title of the book (*Huang ti Ling-shu Ching*), which we shall examine. The planets may be correlated to this series of constellations (see Table 6), then to the five old planets are added the sun, moon, Rahu and Ketu. The Indian model for this series then becomes apparent. Of the names of this series, numbers 1 and 5 can be found, probably by chance, in a series of six Feelings 情 (Han shu 75, 5b⁴ 6a²), we are not familiar with the others, with the exception of numbers 8 and 9 which appear as titles in the early literature. This series can again be shortened to seven members and is then identified with the seven stars of the Great Bear,⁴¹ and alligned with a series of seven Regulators 七政 which Ma Jung (Table 7) presents in his commentary to the *Shu Ching*. Today the series of palaces and constellations seems to have disappeared, leaving only the nine planets (Table 6, from a popular calendar of the year 1884). In many of their expressions all these series show a relationship with the *chien ch'u* 建階 series of twelve astrological symbols which also originally referred to Jupiter, as is apparent from their first mention in the *Huan-nan tzü* (Chapter 3). Since this series served also only astrological purposes, it belongs, according to our opinion, in the same category as the others.

But all the series just briefly treated give a non Chinese impression, despite the attempt which, for instance, *Hsu Ti shan* 許地山 (YCHP 2, 266-267) made to explain the expressions of the *chien ch'u* series, and despite the apparent relationship to old Chinese conceptions. Chao I 趙翼 (Ch'ien lung period) in *Kai yü Ts'ung l'ao* 陔餘叢考, 34 already

⁴¹ Cf. LIANG Li hsien *Pa mén Ch'iu Hsing Yin yang Erh Tun* 梁立軒, 八門九星陰陽二通 (1893) 1 3a.

Indian influence would prove of value. The unusual place occupied by the *Su wen* with respect to the theory of the elements might also be well explained by Indian influence.⁴ There are early indications in the literature that medicine was particularly advanced in the west of China, above all in Szechuan and that physicians looked to the west for new developments. Many physicians of the early period came from west or northwest China. Does this represent Indian influence upon China's medicine in the Han period at the latest?

Table 1a

TABLE OF PLANETARY MOTIONS ACCORDING TO HOU-HAN SHU 13

		Jupiter	Mars	Saturn
Morning Invisibility, Direct	Days	16,7220½	71 2694	19 1081
	Daily Degrees	2 13811 *	55 2254½	3 14725½
Visibility, Direct	Days	58	184	86
	Daily Degrees	11½ ₈ 11	14½ ₂₃ 112	3½ ₁₃ 6
" "	Days	58	92	
	Daily Degrees	9½ ₈ 9	12½ ₂₃ 48	
Stationary	Days	25	11	33
Visibility, Retrograde	Days	84	62	102
	Daily Degrees	1½ 12	17½ ₆₂ 17	1½ ₁₇ 6
Stationary	Days	25	11	37
Visibility, Direct	Days	58	92	86
	Daily Degrees	9	48	6
" "	Days	58	184	
	Daily Degrees	11	112	
Evening Invisibility	Days	16 7220½	71,2694	19 1081½
	Daily Degrees	2 13811	55 2254½	3 14725½
1 Synodical Revolution	Days	398 14641	779 1872	378,2563
	Degrees	32 10314	414 913	12,29451
	Daily course	29½,725	927½,1876	318,9418
1 Visibility:	Days	366	636	340
	Degrees	28	303	6

* The figures after the commas are not decimals but numerators of fractions the denominators of which are different for each planet. They result from the various fundamental planetary numbers

Table 1b

		Venus	Mercury
Morning Invisibility, Retrograde	Days Daily Degrees	5 4	3 7
Visibility, Retrograde	Days Daily Degrees	10 $3\frac{5}{8}$ 6	1 1 1
Stationary	Days	8	2
Visibility, Direct	Days Daily Degrees	46 $33\frac{7}{16}$ 33	9 $8\frac{5}{8}$ 8
" "	Days Daily Degrees	91 $115\frac{5}{16}$ 106	20 $8\frac{5}{8}$ 25
" "	Days Daily Degrees	91 $127\frac{5}{16}$ 113	
Invisibility, Direct	Days Daily Degrees	41,281 50,281	16,44805 32,44805
1 Synodical Revolution	Days Degrees	292,281 292,281	57,44805 57,44805
1 Period of Visibility	Days Degrees	246 246	32 32
Evening Invisibility, Direct	Days Daily Degrees	41,281 50,281	16,44805 32 44805
Visibility, Direct	Days Daily Degrees	91 $122\frac{5}{16}$ 113	20 $1\frac{1}{4}$ 25
	Days Daily Degrees	91 $115\frac{5}{16}$ 106	9 $8\frac{5}{8}$ 8
	Days Daily Degrees	46 $33\frac{7}{16}$ 33	
Stationary	Days	8	2
Visibility, Retrograde	Days Daily Degrees	10 $3\frac{5}{8}$ 6	1 1 1
Invisibility, Retrograde	Days Daily Degrees	5 4	9 7
1 Period of Visibility	Days Degrees	246 246	32 32
1 Synodical Revolution	Days Degrees	584,562 584,562	115 41978 115 41978
Mean Daily Motion	Degrees	1	1

Table 3⁴²

TABLE ACCOMPANYING THE SSŪ FĒN CALENDAR FORMULAE,
HOU HAN SHU 13, 3A B

<i>Pu</i> rule Number	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
	甲 子 1	癸 卯 40	壬 午 19	辛 酉 58	庚 子 37	己 卯 16	戊 午 55	丁 酉 34	丙 子 13	乙 卯 52
<i>Heaven ch</i> Year name 天紀歲名	庚 辰 17	丙 申 33	壬 子 49	戊 辰 5	甲 申 21	庚 子 37	丙 辰 53	壬 申 9	戊 子 25	甲 辰 41
<i>Earth ch</i> Year name 地紀歲名	庚 子 37	丙 辰 53	壬 申 9	戊 子 25	甲 辰 41	庚 申 57	丙 子 13	壬 辰 29	戊 申 45	甲 子 1
<i>Man ch</i> Year name 人紀歲名	庚 申 57	丙 子 13	壬 辰 29	戊 申 45	甲 子 1	庚 辰 17	丙 申 33	壬 子 49	戊 辰 5	甲 申 21

<i>Pu</i> rule Number	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
	甲 午 31	癸 酉 10	壬 子 49	辛 卯 28	庚 午 7	己 酉 46	戊 子 25	丁 卯 4	丙 午 43	乙 酉 22
<i>Heaven ch</i> Year name	庚 申 57	丙 子 13	壬 辰 29	戊 申 45	甲 子 1	庚 辰 17	丙 申 33	壬 子 49	戊 辰 5	甲 申 21
Year name <i>Earth ch</i>	庚 辰 17	丙 申 33	壬 子 49	戊 辰 5	甲 申 21	庚 子 37	丙 辰 53	壬 申 9	戊 子 25	甲 辰 41
<i>Man ch</i> Year name	庚 子 37	丙 辰 53	壬 申 9	戊 子 25	甲 辰 41	庚 申 57	丙 子 13	壬 辰 29	戊 申 45	甲 子 1

⁴² [EDITORS NOTE: Table 2 has been omitted for insufficient documentation.]

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Table 4

THE NINE CONSTELLATIONS

1	2	3	4	5
1. T'an-lang 貪狼	Wood	子	k'an 坎	North
2. Chu-mên 巨門	Earth	丑亥	k'un 坤	Southwest
3. Lu-ts'un 祿存	Earth	寅戌	chên 震	East
4. Wên-chu 文曲	Water	卯酉	sun 巽	Southeast
5. Lien-chên 廉貞	Fire	辰申	Middle 中	Middle
6. Wu-ch'u 武曲	Metal	己未	ch'ien 乾	Northwest
7. P'o-chun 破軍	Metal	午	tui 兌	West
8. Tso-fu 左輔	Earth	kên 艮	Northeast
9. Yu-pi 右弼	li 離	South

(Cf. *Wu-hsing Ta-ch'üan* 4, 14b; 5, 5b; Modern Geomantic Books.)

Table 5

THE NINE PALACES

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1. T'ien fêng hsing 天蔘星	T'ai-1 太一	k'an	white	(Rahu)	North	wood
2. T'ien-jui-hsing 天芮星	Shê-t'1 攝提	k'un	black	(Saturn)	Southwest	earth
3. T'ien hêng hsing 天衡星	Hsien-yuan 軒轅	chên	turquoise	(Mercury)	East	water
4. T'ien-fu hsing 天輔星	Chao-yao 招搖	sun	green	(Venus)	Southeast	wood
5. T'ien-ch'in hsing 天禽星	T'ien fu 天符	Middle	yellow	(Sun)	Mean	earth
6. T'ien-hsin-hsing 天心星	Ch'ung-lung 青龍	ch'ien	white	(Mars)	Northwest	metal
7. T'ien-chu hsing 天柱星	Hsien ch'ih 咸池	tui	red	(Jupiter)	West	metal
8. T'ien-jên hsing 天任星	T'ai-yin 太陰	kên	white	(Moon)	Northeast	earth
9. T'ien-ying-hsing 天英星	T'ien 1 天一	h	violet	(Ketu)	South	fire

(Cf. *Tz'ü Yüan* s. v. 九宮, a quotation from the *T'ang Hui Yao*, *Wu-hsing Ta-ch'uan* contains columns 2 and 3 (in 5, 3b 4b) and columns 1 and 3 (in 5, 5b).)

Table 6

THE NINE RULERS 九主

1	T'ai yang 太陽	Sun
2	Chu yang 註陽	Moon
3	Ch'ao-yuan 朝元	Jupiter
4	Tsai hsing 災星	Mars
5	Wei hsing 危星	Saturn
6	Fu lu hsing 福祿星	Mercury
7	K'ou shê-hsing 口舍星	Rahu
8	Hsiung hsing 凶星	Ketu
9	Ch'ao-yang 朝陽	Venus

(See popular calendar, Kuang hsu tenth year)

Table 7

THE SEVEN REGULATORS

1	chu jih 主日	fa t'ien 法天	Heaven
2	chu yueh 主月	fa ti 法地	Earth
3	ming huo 命火	jung huo 熒惑	Mars
4	sha t'ü 煞土	t'ien hsing 填星	Saturn
5	fa shui 伐水	ch'ên hsing 辰星	Mercury
6	wei mu 危木	sui hsing 歲星	Jupiter
7	fa-chün 罰金	t'ai po 太白	Venus

(Cf. Commentary to *Shu Ching* by Ma Jung)

THE ORIGIN OF YÜ HUANG¹

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Yu Huang, sometimes translated Jade Emperor or Pearly Emperor, is the supreme deity of the Taoist Pantheon. Historically he is a late figure and does not play a prominent rôle in literary sources before the Sung period (A. D. 960-1279), but from the standpoint of popular Chinese mythical lore he is undoubtedly one of the most important deities and his origin should be carefully studied.

The Taoist version of his origin, that he was the son of the king and queen of the country of Kuang-yên-miao yueh 光嚴妙樂, a non-existent utopia, should be repudiated as a late rationalization after the pattern of the life of Buddha.²

On the other hand the statement of some scholars that the god is a fabrication of the Sung emperor Chên-tsung (真宗 A. D. 998-1022) cannot be sustained. This misconception may be due to Wieger³ and has probably been followed by others who have dealt with Chinese mythology, such as Doré,⁴ Couling,⁵ Werner,⁶ Ferguson,⁷ etc. It is not likely that an

¹ The author desires to express his gratitude to Prof. Elisséeff for corrections and suggestions and Dr. J. K. Shryock for improvement in English.

² *Kao shang Yü Huang Pên Hsing Chi Ching* 高尙玉皇本行集經, Commercial Press ed. *Tao Tsang* 道藏, 23, chuan 上【盈一】46. The date of composition of this work is not definitely known, generally attributed to the Southern Sung (A. D. 1128-1279) or early Yüan (A. D. 1280-1367) periods. For a translation of this legend, see Lewis Hobous, *Folkways in China* (London, 1929), 28-31.

³ Léon WIEGER, *Textes historiques*¹ (1902), 1842 and 1846.

⁴ Henri DORÉ, *Recherches sur les superstitions en Chine* (1915) 9, 408-472.

⁵ Samuel COULING, *The Encyclopaedia Sinica* (1917) 619.

⁶ E. T. C. WERNER, *Myths and Legends of China* (1922) 130-131; and *A Dictionary of Chinese Mythology* (1932) 598-611.

⁷ J. C. FERGUSON, *Chinese Mythology* (in *Mythology of all Races*, vol. 8) (1928) 58-59.

The works of early writers concerning this subject are disregarded in this paper as most of them are so erroneous that they are hardly worth correction. E. g., H. C. DUBOIS, *The Dragon, Image, and Demon* (1887), 334, says "As a

emperor who wished to cover up his defeat at the hands of barbarians by some divine ordinance would invent a deity totally unknown to his subjects.⁸ Maspero has said that "... with false visions even more than genuine ones it is essential to base them upon well established belief ..." and "it is evident that, for the Emperor to have so definite a vision of his ancestor bringing him the order from the god, the god must already

matter of history, the Emperor Hwéi Tsung in the twelfth century conferred upon a magician, by the name of Chang Ye, the title of Shang te, the Pearly Emperor, and the people, finding one deity so much simpler than an abstract triumvirate, accepted him as their Optimus Maximus."

The evidence these authors adduce is very flimsy. The only work they refer to is the *T'ung Chien Kang Mu*, more accurately *T'ung Chien Kang Mu Hsü Pien* 通鑑綱目續編, as the *Kang Mu* proper ends with the year A D 959. Doré (op cit, 471, note 1) refers to Wieger, Couling follows Doré. Werner and Ferguson refer directly to the *T'ung Chien Kang Mu* but do not give any exact reference. Actually they all use Wieger without consulting the *T'ung Chien Kang Mu Hsü Pien*, because there is nothing in the text and annotations to justify the statement that Chên tsung invented Yü Huang.

Wieger says in his *Textes historiques*¹ (p 1842), "En 1012, date mémorable, invention du dieu le plus populaire de la Chine moderne. Laissons parler l'Histoire." Then follows a translation of a passage from the *T'ung Chien Kang Mu Hsü Pien* (cf 清嘉慶九年 (1804), 蘇州聚文堂刊本 ch 3, 59b) in which only the name Yü Huang is mentioned and nothing is said of invention. On page 1846 of the same work Wieger remarks again "A cette occasion, la Grande Histoire renferme la note très importante que voici: 'C'est ici que commence l'histoire du Pur Auguste. On ne sait absolument rien de ce personnage, inconnu auparavant. Sa légende, telle que la postérité la débite, fut, selon toute apparence, confectionnée à cette date'." The original of this passage is given by Wieger as follows 按祀典之稱王皇, 始此, 而本末未詳. 近世所奉王皇本行集經, 或始於此時也. This annotation does not occur in the text of the *T'ung Chien Kang Mu Hsü Pien*, nor in the *Sung Shih* 宋史 nor in the *Yü p'i* 玉篇, nor in the *T'ung Chien Chi Lan*, nor in the *Hsü Tzu Chi* 續資治通鑑長編, nor in the *Sung Shih Chi shih Pên Mo* 宋史紀事本末. I do not know which work is meant by the term 'Grande Histoire.' Nevertheless, Wieger's rendering is inaccurate and misleading. A more literal translation of his text would run as follows "The use of the title Yü Huang in state sacrificial and worshipping ceremonies 祀典 commences from here but his whole history is not clear. The *Yü Huang Pên Hsing Chi Ching* used nowadays probably dates from this time." It is very clear that this note says nothing about the invention of Yü Huang at this time but only that the state worship of him began from here. Wieger's interpretation that 'Le 王皇 Pur Auguste, le dieu le plus populaire de la Chine méridionale moderne, fut bel et bien inventé à cette époque' (op cit, 1846, note) is entirely unwarranted.

The recognition of Yü Huang by the state religion was primarily connected with the T'ien Shu incident 天祚 'Ecrite Célestes' of Chên tsung's reign. After the conclusion of the truce of Shan yüan 澶淵 with the Khitan 契丹, which

have ranked as a supreme deity in popular belief"⁹ But Maspero went no farther than the other authors in tracing the early evidence of the development of this myth

Hodous traced the name of Yu Huang to the *Book of Changes*¹⁰ This, however, is a little too imaginative¹¹ He also cited the *T'ien kung*, heavenly lord in the *Sou Shen Chi* 搜神記¹² and the *T'ien weng* "venerable old man of heaven," Chang Chien, in the *Yu yang tsa tsu* as possible precursors of Yu Huang As to the *T'ien kung*, it is so vague that it can be interpreted in many ways The legend of Chang Chien in the *Yu yang tsa tsu*¹³ bears certain resemblances to the myth of Chang Teng lai

the Emperor later considered humiliating he conspired to gain prestige among his subjects by some supernatural ordinance He turned visionary and received the *T'ien Shu* from heaven This further led the Emperor to perform the *Fêng Shan* 封禪 ceremonies which could only be performed theoretically by founders of dynasties and successful great emperors The *T'ien Shu Fêng Ssu* 天書封祀 was one of the most important and preposterous events during Chên tsung's reign and the documents concerning the whole affair were summarized in CH EN Pang chan 陳邦瞻 *Sung Shih Chi Shih Pên Mo* 宋史紀事本末 22

*Henri MASPERO *Mythologie de la Chine moderne Mythologie asiatique illustrée* (Paris 1928) 239 248 The quotation is from the English translation (London 1932) pp 263 271

⁹Chen tsong of the French edition should read Tchen tsong according to the romanization used in Maspero's work Chen tsong 神宗 (Shên tsung for us) was the Sung emperor who reigned A D 1068 1085 Correspondingly the 'Shên tsung' in the English translation should read Chên tsung

I take this occasion to ask M Maspero on what authority he calls Fig 10 p 248 (Fig 12 p 272 in the English tr) La déesse de la Lune Chinese artists seldom represent female figures showing their breasts except in obscene scenes Fig 10 so far as I can see is not feminine at all If the string of gold cash 金錢 were not missing it would be the Liu Hai Hsi Chan 劉海戲蟾 [Edwards NOTE Cf V ALEXSEEV Les doubles immortels et le taoïste au crapaud d'or accompagnant le dieu de la richesse *Recueil du musée d'anthropologie et d'ethnographie de l'Académie des Sciences* 5 (Petrograd 1918) 253 318]

¹⁰Hodous op cit 26

¹¹周易,說卦 乾爲天,爲圓,爲君,爲父,爲玉,爲金,爲寒,爲水,爲大方,爲良馬,爲老馬,爲瘠馬,爲駁馬,爲木果。十三經注疏本, chüan 12 pp 89

Hodous does not give any exact reference but I suppose this is the passage he referred to If he interprets "Chien is heaven ruler jade " as Yu Huang then how would he interpret Chien is old horse ?

¹²Hodous op cit 27 Hodous did not give any exact reference to the *Sou Shen Chi* So far as I can find the term *t'ien kung* 天公 occurs only twice in one place in ch 10 1b The term *T'ien ti* 天帝 heavening emperor also occurs in this work (ch. 19 2) but it is used with the same vague meaning as in the case of *t'ien kung*

¹³西陽雜俎,四部叢刊本, 14 2. 天翁張堅。

uch will be given later in this paper, but he also cannot be considered the precursor of Yu Huang, because the term Yu Huang had already come well known in literary sources almost half a century before the composition of the *Yu yang tsa tsu*.¹⁴ Thus it is inconceivable that Tuan Ch'eng shih should use such a vague term as *T'ien wēng*, "venerable old man of heaven," if he meant Yu Huang.

The earliest occurrence of the name Yu Huang is found in the works of the Confucian scholar Han Yu (A. D. 768-824). In a poem admiring plum blossoms,¹⁵ he wrote

"Riding clouds we come together to the home of Yu Huang"

Riding clouds is a mode of locomotion characteristic of Chinese gods and mortals. Lau Tsung yuan (A. D. 773-819), the great T'ang essayist and poet, in a poem about a waterfall,¹⁶ wrote

"Suddenly it is like coming to the presence of Yü Huang,

The jade pendants upon the front of his heavenly crown hanging down"

The author was comparing the sparkling waterfall to the lustrous jade tassels of Yu Huang's crown. It suggests a well developed myth to which the poet was alluding. More specific was the poet Yuan Chên 元稹 (A. D. 779-831). Bragging about his newly acquired residence to Po Chu i 白居易 (A. D. 772-846), he wrote¹⁷

"I am the petty official in charge of Yu Huang's incense table,

Although banished, I can still live in P'êng lai"

P'êng lai was the legendary island of the immortals. All these poetical notations should be understood in a metaphorical sense. Chinese poetry is noteworthy for its conciseness. From these few lines the picturesque

¹⁴ Hodous says (op. cit. 27) "In the *Yu yang tsa tsu* written at the end of the eighth century." This date is too early. The author Tuan Ch'eng shih 成式 died in the year A. D. 863. His birth date is not known but it cannot be much earlier than A. D. 790 because his father Tuan Wên-chang 段文昌 was born in 773 and died in 831. From his biography in the *Old T'ang History* 唐書 167 it would seem that the *Yu yang tsa tsu* was most probably composed during his later years, possibly around the middle of the ninth century. The *Yu yang tsa tsu* itself records facts as late as 840.

¹⁵ 呂黎先生集，蟬隱庵影本，世綸堂本，53

¹⁶ 柳河東集，四部備要本，42-14 界閑巖水簾詩。"忽如朝王皇，天香垂前旒。"

¹⁷ 元氏長慶集，四部叢刊本，22-2 以州宅誇樂天。"我是玉皇香案吏，謫居猶得住蓬萊。"

figure of Yu Huang can be clearly visualized. The T'ang dynasty (A D 618 907) was the great period of Chinese poetry, and it is natural to find important material embodied in poetic form. The frequent occurrence of Yu Huang in the poetry of this period shows the great popularity of the myth and the poetical nature of the theme.

Somewhat later there was a well known painting of the imaginary court scene of Yu Huang by the famous artist Shih K'o 石恪 of the Kingdom of Shu 蜀 (A D 908 965). The painting has probably been lost, but a full description of it has been handed down to us in the critical catalogue, *Te Yu Chai Hua P'in*.¹⁸ It says

"A picture of the court ceremony of Yu Huang by Shih K'o of Shu. The T'ien hsien, Lang kuan, Chin t'ung, Yu nu, San kuan, T'ai i, Ch'i yuan, Ssu sheng, Ching wei,¹⁹ gods of stars, wind, rain, thunder, lightning, lords of the mountains and lakes, deities ruling above and below the earth, etc., are all gathered at the court of the Emperor. The great heavenly Emperor Yu Huang sits facing south with all due decorum and dignity. All the deities look up to his pure lustrous countenance with raised heads. Those who see this picture will feel the exaltation and animation. It is like placing oneself in the T'ung Ming Tien."²⁰

"Shih K'o's temperament is unrestrained, humorous and satirical. Therefore his paintings are unruly and often go beyond the ordinary rules, but they do not lose their unusual beauty. So of the figures he has painted here some are extraordinarily ugly or mysteriously crabbed in order to insinuate the unusual [gathering]. The deities of the waters have crabs or fishes suspended to their waists [a feature he intended] to show disdain for the onlookers. In this painting he dared not blaspheme the figure of Yu Huang, but still it is not free from amusing implications intending to obtain laughter from admirers [of the picture]."

¹⁸ 德隅齋畫品 by Li Chai 李昉 of the Sung dynasty. 顧氏文房小說本, p. 78. 玉皇朝會圖.

¹⁹ 天仙, 靈官, 金童, 玉女, 三官, 太一, 七元, 四聖, 經緯.

²⁰ 通明殿. Palace of penetrating illumination i.e. the palace of Yu Huang. Cf. *I shêng Pao t'ê Chuan* 翊聖保德傳 by Wang Chin-jo 王欽若 (died 1044) of the Sung dynasty (道藏, 1006 冊, 卷中, 1a¹ b¹). 守真符朝禮至玉皇大殿, 視其額曰通明殿, 不曉其旨. 因焚香告曰: 通明之館, 竊所未聞, 敢祈真教? 真君曰: 上帝在无上三天, 為諸天之尊, 萬象羣仙, 無不臣者. 常升金殿, 金殿之光明, 照於帝身, 身之光明, 照於金殿. 光明通徹, 無所不照, 故為通明殿. This is the earliest explanation of the meaning of Tung Ming Tien.

The vividness of the description and the reverent language of the critic toward Yu Huang combine to show his importance as a supreme deity.

All these citations show that Yu Huang was much earlier than the time of the emperor Chên tsung. He only utilized a well known, popular deity to further his cause. But through his imperial patronage Yu Huang gained state recognition and became more important in popular religious beliefs than ever before.

Yu Huang as a high god dates back to the eighth and ninth centuries A D., and his actual genesis may be still a few centuries earlier,²¹ but the actual condition of his origin and the details of the myth are still shrouded in mystery, and as in the case of most popular deities, may never be known. However, there is a popular version of this myth, which does not seem to have been recorded. This version is widely distributed over Central and West China, where the Taoist religion has had its fullest development from the time of Chang Lu.

According to this version, the surname of Yu Huang is Chang, and his first name is Teng lai.²² He is more or less an opportunist, a trickster, and obtained his throne by chance. The story is based on the *Feng Shen Chuan*, a novel describing the canonization of gods. This version continues the *Feng Shen Chuan*, and since this is a well known work, it is not necessary to recapitulate the whole story here,²³ but only to start from the place where the Yu Huang myth is first mentioned.

Chiang T'ai kung, standing on the Fêng Shan T'ai, Terrace of Canonization,²⁴ appointed all those who lost their lives during the bloody campaign against the Shang as gods to rule over the destinies of man. For a time the procedure was uneventful, but finally only the position of Yu Huang was left vacant, which Chiang T'ai kung intended to reserve for himself. Some impatient bystander inquired of him who was to become

²¹ Prof. Elisséeff suggested to me that there might be a connection between Yu Huang and Yu Chung 玉亨 mentioned in Wei Shu 魏書 114 24b-25a and in Sui Shu 隋書 35 27b-28a (The paging is that of the 同文 edition). If this could be proved it would definitely carry the myth farther back three or four centuries. Cf. also J. R. WARE, *The Wei Shu and the Sui Shu on Taoism* JAOIS 53 (1933), 214 and 213.

²² 張平來

²³ Those who are not familiar with the *Feng Shen Chuan* 封神傳 or *Fêng Shên Yen* 封神演義 may see WERNER, *A Dictionary of Chinese Mythology* under Chang Tzu ya. A very brief account is given there. See also DORE, *op cit* (note 4) IV pp. 663-670. This novel is partially translated and resumed by Wilhelm CUNDE and Herbert MÜLLER in *Fêng Shên Yen: Die Metamorphosen der Götter* Leiden 1912.

²⁴ 封神臺

Yu Huang Half heartedly, Chiang T'ai kung replied, "Teng lai" This literally meant, "I'm coming to that" Standing beside the Feng Shên T'ai was the opportunist Chang Teng lai On hearing his name called, he prostrated himself before the 'Terrace' and thanked Chiang T'ai kung for creating him Yu Huang Stupefied by this unexpected turn of events, and unable to retract his words, Chiang T'ai kung in his intense anger cursed Chang Teng lai, saying "Your sons will become thieves and your daughters prostitutes" Chang Teng lai had, however, to be come Yu Huang, because whatever Chiang T'ai kung says must be fulfilled, for 'his mouth is gold and his words jade'

Now there was no place left for Chiang T'ai kung himself, the only shrine he could find for himself was the windowsills Consequently, in present-day China, especially in Central China among the peasants, whenever there is a wedding or a child birth, or any event that needs protection from malevolent spirits, an inscription is invariably pasted on the window of the room of the bride, or the laboring mother, saying "Chiang T'ai kung is here, all gods avoid"²⁵ The wedding night and child birth are critical moments that have to be safeguarded against malevolent spirits The idea is that although Chiang T'ai kung lost his position as Yu Huang, he still has prestige among the gods because he canonized them, and because he is the only one who hovers around the windows According to popular belief, evil spirits can only enter the house through the windows because the doors are guarded by door gods whose images are placed there and renewed every new year If Chiang T'ai kung guards the windows, the house will be secure against all malevolent spirits

Although Chang Teng lai became Yu Huang he could not annul the curse imposed upon him by Chiang T'ai kung So his sons became thieves, and after having committed many minor felonies they planned a more daring attempt They went to steal the precious lotus seat of the Buddha This feat was impossible because they could not escape from the great power of the Buddha, who is omniscient and omnipotent With a turn of his hand Buddha enslaved them under a pagoda and doomed them to remain there forever This is why at the foot of every pagoda there are grotesque figures who seem to support it with great exertion They are the sons of Chang Yu Huang²⁶

“姜太公在此，諸神迴避”

²⁵ This explanation is certainly wrong They are not Yu Huang's sons but guardian deities of the pagoda usually of the Vajrapāṇi type For illustration see G. ECKE and P. DEMIEVILLE, *The Twin Pagodas of Zayton* (Cambridge Mass 1935) pls 12 and 14 fig 56 etc. It shows however the imagination of the popular mind in seeking to explain what is not understood.

Yu Huang's daughters were doomed to be prostitutes. As their father was Yu Huang, they did not become prostitutes in the ordinary sense of the term, but all married men. There are a wealth of tales about these marriages between immortals and mortals which are too long to be related here. The most dramatic, humorous, and entertaining is the marriage of Yu Huang's seventh daughter Chang Ch'i-chieh, Chang the seventh sister, with the semi imbecile Ts'ui Wên jui.²¹ Wên jui was a poor wretch clothed in rags, simple and ignorant. He was a wood-cutter because he was too stupid to earn a living by any other work. Yet he was very filial and obedient to his aged and invalid mother. Every day he went to the woods to chop down a bundle of wood which he sold in the market in order to buy the necessary food for his mother. Day after day he went to the forest and cut the wood and nothing eventful happened. While contented with his lot, he really did not know what contentment meant. One day while he was chopping wood, Chang Ch'i-chieh came to him and offered to marry him. Ts'ui Wên jui was so stupid that he did not know what a wife was. The conversation between the two is the most humorous as well as the most ridiculous that anyone can imagine. Finally Wên jui brought the matter to his mother. She refused on the ground that her son was too stupid to have such a beautiful wife. "It will be a great calamity instead of a great fortune." Chang Ch'i-chieh insisted and she pledged herself to be a good wife and to do all the cooking, weaving and housework. She would not leave unless Wên jui took her to wife. Finally the old lady yielded and they were married.

Actually Chang Ch'i-chieh proved to be a very good wife. She was industrious and obedient. The cloth she wove was so beautiful and fine that no one would believe it was done with mortal hands. All went on very well. Unfortunately, one day when she was working outside, a rich and handsome young man of the district passed by and saw her. He was so infatuated by her beauty that he was willing to try any means to marry her. The mother-in-law was much perturbed because she was apprehensive of the danger involved, but the wife told her not to worry. She promised to marry this rich young man provided he would pay her husband Wên jui an exorbitant bride-price to compensate for his loss of a beautiful wife. To this the young man gladly consented, and she went over for the wedding. Being an immortal with supernatural powers she punished him very severely during the wedding night and he promised to repent and never do such a thing again. Then Chang Ch'i-chieh re-

²¹ 張七姐下凡嫁崔文瑞

turned to Ts'ai Wên-jui. Wên-jui, on account of the large bride-price he received, became well-to-do. Chang Ch'í-chieh stayed with him for several years and bore him a son. Then she left him and returned to heaven. She had fulfilled the curse, punished the wicked, and rewarded a filial son.²⁸

This popular version of the origin myth of Yu Huang is entertaining, moral, and exegetical. There may be anachronisms and false explanations in the story but it is certainly a masterpiece of Chinese folk literature. Popular tales without documentary evidence are always very difficult to date. This story is based on the *Fêng Shên Chuan* which was probably composed about the period A. D. 1567-1620 by an anonymous author.²⁹ There is no way of knowing how much older the story may be. Many of the legends contained in the *Fêng Shên Chuan* are of considerable antiquity, and this compilation may only represent a phase of literary documentation and standardization. Even during the time of Ssü-ma Ch'ien, Chiang T'ai-kung was often connected with the supernatural. In the *Fêng Shan Shu* of the *Shih Chi* (ch. 28), it is said that "The eight divine generals existed from antiquity, some say that they were instituted from the time of T'ai-kung."³⁰ The apotheosis of Chiang T'ai-kung may have occurred quite early and culminated in the *Fêng Shên Chuan*. But how and when the origin myth of Yu Huang was grafted to him cannot be definitely determined at the present. To judge from the distribution of the window sill cult of Chiang T'ai-kung, which is almost universal in China, it may be of considerable antiquity.

²⁸ The legend is often dramatized on the rural stage in Central and West China. During the late fall when the paddy harvest is in and the nights still warm, an open air stage is erected, and the play given.

²⁹ 魯迅 中國小說史略, 187-191. The *Fêng Shên Chuan* was mentioned by Chang Wu-chiu 張無咎 in his preface to the *P'ing Yao Chuan* 平妖傳, composed in the year 1620. Thus, the date of composition of the *Fêng Shên Chuan* cannot be later than this.

³⁰ 史記, 封禪書。"八神將自古而有之; 或曰, 太公以來作之。" E. CHAVANNES, *Les Mémoires historiques de Se-ma Tsien* (3: 432) translates this passage as "Les huit dieux ont existé dès l'antiquité." D'autres disent que c'est à partir de l'Auguste que qu'on fit (les sacrifices aux huit dieux)." In note 2 of the same page, he says "Dans l'expression 將自古, le mot 將 a le sens de 'immédiatement, aussitôt.'" Chavannes' interpretation of the word 將 is rather arbitrary, so he has to omit it in his translation because it does not make sense in French. Such an interpretation however, does not make sense in Chinese either!

LES SEPT TERRASSES DU BARABUDUR

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La littérature et les fouilles nous ont fait connaître des tours à étages dans divers pays de l'Asie et de l'Océanie. Ces monuments ont depuis longtemps retenu l'attention des archéologues et M. Mus les compare dans un ouvrage où les qualités les plus rares s'allient à une surprenante érudition¹. Mais il est une question de fait sur laquelle il faudrait avant tout être d'accord : je veux parler du nombre des étages dans les monuments considérés.

Nous possédons des images anciennes de ziqqurrat assyro-babyloniennes à trois, quatre et cinq étages. La tour d'Ur avait trois gradins surmontés d'un sanctuaire². Celles de Babylone et d'autres villes avaient sept étages³.

Les *Jātala* en pali, le *Mahāyāsa* et d'autres ouvrages bouddhiques emploient souvent l'expression *satta bhūmaka pasāda* qui désigne une construction de 7 étages⁴. Mais aucun de ces édifices n'a survécu dans l'Inde.

En Chine Hao-t'ien Chang ti 昊天上帝 "le Seigneur d'En haut du Vaste Ciel," qui est le premier des dieux, demeure "au centre du ciel dans la Grande Ourse, sur le plus élevé des neuf gradins célestes"⁵. Les empereurs chinois, afin de s'identifier avec ce souverain céleste, semblaient avoir construit des tours d'où ils pouvaient dominer l'univers⁶.

S'il faut en croire la chronique cinghalaise, le célèbre Lohaprasada du roi Dutthagamani était un édifice à 9 étages (*navabhūmika*), construit en bois qui prit feu sous le successeur de Dutthagamani et fut ensuite

¹ Barabudur. Les origines du stupa et la transmigration. essai d'archéologie religieuse comparée. BEFEO 32 269-439 33 577-980 34 175-400. Actuellement la suite n'a pas encore paru.

² Cf. WOOLLEY *Ur of the Chaldees a record of seven years of excavation* London 1930 p. 12^o.

³ JEREMIAS *Handbuch Altorient Geisteskultur*¹ 135.

⁴ T. W. RHYS DAVIDS *Buddhist India* London 1903 p. 70.

⁵ H. MASPERO *Chine antique* 162.

⁶ GRANET *Civilis chinoise* 461-3. P. MUS, Barabudur 33 693 et 722.

"la foule profane" La foule était formée par les fidèles laïcs (*upāsaka* et *upāsikā*), si on la compte à part, on obtient dix niveaux, c'est à dire un nombre qui ne correspond pas avec les huit niveaux (sept terrasses plus la base) que présente le Barabudur

A la réflexion, le désaccord n'a rien de surprenant L'énumération des fidèles dans *Mahāīamsa*, 27, suit la hiérarchie dans les sectes du Petit Véhicule les Arhat sont au sommet De même la cosmologie des trois mondes est une conception familière aux adeptes du Petit Véhicule Ce n'est pas par de telles notions qu'on peut expliquer entièrement le symbolisme du Barabudur, monument inspire par la doctrine du Grand Véhicule Si les terrasses du Barabudur correspondent à des niveaux de méditation, nous devons les mettre en rapport avec les *bhūmi* du Grand Véhicule

Dans un mémoire écrit en collaboration avec M Etienne Lamotte,¹¹ j'ai suivi le développement des théories relatives à la carrière du Saint Dans le Canon pali, les quatre étapes qui conduisent à la sainteté sont *sotāpanna*, *saḥadāgamin*, *anāgāmin*, *arahant* L'*Abhisamayālamkāra* connaît sept stages appelés 1) *sūlavidaśana bhūmi*, 2) *gotra bhūmi*, 3) *astamāla bhūmi*, 4) *daśana bhūmi*, 5) *tanu bhūmi*, 6) *vitārāga bhūmi*, 7) *kṛtavi bhūmi* Ces sept terres correspondent aux sept *bhūmikā* de l'*Akṣyupaniṣad*

D'après l'*Abhisamayālamkāra*, *kṛtavi bhūmi* qui désigne le septième degré, est un autre nom de l'intuition du Śravaka qui a réalisé l'état d'Arhat On pourrait donc penser que la doctrine des sept terres appartenait en propre au Petit Véhicule Mais il est possible de montrer qu'avant de distinguer dix étapes dans la carrière du Saint, les adeptes du Grand Véhicule en ont précisément compté sept

Le *Karandavyūha* est un important *sūtra* du Mahāyāna dont Burnouf a donné une analyse¹² et dont je prépare une édition Dans un développement destiné à glorifier la formule magique en six syllabes le *sūtra* donne un certain nombre d'exemples qui montrent l'immensité des mérites qu'on s'acquiert en recitant cette formule Un de ces exemples suppose que tous les habitants des quatre continents deviennent "des bodhisatva installés dans les dix terres" (*daśabhūmi-pratisthita bodhisatva*)¹³ Or si l'on compare le texte sanskrit avec les traductions chinoise et tibétaine on constate que celles-ci mentionnent "sept terres" au lieu de dix¹⁴ Il est clair que les traducteurs ont travaillé sur un

¹¹ Bouddhisme et Upaniṣad BEFEO 32 (1932) 141 169

¹² Introduction à l'histoire du Bouddhisme indien¹ 196

¹³ Bibliothèque Nationale fonds sanskrit n° 22 p 45a

¹⁴ Tripit éd Taishō n° 1050 p 60 Kanjur Mdo VII éd Pékin f° 258b in fine

rebâti avec 7 étages¹ Il semble donc qu'à Ceylan, environ le début de l'ère chrétienne, les architectes avaient le choix entre plusieurs types de *prāsāda* et que l'édifice royal pouvait compter 7 et même 9 étages.

Le Barabudur est un monument à étages. S'apparente-t-il aux *prāsāda* à 7 ou à 9 étages? La question a été résolue par M. Mus d'une manière assez inattendue. Après avoir énuméré les monuments assyrobabyloniens, chinois, indiens et cinghalais, il ajoute: "Pour compléter ce tableau, il nous sera permis de rappeler encore un autre monument à neuf étages, proche parent par son arrangement religieux du Lohaprasāda cinghalais: et lequel serait-ce, sinon notre Barabudur lui-même, dont on apercevra mieux maintenant la corrélation théorique aussi bien avec l'architecture cinghalaise qu'avec l'antique ziqurrat mésopotamienne, voire même avec les édifices cosmo-magiques de la religion impériale chinoise"².

Quand on regarde une photographie aérienne du Barabudur, on voit que ce monument est formé par trois éléments architecturaux: 1° une base bloquée par un revêtement en maçonnerie, 2° sept terrasses divisées en deux séries quatre terrasses carrées surmontées de trois terrasses rondes, 3° soixante-douze petits *stupa* disposés sur les terrasses rondes avec un soixante treizième plus grand qui couronne l'édifice.

Dans son important ouvrage en cours de publication, M. Mus a repris certaines idées de M. Stutterheim. Après avoir affirmé que le Barabudur représente la superposition des trois mondes que distingue la cosmologie bouddhique, il ajoute: "Mais il y a mieux, et M. Stutterheim est parvenu à serrer de plus près encore la correspondance cosmologique. Reprenons en effet en sens inverse, c'est-à-dire en partant de la tête, ou du sommet de l'univers, la liste fournie par le *Sang hyang Kamahayānikan*. Au monde de l'Arūpa "au delà de la forme" la cosmologie bouddhique attribue d'ordinaire quatre étages sublimes accessibles seulement à la méditation la plus épurée. Or, conformément à ces dispositions théoriques, nous rencontrons en haut du Barabudur trois terrasses rondes à *stupa* et un *stupa* terminal, ce qui fait bien quatre niveaux transcendants. Le monde de la Forme admet de son côté quatre étages de Dhyana à cela repondent encore très exactement les quatre terrasses carrées à galeries. Enfin

¹ *Mahāvamsa*, 27, 33, 6, 36, 25 102 124

² P. Mus, *Barabudur*, 33, 733. A l'époque de Duṭṭhagāmaṇi, rien ne permet de supposer qu'une influence ait pu s'exercer directement de la Chine sur Ceylan. On est donc réduit à expliquer le *prāsāda* cinghalais à 9 étages par des influences locales ou indiennes. Il est d'ailleurs possible que les chroniqueurs aient commis un anachronisme en reportant au règne de Duṭṭhagāmaṇi un type de construction plus récent. N'oublions pas enfin que la tour chinoise à 9 étages imitant les 9 gradins célestes est en partie une hypothèse européenne.

ne suggère plus aucune de ces spécifications C'est la figure que dessine une source de lumière dans les ténèbres Le cercle tire du centre toute sa signification C'est pourquoi le *stupa* terminal du Barabudur, que j'ai refusé de considérer comme un étage distinct, n'en a pas moins une importance singulière au centre de la septième terrasse Mais il est au niveau de cette terrasse et on ne peut donc le considérer comme un huitième étage

Revenons à la ziqqurrat assyro-babylonienne Hérodote attribue 8 étages à la tour de Babylone Est ce une erreur, comme certains l'ont cru? Pour M Unger,¹⁷ l'étage supplémentaire mentionné par Hérodote serait la partie souterraine de la ziqqurrat qui plongeait dans le sol jusqu'à une profondeur égale à la hauteur de la partie visible En faveur de cette explication, on peut rappeler le fait que, dans la cosmologie indienne, on connaît également un Meru souterrain et sous-marin au dessous de la montagne visible¹⁸ Logiquement, il n'en pouvait être autrement l'axe de l'univers doit s'enfoncer jusqu'au monde d'en bas

On aperçoit dès lors une exacte correspondance entre la tour de Babylone, le Meru indien et le Barabudur La tour de Babylone était en trois parties une base souterraine invisible, 7 étages et le sanctuaire du sommet De même le Meru a une base invisible, que surmonte la montagne, couronnée elle même par le palais des dieux De même enfin, le Barabudur a une base cachée par un revêtement en maçonnerie et 7 terrasses surmontées d'un *stupa* terminal

Les constructeurs du Barabudur se sont donc inspirés d'un plan extrêmement ancien qui s'est adapté sans déformations profondes à des croyances très diverses dans des religions successives Quelles qu'aient été les influences qui propagèrent ces antiques symboles, on doit reconnaître d'incontestables affinités entre la ziqqurrat assyro-babylonienne, le temple montagne des Cakravartin indiens et l'édifice aux sept *bhumis* du Bouddhisme tardif

¹⁷ ZATW (1927) 166 167 JEREMIAS a supposé *Handbuch* 137 qu'Hérodote avait compté pour un étage le sanctuaire au sommet de la tour M. MUS (*ibid* 33 757) croit avec JEREMIAS qu'Hérodote a compté en sus le sanctuaire du faite et cette manière de voir lui paraît erronée puisqu'il considère la tour de Babylone comme un édifice à 7 étages Mais au Barabudur il fait du *stupa* terminal un étage distinct On constate donc entre ces opinions un désaccord inexplicable

¹⁸ KIRFEL, *Die Kosmographie der Inder* 28 et 173

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Записки Института Востоковедения Академии Наук СССР.

This bulletin is edited by the Institute of Oriental Studies created in 1930 as a central research institution to correlate all the oriental work in the U S S R, and includes as members all the various Orientalists. The articles are in Russian but a French table of contents is also published.

3, 1 12 V M ALEXEJEV, Principles for the Translation into Chinese of the Works of V I Lenin В М Алексеев, Принципы переводов сочинений В И Ленина на китайский язык.

Alexejev criticizes the work of several Russians and Chinese who translated Lenin's works into Chinese. It is an interesting article on the technique of translation. He shows how the translators often missed the true meaning and nuance of particular expressions. For instance, the church as a social organisation is translated 教堂. Very often, to make a good Chinese phrase, the translator destroys the logical construction of the Russian sentence. Many allusions such as "let this cup pass from me" are not rendered in the Chinese translation.

3, 13 37 N N POPPE, Problems in the Study of Buriat Mongol Literature, Н Н Поппе, Проблемы бурят-монгольского литературоведения.

In this article the author indicates that until recent times, without any discrimination, everything written in Mongol was considered literature including legal texts and official letters. The first one to speak only of *belles lettres* was the late Professor Vladimircov in his *Mongolian Literature* published in the *Collection of the Literature of the East* published in Leningrad 1920 (Сборник Литературы Востока 2). Poppe indicates also that Mongolian literature cannot be considered as a whole on account of the differences which exist between the Mongols of Inner Mongolia, the Halka mongols, Buriats, and Kalmuks. He is especially

interested in the Buriat Mongol literature. Recently the Buriat Mongols started to write with Roman letters and to use a new literary style which is based on their colloquial language. Their literature is rich in heroic poems which can be divided into two classes: a general, and a specific one in which Geser is the hero and which is strongly influenced by the Tibetan epics. A peculiar class of literary work is formed by the legends transmitted by the shamans. One of these legends tells of the mythical origin of the Buriats. An interesting section is formed by the diaries of Buriat Buddhist pilgrims who have travelled into Tibet and described the holy places and all that they have seen. The modern Buriat literature is particularly rich in novels where the authors describe the new life after the revolution and the conflicts between the new and the old world. These new books are printed in Roman characters. It is worth mentioning that the Buriats publish many books for children,—something new in Mongolia.

3, 39 51 В. А. ВАСИЛЬЕВ, October¹ and the Dungan literature, В. А. Васильев, Октябрь и дунганская литература

The Dungan are Moslems who passed from China to Central Asia about 1880 and settled in the region of the river Ch'u. Before the Bolshevik revolution they had practically no literature, now they are using Roman letters and recently many poetical works have been published.

3, 87 100 L. I. DUMAN, The feudal institution of *Yen ch'i* 煙齊 in East Turkestan during the 18th Century, Л. И. Думан, Феодалный институт яньчи в Восточном Туркестане в XVIII веке

Duman indicates that this institution closely resembles serfage, and that although the Chinese documents do not reveal its detailed organization, we can find much information in Chinese writers of the 18th century. The author quotes the *Hsi-yu Wen Chien Lu* 西域聞見錄 where it is said that these men are like slaves and are called *yen ch'i*. In an Imperial order of 1768 Ch'ien lung specified that the *yang ch'i* 洋起 must plow the fields. Other Chinese works are quoted to determine the social position of these slaves. Duman points out that this Chinese term is a transcription of the Persian word *anjū* which was probably taken by the Chinese in its Mongol *Djagatai* pronunciation. He bases that on what was written about this term by the late Bartold. This very interesting article is a true contribution to the social history of Chinese Turkestan.

¹ By the word October the soviet writers always mean the Bolshevik revolution which according to the Julian calendar was in October.

3, 211-214 These pages describe the activities of the Association for Mongol Studies as well as those of the Association for Japanese Studies where many specialists have delivered interesting lectures

Vol 4 is dedicated to the memory of the former secretary of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Professor S Oldenburg (С Ф. Ольденбург) who died February 28, 1934 He was a well known Sanscritist, and the chief of two Russian scientific expeditions sent to explore Chinese Turkestan He stayed a long time in Tun huang and took many photographs of the cave paintings He was a true organizer of oriental studies in Russia and many orientalists of today owe the choice of their academic career to the advice of this scholar

5, 43 53 N A NEVSKIJ, From Moscovia to U S S R Н А. Невский, От „Московии” к СССР

An interesting survey of the influence of the modern Soviet Russian language on the Japanese vocabulary The terminology of Bolshevik publications such as "the class consciousness" or the "class parasites" and many others have been translated into Japanese The words "red" and "white" in their political sense are being translated literally into Japanese The word Russia has simply disappeared and the Japanese use *soueto roshiya* which means Soviet Russia or even more frequently *sovetto rempo* which means the Soviet Union

5, 115 132 P I VOROB'EV, New Materials concerning the Origin and the Development of Manchu Writing, П И Воробьев, Материалы к истории маньчжурской письменности

After indicating the well known fact of the adaptation of Mongol writing to the Manchu language the author mentions the importance of the introduction into Manchu writing in 1632 of two diacritical signs, a dot and a circle This fact helps to date manuscripts During his stay in Peiping in 1923 the author had access to several official Manchu documents written without the diacritical signs, thus indicating that they were previous to 1632 These documents are of great interest for the history of the Manchu dynasty and the author publishes the analysis and the translation of a fragment dealing with the first year of the reign of Sure Khan and the description of the New Year ceremony

5, 183 203 P I OSSIPOV, Some notes on a Chinese Manuscript found in Central Asia in 1933, П И Осипов, К китайскому документу, найденному в Таджикистане

During excavations in the Mug mountain in Tadzhikistan there was found, along with much other manuscript material, some fragments of

Chinese manuscripts, one of which is dated 706 A D This important manuscript came to Tadjikistan probably after 723 A D when the Tibetans attacked the Chinese west border garrisons and looted the chancelleries This Chinese fragment is an authentic official document (*tieh* 牒) written in a running hand, *hsing shu* 行書 It was issued from the central office, Tu ssü 都司, following an imperial order, and sent to military officials at Wu chien 伍潤 which was in the region of Liang Chou 涼州 This official document is an order to examine all the storehouses and inspect the emissaries 使 of the border armies The author makes a very ingenious analysis of the fragment of this document giving much information about the T'ang administration and the relations of the central authorities with the border officers

S E

BULLETIN OF THE FAR EASTERN BRANCH OF THE ACADEMY OF SCIENCES
OF THE U S S R, VLADIVOSTOK

Nos 11 and 12, 1935

Вестник Дальневосточного Филиала Академии Наук СССР

This periodical has six numbers a year and includes articles on natural sciences and humanities in their relation to the Far East Practically every Russian article has at the end a German, French, or English synopsis, and the Russian table of contents is translated into one of these western languages

11, 77-106 A V RUDAKOV and A V MARAKUEV, Dappled Deer in the Chinese Pharmacopoeia, А В Маракуев и А В Рудаков, Пятнистый олень в китайской фармакопее German synopsis

The article is a careful translation of section 364 of chapter 57 concerning the dappled deer (*cervus hortulorum* Temm) from the well known Chinese book *Pen Tsao Kang mu* 本草綱目 The translation is preceded by a very interesting introduction where the translator gives information about the author of this book, Li Shih chen 李時珍, who during the Ming dynasty worked thirty years on his manuscript and died just before finishing his last lines His son Li Chien yuan 李建元 presented the work to the emperor in 1593 and three years later it was published in 20 volumes (*pen*) In 1603 a second edition was published Two new chapters were added, one in two sections on the pulse the *Mo hsueh* 脈學 and the *Mo chueh* 脈訣 and the other on blood circulation, *Ch' i ching Pa mo K'ao* 奇經八脈攷 The *Pen Ts'ao Kang mu*

was well known in Korea as well as in Japan where it was printed in 1637 at Edo 江戸 In 1803 a Japanese scholar Ono Ranzan 小野蘭山 (1729 1810) ¹ published a detailed commentary It is interesting to note that as early as 1853 a Russian physician, A Tatarinov, was interested in the *Pen Ts'ao Kang mu* and published an article on Chinese medicine (cf *Works of the Members of the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission in Peking* 2, 379, Saint Petersburg, 1853 „Китайская медицина” Труды членовъ Россійской духовной мисси въ Пекинѣ 2 379 СПб 1853) F Porter Smith, E Bretschneider, C A. Stuart, and B D Read have been interested in this text but their books give only general information or paraphrases of the Chinese text, not precise translations

11, 107 119 V M ALEKSEEV, *Histrionic Heroes in Chinese History*, В М Алексеев Актеры герои на страницах китайской истории

⁶ In a well documented article the author speaks about the low social position of the Chinese actor and how in spite of this some of them are mentioned in the histories as heroes who dared criticize the sovereigns and by their reproaches improved political conditions Sometimes they were punished by death for their animadversions Alekseev quotes passages from *Shih Chi* 126 concerning actors and relates interesting anecdotes about the well known dwarf and clown Yu Meng 優孟 who, in telling the sovereign of Ch'u 楚 that it would be ridiculous to hold a pompous funeral for an imperial horse stopped an extravagant ceremony Alekseev mentions also the actor Wan Pao-ch'ang 萬寶常 who lived in the 6th century A D and who tried in vain to restore the deteriorated Chinese music to its classical standard Further is mentioned the actor Ni Hêng 彌衡 who is known for his admonition to the usurper Ts'ao Ts'ao 曹操 Alekseev tells us also an anecdote about the actor Lu Yu 陸羽 who lived during the T ang dynasty He quotes also a very interesting event from the Sung dynasty during which the actors performed a satirical play criticizing the placing of the ancestral tablet of the well known minister Wang An shih 王安石 in a Confucian temple These several examples which the author gives us from the ancient Chinese histories are an interesting testimonial to the actor's social position and indicate that some of them were more than insignificant clowns

11, 126-131 Bibliography

M S BATES, *An Introduction to Oriental Journals in Western Languages*, C S GARDNER, *Union List of Selected Books on China in*

¹ Cf Dr HANS KARST Ono Ranzan der "japanische Linné" 1729 1810 *Nippon* 2 (1936) 93 96

American Libraries, and G B CRESSEY, *China's Geographic Foundations* are mentioned This last work is severely criticized by the reviewer Cressey divides China into fifteen geographical regions whose areas are given in table XXXVI The addition of these areas totals 7,520,621 square kilometers, but in table II (p 55) he indicates the total for the 28 provinces as 8,025,114 square kilometers Such inaccuracy, says the reviewer, makes one suspicious about the other statistical tables of this book Further the reviewer says that Cressey is wrong in writing that all parts of China are essentially filled to their capacity He points out that Cressey's information concerning Chinese industry is based on the work of F R Tegengren which was published in 1916 and is no longer up to date The conclusion of the reviewer is that the book may be helpful to a general reader but that it is not seriously enough done to be used as a manual in schools

13, 137-140 Bibliography

Three grammars of the Japanese colloquial language written by Russian Japanologists are reviewed The reviewer considers good N I KONRAD, *Outline of the Grammar of Colloquial Japanese* Н И Конрад, Краткий очерк грамматики японского разговорного языка, Ленинград 1934 and Miss E КОЛПАКЦИ and N NEVSKIJ, *The Japanese Language* Е М Колпакчи и Н А Невский, Японский язык, Начальный курс Ленинград 1934 He strongly criticizes GUŠČO and GORSTEIN, *A Manual of the Japanese Language*, Гущо и Горбштейн, Учебник японского языка Москва, 1934 which is edited by the foreign workers in U S S R The reviewer considers that it is better not to use this book in classes

S E

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE ORIENT No 7 (1934) INSTITUTE OF ORIENTAL STUDIES OF THE ACADEMY OF SCIENCES OF U S S R, LENINGRAD, 1935

(Table of Contents in English)

Библиография Востока. Институт Востоковедения Академии
Наук СССР Ленинград

128 A A PETROV, *The Philosophy of China in Russian Bourgeois Sinology* А А Петров, Философия Китая в русском буржуазном
китаеведении

The author starts by quoting the speech of the late professor V. P. Vasil'ev delivered in 1883 at the inauguration of St. Petersburg University and criticizes him for his bourgeois opinions. Further on he mentions other articles of some Russian Sinologists and expresses the opinion that they did not understand Chinese philosophy. He is more lenient with the article written in 1857 by the late Cvetkov П. Цветков on Taoists. He criticizes severely the work of professor A. I. Ivanov on Han Fei tzü published in Russian in 1912. He considers it unscholarly

29-54. K. K. FLUG, Materials on the History of China, Yin-Shang Period. К. К. Флуг, Материалы по истории Китая. Период Инь-Шан.

The article was written in 1933 and does not mention all the bibliography as can be seen by consulting the Russian book on the Honan oracle bones by BUNAKOV (Ю. Бунаков. Гадательные кости из Хэнани (Китай). 1935) who lists the Western, Chinese, and Japanese publications. K. K. Flug gives a good survey of the works dealing with this ancient period of Chinese history, starting with a note on the *K'ao Ku T'u* 考古圖 and mentioning also the great importance of the inscriptions on oracle bones. He discusses also the historical and geographical problems of the Yin kingdom, and giving the opinions of western scholars he makes the statement that during the Yin period agriculture was already highly developed and that the inscriptions which deal with agriculture can be divided into two groups: divination about the harvest and about the weather.

55-78 L. I. DUMAN, The Russian and Foreign Literature concerning the Dungan insurrection of 1861-1878. Л. И. Думан. Русская и иностранная литература о Дунганском восстании 1861-1878 гг. в Китае.

The author gives a detailed bibliography concerning this insurrection of Moslems in China. The first section deals with books and articles written in Russian and contains 55 titles, the second section, books and articles written in western languages, 8 titles, the third section, books written in Chinese, 5 titles. The fourth section is the most interesting in that it enumerates the documents preserved in the Russian archives of Kulja and Tashkent. The author notifies us that he was unable to check the documents which are preserved in the Moscow archives.

79-86 K. K. FLUG, English, French and German Publications concerning the T'ai-p'ing Rebellion. К. К. Флуг, Литература о Тайпинском движении на английском, французском и немецком языках.

The author utilized Cordier's *Bibliotheca Sinica* col 645 654, 3106 (1904 1907 edition) and the bibliographies in Hale's *Tseng Kuo Fan and the Taiping Rebellion* (1927) He includes also publications which deal with the biographies of the important persons who were involved in this rebellion

87 92 К К ФЛУГ, Summary of the Non buddhist Part of the Chinese Manuscripts in the Institute of Oriental Studies К К Флуг, Краткий обзор небуддийской части китайского рукописного фонда Института Востоковедения Академии Наук СССР.

Some of the manuscripts are of great importance for the study of the Manchu period For instance, the autobiographical notes written by Kuo Sung t'ao 郭嵩燾 (1818 1891) who was governor of Kuangtung and Kuangsi and who took part in the suppression of the T'ai p'ing Rebellion Several documents concerning the investigation in 1893 94 of members of a secret Vegetarian Society Other manuscripts are reports written by Chinese governors The author mentions also that there are many local descriptions written in Chinese by Korean scholars as well as a history of Corea from 1835 1849 Some materials were already studied by P Pelliot (JA 1914) and some by the Japanese scholar N Kano

In the book review section the following are reviewed

137-140 BELPAIRE, B, *Le taoïsme et Li t'ai po (Melanges chinois et bouddhiques publiés par l'Institut Belge des Hautes Études Chinoises 1, 1931 32 Bruxelles)*

140 142 GRUM GRŽIMAILO, G E, *The Growth of the Desert and the Ruin of the Pastures and the Cultivated Lands in Central Asia* Грум Гржимайло, Г Е Рост пустынь и гибель пастбищных угодий и культурных земель в Центральной Азии за исторический период Известия Государственного Географического Общества, т 65 вып 5 1933, стр 437-454

142 143 LESSING, F, *Fuhrer durch die Ausstellung Mongolisches Volks leben im Staatlichen Museum fur Volkerkunde* Berlin, 1933, 16 p

143 144 SMEDT, A de, C I C M et MOSTAERT, A, C I C M, *Dictionnaire Monguor-Français Le dialecte Monguor parlé par les mongols du Kansou Occidental III^e partie* Publications de l'Université Catholique de Pékin Pei p'ing Impr de l'Université Catholique, 1933

144-147 СКАЧКОВ, Р Е, *Inner Mongolia* (П Е Скачков, Внутренняя

Монголия. Экономико - географический очерк. Труды исследовательской ассоциации по изучению национальных и колониальных проблем. вып. 10 Москва 1933.

147. (Miss) VASILEVIČ, G. M. *An Evenly-Russian Dialectal Dictionary*. Василевич. Г. М., Эвенкийско-русский (тунгускорусский) диалектологический словарь. С приложением введения и карты распространения диалектов. Гос. педагогич. изд-во. Ленинградское отд. 1934.

S. E.

MEMOIRS OF THE RESEARCH DEPARTMENT OF THE Tōyō BUNKŌ
(THE ORIENTAL LIBRARY) No 7 Tōkyō, 1935

04 Jitsuzō KUWABARA 桑原隲藏, P'u Shou-kêng 蒲壽庚, a Man of the Western Regions, who was Superintendent of the Trading-ships Office in Ch'uan chou 泉州 towards the End of the Sung Dynasty, together with a General Sketch of Trade of the Arabs in China during the T'ang and Sung Eras.

The first two chapters of this important study, written in English, were published in 1928 in No 2 of the same Memoirs. The author opens his third chapter with the words "Let us now treat of P'u Shou kêng, our principal subject. This P'u Shou-kêng was by origin a foreigner and towards the end of the South Sung dynasty held the post of superintendent of the trading-ship office in Fu-chien for about thirty years, became in course of time a very rich and influential man, and played an important part in the transition of the Sung to the Yuan dynasty. But no biography of this man is found either in the dynastic history of Sung or in that of the Yuan." Because of the surname P'u 蒲 the author takes him as an Arab and gives many interesting details about the Arabs in China and their customs which attracted the notice of the Chinese. The earliest materials on P'u Shou kêng are in the *Hsin Shih* 心史 written by Chêng So-nan 鄭所南 of Fukien, his contemporary. In his very long and substantial notes 5 and 6 the author gives information about Chêng So-nan, who was strongly hostile to the Yüan court and the "foreign tribes" and about his work which was discovered in A D 1638. In note 8 (p 12) the author combats the opinion of Chinese scholars of the Ch'ing dynasty who considered the *Hsin Shih* a forgery and says: "It is not surprising that under the Manchu government they should

throw an ill name on such a book as the *Hsin Shih* which is full of antiracial spirit"—“When I myself verified the statements in the *Hsin Shih*,” says Dr KUWABARA, “I came to the conclusion that it is a very reliable book”

The author quotes also the historical work *T'ing Shih* 程史 written by Yo K'ò 岳珂 who in 1193 came to Kuang chou 廣州 (Canton) and was on familiar terms with the P'u family living there Kuwabara quotes the description which Yo K'ò gives of the customs of the P'u family, and mentions as well a gigantic stupa which was behind the house of this foreign family In note 28 (p 29) he gives a long quotation from the *T'ing Shih* and in the following notes 29, 30, and 31 (pp 30 34) gives many details concerning the tradition of the building of the Huai-shêng ssü 懷聖寺 which is an old mosque at Canton, pointing out that it was built neither by Wakkas who introduced Islam into China nor, during the T'ang period He notes also that the Kuang t'a 光塔 which still remains today must be the pagoda mentioned by Yo K'ò as standing behind the house of the P'u family In note 30 (p 32) he explains that in his opinion the name of Kuang t'a 光塔 “light pagoda” seems to be a literal translation of the word minaret, which comes from *manar* meaning a place where the fire is lighted, because the lantern held by a *muazzin* gives it the appearance of a light house

In chapter four the author tells us how P'u Shou kêng helped the Chinese authorities to repel pirates, how he was made superintendent of the trade ships and enjoyed a lot of perquisites accruing from his post, as all foreign commercial transactions had to pass through his hand That was how he acquired his wealth In many notes (p 46 56) Kuwabara gives very important details and interesting information about the trade ships, bribes taken by officials at open ports, and the cupidity of the officials engaged in foreign trade The author relates how in 1276 P'u Shou kêng was invited by a special envoy from general Bayan to help the Yuan dynasty and how when the Sung army, suffering for want of ships and provisions, took some belonging to P'u Shou kêng, he became very angry, and at last surrendered himself with his brother to the Yuan army and openly adopted a hostile attitude toward the Sung court

In chapter five Dr Kuwabara describes how the Yuan emperor Shih tsu 世祖, interested in foreign trade, addressed himself to P'u Shou kêng who had had long experience in foreign trade, in order to carry it out effectively “Beside promoting commerce, P'u Shou kêng seems to have been concerned, though indirectly, in the expedition to Japan of the Mongol navy” After 1284 A D his name disappears from the *Yuan*

Shih 元史 In that year he was quite an old man and seems to have died soon after

The three chapters of this interesting article cover 15 pages, the remaining 89 pages are notes. Many of these notes are special studies of different problems, like note 2 (page 70) and note 3 (page 72). The former deals with customs-duties during the T'ang and Sung eras and the latter discusses the existence of a monopoly system during these same periods. Note 5 (page 80-83) deals with the Mongol efforts to revive foreign trade, and note 6 (page 83-87) treats of intercourse with the South Sea countries under the Mongols. It would be too long to enumerate all the notes where a tremendous amount of material on Chinese administration and economics is to be found. The last note (p. 100-103) concerns the term *Se mu jen* 色目人 which was wrongly interpreted by a Japanese scholar Dr. Yanai 筭内 and mistranslated by Vissiere as "hommes aux yeux de couleur". Kuwabara explains this term by which the Yuan government designated the non-Chinese who were socially placed immediately after the Mongols. He remarks that so far as he knows the term *Se mu* appears first in a commentary to the T'ang code, compiled in A.D. 653, and means "conditions". The term occurs also in the *Ryo-no-gige* 令義解 compiled in A.D. 833, where it is written "the shapes [of drugs and herbs] are called *se* the nomenclatures are called *mu*". *Se mu* as a general term means things of different form or quality. Kuwabara writes further of the influence of these *Se mu jen* during the Yuan period and how later they were assimilated.

105-161 Hirosato Iwai 岩井大慈, The Buddhist Priests and the Ceremony of Attaining Womanhood during the Yuan Dynasty.¹

This article, written in English, deals with a social problem which some Chinese claims exists in China only among the non-Chinese population. The first chapter concerns the disinclination to marry virgin women. The author quotes the well-known work *Hsi-ta Shih-liao* 西遼事略 and mentions that Chinggis Khan on conquering the Hsi-hsia heard that a maiden was presented first to the Buddhist prelate *Kuo-shih* 國師 and married only after this, he became angry and executed the prelate by cutting up his body. The author quotes also the travels of Ser Marco Polo where he speaks about this usage among the Tibetans.

¹ This article has already been published (1934) in the Japanese periodical *EZ* 45:7-8 under the title *Gendai no Butsuzo to Seijoshiki to* 元代の僧侶と成女式と (Buddhist Monks and the Defloration Ceremony during the Yuan Dynasty).

He mentions also the *Sung mo Chi-wen* 松漠記聞 written by Hung Hao 洪皓 of the Sung dynasty where it is said that the Uigurs also had the custom of marrying only women who had already had intercourse with one or several men. The author quotes also a modern Chinese book the *Hsin chiang Yu chi* 新疆遊記 by Hsieh Pin 謝彬 where it is said that in Kulja he heard that even now Mohammedan priests deflower young girls several years before they are married and that it is considered a religious ceremony.

In the second chapter Iwai tries to prove that this peculiar usage has nothing to do with the *Jus primae noctis* and must be interpreted as having an origin in the magic power of the priest who will protect the girl from the demon at this important moment of her life. The third chapter is devoted to the ceremony of defloration in Cambodia. The author quotes Chinese and other sources, giving many details.

In the fourth chapter which is about "the damsel" in the *Chen la Feng t u Chi* 眞臘風土記, he mentions that this book was already translated in 1819 by M. Abel Rémusat, and in 1902 by P. Pelliot in *BEFEO* 2, 2 (pp. 123-177). In the next chapter the author explains the two terms *Chen tan* 陣毯 and *Li shih* 利市 and makes some critical remarks about Pelliot's work which was published 34 years ago, when Pelliot began his career in Sinology. In chapter six he gives the opinions of various authorities, quoting even a very old publication edited 70 years ago which is no longer considered up to date by Sociologists. In his conclusion Iwai says (p. 157) "the practice originated from a sense of horror and wonder at hymen bleeding. This also accounts for the fact that shamans, Buddhist priests, Taoist priests, or akhunds—that is those who had religious magical power were invited to perform the ceremony."

It is for the sociologist to decide if H. Iwai is correct in his general statement and if his explanation can be entirely accepted. The article is interesting because the author has brought together much Chinese material where the Chinese have described with profound astonishment this peculiar usage which shocked Confucian morality.

S E

BULLETIN OF THE SCHOOL OF ORIENTAL STUDIES, LONDON INSTITUTION

Vol 7, Pt. 4, 1935

799 808 EDWARDS, E, *Some Aspects of the Conflicts of Religion in China during the Six Dynasties and T'ang Periods*

An outline is here attempted of religious conflict in China, not from the Six Dynasties merely, but from earliest times. The subject proves indeed too large for so brief an article. It is distressing to find in 1935 repetition of the idea that Buddhism was brought to China "not to be taught to the Chinese people but only to satisfy the curiosity of the emperor." A quarter century ago Henri Maspero fully established the legendary character of the dream and the embassy of the Emperor Ming, *BEFEO* 10 (1910), 95-130, and he has recently shown that that emperor approved but did not directly sponsor patronage of Buddhist and Taoist shrines by Lau Ying 劉英, the feudal prince of Ch'u 楚, *JA* 225 (1934) 87-107. It is curious that Miss Edwards, in tracing evolution of religious from philosophical Taoism, omits any mention of the first organization of the Taoist church by Chang Tao ling 張道陵 in the second century A.D. Cf. Camille IMBAULT HUART, *La légende du premier pape des Taoïstes*, *JA* 8^e sér 4 (1884), 413-436, H. A. GILES, *Biog. Dict.*, no 112. She likewise ignores, save in the most general terms, the wholesale imitation by the Taoists of the Buddhist canon.

809 836, pl. 7 GILES, Lionel, *Dated Chinese Manuscripts in the Stein Collection. I. Fifth and Sixth Centuries*, A.D.

Vol 8, Pt 1, 1935

126 *Ibid.* II *Seventh Century* A.D.

In 1907 and 1908 Aurel Stein and Paul Pelliot successively secured for the British Museum and the Bibliothèque Nationale considerable selections of manuscripts at Tun Huang on the Chinese border of E. Turkestan from a monastic library which had been walled up at the close of the tenth century. Stein, who lacked sinological training, wisely directed his principal quest towards manuscripts in other languages than Chinese, and towards non-Buddhist fragments. Pelliot, who profitted by the precedent set by Stein as well as by exceptional bibliographic knowledge, was able to examine cursorily all the more than 15000 rolls which remained in the library. He brought back to France all the remaining non-Chinese texts except a bulky set of the Tibetan *Kanjur*, nearly all the non-Buddhist literature in Chinese, and Buddhist texts relating to

monastic discipline and to the naturalization of that religion in China. The remaining rolls, approximately 8000 in number, were eventually rescued by the Chinese government (spurred to tardy action by contemplation of the treasures which were exhibited by Pelliot), and have now found a home in the National Library of Peking. Because of the great wealth of manuscripts secured by both men, and the evident desirability of utilizing the more important among them, publication of catalogues has been correspondingly delayed. Sinologists will be the more grateful for the present first two instalments of a catalogue of about 380 manuscripts which bear dates from 406 to 995 A. D. Dr. Giles has happily adopted chronological sequence, and presents for each entry the Chinese text of the colophon together with translation and comment. In connection with the earlier documents are reproduced authoritative appraisals by Mr. R. H. Clapperton of the various papers on which they are written. Of a specimen dated 561 A. D. (p. 827) he goes so far as to declare it "as good a paper as could be made at the present time." The composition is stated as paper mulberry and ramie, materials which were used singly with conspicuous success in MSS of 406 and 506 respectively.

The vast majority of the manuscripts are Buddhist sūtra-rolls, and, precisely because of the haphazard manner of their original deposit and their acquisition by Stein, they may be regarded as a typical cross section of such literature extant in the tenth century. Dr. Giles notes predominance in the sixth century of the *Parinirvana Sūtra*, and that with the rise of the T'ang its place is increasingly usurped by the *Saddharma-pundarika Sutra*, which is represented by 29 of 56 rolls dated from the seventh century. He calls attention also to the literary evidence for replacement of simple piety by a worldly attitude to be found in colophons of 671 and following years, which coldly enumerate the persons responsible for each text instead of reproducing fervent prayers. As is visually evidenced also by the sculpture of the epoch, Gothic faith was yielding to the individual rationalism of the Renaissance. A colophon of 691 which reveals the organization of a Buddhist nunnery, is also the first of a series containing the capriciously distorted characters ordained by the Empress Wu. Mention in another colophon dated 695 of the ecclesiastical name Huaì : 懷義 affected by the notorious libertine Fêng Hsiao pao 馮小寶, who was strangled by the same Empress in 694 after having been her intimate, is the occasion for a biography extracted by Dr. Giles from the *Chiu T'ang Shu*. Mention should be made also of a series of Taoist "sutras," some of which are otherwise unknown.

by Motoori Norinaga, and of much which has been written on their own language by our own contemporary Japanese. In fact, his own firm grasp of grammatical relationships—and even of phonetics, as evidenced by a long analytical review in the preceding number of the *BSOS*, pp 931-941, of Karlgren's "Word Families in Chinese," *BMFEA* 5 (1934), 9 120,—serves to throw into sharp relief the absence of any solid grammatical tradition in Japan. It must be confessed too that the explanations offered by western grammarians for use of the elusive particles in question are clearly shown to be, if not inaccurate, still inadequate. As between *ga* and *wa* employed as signs of the nominative case, Dr Yoshitake recognizes the selective or restrictive function of the former, which serves to specify the subject, unless used to close a clause or sentence, when it expresses simple correlation or even mental reservations. He regards the function of *wa* as essentially preparatory, serving to clear the way for a significant predicate, either indicative or interrogative. He notes too the emphatic force of *wa* when used to close a sentence. The particle *mo* is employed to extend, either explicitly or by half-conscious implication, the force of the term which follows it beyond the limits of that which precedes it. The purpose of the present article is essentially negative, to reveal the inadequacies of former attempts at explanation, but in pursuit of that aim it is definitely illuminating. Japanologists will look forward to a promised positive sequel on the structure of spoken Japanese.

51 76 VOSTRIKOV, Andrew, Some Corrections and Critical Remarks on Dr Johan van Manen's Contribution to the Bibliography of Tibet

In 1922 the General Secretary of the Asiatic Society of Bengal published in its *Journal* (N s 18, 445-525) a comprehensive review of all western knowledge of Tibetan bibliography. In that very interesting article he points out that western scholars who wish to study any Tibetan text outside the *Kanjur* and *Tanjur* must labor under a severe handicap of relatively complete ignorance of the scope of relevant Tibetan literature. He calls attention to the glaring defects in existing lists of Tibetan books in European libraries and to the practical impossibility of seeking direct personal knowledge in Tibet. He publishes with all proper reservations two lists of books, containing 219 titles, which were prepared for him in Tibet through the kindness of a friendly lama. Dr van Manen hastens to point out the unscientific character of these lists, which do in some measure none the less achieve their dual object: they call attention to the existence of books some of which were previously totally unknown, and they provide a new basis for registration of fresh knowledge.

Dr Vostrikov has been so fortunate as to be able to make a personal tour of Buriat Mongolia, a region which depends upon the spiritual authority of the Tibetan church and consequently uses Tibetan books. From these superior advantages flows a considerable increment of positive knowledge, both direct and indirect. On the one hand he has absorbed much miscellaneous lore concerning specific books, their obscure short titles, and their authors. On the other he has for the first time been able to glimpse fairly the native bibliographical literature. For example he reports (p. 59) possession of a list of 298 Tibetan works on medicine, which it may be hoped he will shortly publish. Indeed his corrections of van Manen's list are, as such, more than welcome.

What is to a high degree disturbing is Dr Vostrikov's apparent determination to utilize his new found knowledge to impugn the scholarship of Dr van Manen, who can hardly be blamed in fairness for ignorance which he shares with all his colleagues. It is evidently without point to blame Dr van Manen personally, e. g. (p. 56), for failure to detect an old error which has gone uncorrected by all the Tibetanists of Europe since its commission by Schmidt and Bohtlingk in 1848. In so doing Dr Vostrikov damages principally himself. It is greatly to be hoped that he will proceed with all possible diligence to make public as much as possible of the information which he has acquired, not in the form of strictures upon the work of other scholars, but directly and independently, through preparation of manuals superior to those we now possess.

C S G

JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY

VOL. 55, 1935

1-30 FENG, H. Y. and SHRYOCK, J. K., The Black Magic in China known as Ku.

The authors examine the graphic and semantic aspects of 𪛗 which they identify with the eighteenth hexagram of the *I Ching*. They advance the plausible theory that both originally signified poisonous creatures in a vessel. Several early texts are cited to show knowledge by the Chinese in ancient and mediaeval times of parasitic diseases of the intestinal tract which were attributed to reptile or insect poison supposedly administered for magical purposes. More than a score of later texts indicate that since the tenth century it is only in the south and west

(where such disease is relatively common) that it is explained, with varying embroidery of the supernatural, as the effect of black magical poisoning practised among aboriginal tribes. It is regrettable that the authors have not added page reference to their citations, but they have performed real service by marshalling many obscure texts on a recondite subject of great intrinsic interest.

182 189 HALL, Ardelia R., *The Early Significance of Chinese Mirrors*

Miss Hall exercises considerable ingenuity in an attempt to establish from our insufficient texts and archaeological data the ideology and practical motives behind use of mirrors under the Han and earlier dynasties. Some will question her dictum that "even the smallest mirrors . . . would serve to light a fire."

303 306 BATES, M. S., *Problems of Rivers and Canals under Han Wu T'i* (140 87 B. C.)

This tightly compressed article presents a lucid summary of ch. 29 of the *Shih Chi* translated by Chavannes (vol. 3, pp. 520-537). In order to complete the account of hydrographic work under Wu T'i, which was left unfinished by the death of Ssu-ma Ch'ien, Mr. Bates translates from the *Ch'ien Han Shu* the corresponding ch. 29 7b¹⁰ 9a¹ (standard 1739 ed.), but omitting precise reference. This brief passage records the renovation by Master Pai 白公 in 95 B. C. of an irrigation canal paralleling the Wei in southern Shensi, which had already in the third century provided the bumper crops needed to sustain the conquering armies of Ch'in. It contains mention also of a daring scheme for diversion of the Yellow River into Mongolia, a plan which does credit to the imagination if not to the engineering acumen of its proponent, Yen Nien 延年 (not T'ing Nien). Mr. Bates concludes with an all too brief characterization of control, irrigation and reclamation under the later reigns of the dynasty, based on the balance of the chapter, 9a 18a.

310 313 DUBS, Homer H., *The Conjunction of May 205 B. C.*

Dr. J. K. Fotheringham of Oxford has calculated that on May 16, 205 B. C. the five planets were in conjunction within a single constellation. Only Venus had strayed 00° 6', a distance perhaps beyond detection by the instruments of the time. Dr. Dubs, who is commencing publication of an integral translation of the *Ch'ien Han Shu*, is thus able to correct its statement that the conjunction occurred in the tenth month of 207, and to reach the evidently sound conclusion that the triumph of the Han dynasty which is associated with it in the "His

torical Memoirs" is that supreme ritual act of March 5, 205 when the founder of the Han replaced with his own the Spirits of the Land and Grain of the fallen Ch'in dynasty

420-428, 9 ill on 6 pl FERNALD, Helen E, *The Horses of T'ang T'ai Tsung and the Stele of Yu*

The six reliefs erected in 637 by the vigorous second emperor of the T'ang before his own future tomb became famous throughout the west ern world immediately they were published by Chavannes in 1909 from photographs taken at the site two years before (*Mission*, pl CCLXXXVII CCXC, not CCLVII) Two of them were shortly shipped abroad by Chinese dealers and were acquired in New York for the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania Their authenticity is cer tain beyond question, while their design and execution reflect the splendor of T'ang sculpture in its best period Reproductions of all six reliefs were made in 1089, but whether or not they long survived is matter of little moment, for they were at best copies made in an epoch of sculptural decadence Miss Fernald asserts that the large and small sets of "rub bings" which have been lately current are not even genuine inked squeezes, but are stencilled fabrications The initial publication of them by Dr J C Ferguson, in *Eastern Art* III (1931) pl XXXIV \\\VI, was useful as it made possible instructive contrast between them and Chavannes' photographs of the original monuments, a contrast which is now made fully apparent by Miss Fernald's plates It is most un fortunate that the late reproductions, however made, were selected for illustration of Fitzgerald's book, *Son of Heaven a Biography of Li Shih min* (Cambridge, 1933)

444-450 SAKANISHI, Shio, *The Magic Holly in Japanese Literature*

This compact monograph sheds new light on Japanese popular cus toms and superstitions Its chief value will be for the comparative folk lorist Miss Sakanishi clearly brings out the demon repelling power of holly prickles and perhaps even of holly wood from earliest times in Japan, and adds the singularly western history of the Holly Grove for defense against small pox which has for a thousand years been a popular feature of a Kyoto shrine Were it not for the authority of Chamberlain one would fain suggest for the title (p 441) Hihiragi no-sono-hana madzumi no-kami the rendering "Deity as Rarely Seen as the Holly Blossom"

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ASIATIC SOCIETY

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1-14, 1 plan WILLIAMS, Edward T., The Worship of Lei Tsu, Patron
Saint of Silk Workers

This article traces the development from Chou times and sets forth in detail the modern ritual of that one among the imperial rites in which women were principal actors. In fact the preparation of silk for the clothing of the nation has throughout Chinese history been regarded as the fundamental occupation of Chinese womanhood, just as agriculture has been recognized as the basis of masculine duty. It is no doubt for this reason, rather than from regard for any of the secondary uses of silk (p 14), that it has been deemed worthy of imperial leadership.

As a basis for research the value of the article is needlessly vitiated by careless approach to its sources and by failure to cite them precisely. No work can be used with confidence unless it can be controlled. In effect Prof Williams asks us to trust ourselves blindly to his guidance. But what he confides about his three sources is not likely to inspire much confidence. The *Tung T'ien* he describes as "a general survey of the rites of the state religion." Actually half the work is devoted to quite other topics of governmental concern, from economics to frontier defense. He makes (p 3) the more astonishing statement that the book "was compiled in 1747 during the reign of Ch'ien lung." One thinks of the supplement for the Manchu dynasty, *Huang Ch'ao Tung T'ien* 皇朝通典, but the latter work was not authorized until 1767, and it does not contain the early history which Prof Williams adduces. The usual Chekiang Book Co 1896 edition of the *Tung T'ien* itself does reproduce an imperial preface from the year 1747¹ to celebrate the cutting of new printing blocks, *ch'ung k'o* 重刻, but the work itself, as is recorded in every bibliography, was compiled by the T'ang scholar Tu Yu 杜佑 (Giles, *Biog Dict*, no 2070), whose name and dynasty appear at the head of every chapter. In fact, Dr Williams' account of early usages (pp 3-5) is a somewhat abridged paraphrase of ch 46, 9b⁶ 12b⁹, but the luckless reader is left to discover this for himself, not even the chapter number being cited. Later on (p 8) "ch 1085" of the *Ta Ch'ing Hui*

¹Strictly speaking from the 12th month of the 12th year of the reign or January 1-30 1748 but the bulk of this Chinese year does correspond to 1747, and the latter date is accordingly a proper approximation.

T'ien is cited, but, alas and alack, this work in none of its editions contains more than 100 chapters. No doubt Chinese tradition largely dispenses with guides to reference, but here precisely is one of those matters in which western scholarship can and should make a valuable contribution to sinological progress, by insistence upon the fundamental need for constant and exact reference, which alone can obviate wholesale repetition of labor.

15 30 SIRÉN, Osvald, *How the Chinese Look upon the Art of Painting*

This article is the fruit of a serious effort to extract some significant residue from the Chinese traditional literature on aesthetics, a literature which seldom conveys objective ideas largely because of imprecise definition of terms, placing an excessive burden upon the would be translator.

*31-41 LIN Yu tang, *The Technique and Spirit of Chinese Poetry*

The author of "My Country and My People" and editor of the lively Chinese journal "Analects" here presents an intimate, penetrating analysis which is at once appreciative and frankly revealing. He stresses the graphic, evocative, and pantheistic aspects of Chinese poetry, and suggests that the Chinese aptitude for art springs from their bent for balanced synthesis which is at the same time inimical to scientific specialization. No explanation of versification is attempted. The article can be recommended.

42-49, 2 maps DRAKE, F S, *China's North West Passage* a Chapter in its Opening

A lucid brief description of the geography of East Turkestan is followed by a short but comprehensive account of the extension of Chinese influence there down to the submission of the Hsiung nu in the period 48 33 B C. The author, who cites once and for all as his authorities ch 123 of the *Shih Chi* and ch 61 and 96 in the *Ch'ien Han Shu*, refers casually to von Le Coq and Stein (not their books), but not at all to Chavannes or Pelliot. It appears that he has not consulted even the former's "Mémoires Historiques" of which vol I, pp lxxi lxxviii, contains the fullest account of his subject in a western language. Dates seem mysteriously displaced: the Great wall of Ch'in from 214 to 214 B C; the close of Han Wu Ti's reign from 87 to 86 B C (pp 44 and 48), the sending of Chang Ch'ien's mission from 138 to "about the year 135 B C," the first victories of Ho Ch'u ping over the Hsiung nu from 121 to 120 B C, and with them the campaigns two years later (*Ch'ien Han Shu* 6 13a¹⁻⁷, 13b³⁻¹⁰), and the death of Chang Ch'ien to 118 al

though the *T'ung Chien* says he returned from his mission to the Wu-sun only in 115 B C (資治通鑑 20, 4a⁷, selective Sung ed., or 9a⁵, 1887 ed. with commentary). It is not pretended that this catalogue is complete.

More serious from the standpoint of method, while his statement of fact is in general correct, it errs in asserting *ex cathedra* several things which are at least open to debate, notably in the treacherous field of ethnic identification. The story of Chang Ch'ien is accepted without question. Yet Pelliot has promised (Quelques réflexions sur l'art sibérien at l'art chinois . . . , Documents No 1, Paris, 1926, p 6) to try to show that it is in part the fruit of an historical romance which was gathered into the *Ch'ien Han Shu* and later interpolated into the *Shih Chi* (cf. also Pelliot, *La Haute Asie*, Paris, 1931, p 8). It is perhaps fair to recall that library facilities in China are seldom yet on an ideal standard.

50-55 LIN Tung chi, The Word "One" in Chinese Poetry.

56-63 ANDREW, G. Findlay, Men and Matters in the Land of the Yellow Earth.

An account of disaster from earthquake, flood and drought in Kansu, and of the work of the China International Famine Relief there. Especially noteworthy as an example of conditions which recent banking reform is fast eliminating is a concrete statement (pp 60-1) of currency problems which had to be overcome. One silver dollar was in 1921 convertible into 2,100 brass cash weighing 18 lbs. A mule could carry cash to the value of only \$14, while over seven tons of cash were required for one day's payroll on a single large enterprise.

64-72 FERGUSON, John C, Inscriptions on Bronzes

Dr Ferguson has here translated three essays on ancient bronzes by different Chinese scholars, while abstaining from comment on them. Central is a chapter from Kuo Mo-jo's book 兩周金文辭大系圖錄 (Illustrated Account of the Main Sequence of Bronze Inscriptions of the Two Chou Dynasties). Mr. Kuo defines four periods of bronze production. Commencement of the first he establishes by sheer speculation as "probably between the end of the Hsia and the beginning of the Yin." We might affirm with equal plausibility that the genesis of bronze casting dates, e g., from the foundation of the Hsia. We have as yet no positive evidence on the question. For the three epochs of the Chou Mr. Kuo is on firmer ground, and his summary characterization of shapes and decorative styles which belong to each may well help towards crystallization of opinion. No less than three citations are made from the *Lü Shih*

of the thirteen entries, which is omitted by the *Han Shu*, evidently results from erroneous transcription of a record of lunar eclipse, and another is admitted only to the chapter on the Five Elements in the *Han Shu*. Six of the eleven records which appear in the "Basic Annals" of both histories are in exact agreement with modern astronomical calculations, assuming in two cases error of one and two days in Hoang's *Concordance*. In the remaining five cases it seems necessary to assume considerable confusion or illegibility in the original records, attributable perhaps to the upheavals of the time, between 160 B C (the last faulty date) and preparation of the annals half a century later. No textual corruption short of deliberate re arrangement could account for their considerable displacement from correct chronological sequence.

115 116, 4 pl, map PLUMER, JAMES M, Early pottery fragments from Hangchow Bay

Mr Plumer's brief note calls attention to considerable but hitherto neglected deposits of ceramic shards upon the beaches of Hangchow Bay and the mouth of the Long River. The fragments are evidently widely displaced from their sources, but among them is a remarkable series of grey, red, and yellowish earthen or stonewares, glazed and unglazed, decorated with a notable diversity of impressed designs which well justifies their publication.

C S G

VEDIC EXEMPLARISM (*IJAS* 1, 44-64)*

ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA

- P 44, l 11, for 2 read 12
 l 16, add , 1 e as the "Person in the mirror (*ādarse puruṣaḥ*),
 Who is born in his children in a likeness" (*pratirupah, Kaus*
Up IV 11)
- P. 48, l 13, for IX, 74, 2 read III, 62, 9 and X, 187, 4
 l 16, for 117 a. 1 c read 27, a. 2 c
- P 49, l. 6, for *drīta* read *drīṭa*
 Note 10, l 3, for here, read where
 Note 10, add BrhU I, 4, 10, "It became the All" corresponds
 to RV VIII, 28, 2, One only Fire is kindled manifold, one
 only Sun is present to one and all, one only Dawn illuminates
 this All, that which is only One becomes this All" (*ekam vā*
īdam vā babhura varram), cf KU V, 12, "Who maketh his
 single form to be manifold" (*ekam rūpaṃ bahudhā yaḥ*
karoti), and, in connection with the Buddha, S II, 212, "I
 being one become many, and being many become One" (*eko*
pi bahudhā homi, bahudhā pi hūtvā Eko homi)
- P. 50, l 20, for 29 read 9
 l 26, for *Th.*, read If it be asked, "What was the model, what
 the starting point?" (*ku pratīma nīdanam kim*, RV X,
 130, 3), the answer is the sacrificial victim, for this image
 and this
- P. 51, l 2, for 3, read 3), cf "Manu is the sacrifice, the standard (*pra*
māṇa), our Sure", RV X, 100, 5,
- P 52, Note 17, for Engelberti read Engelbertus
 note 18, l 5, for JB read JUB
- P 55, l. 26, for X read I
- P 56, l 2 for JB read JUB
 Note 28, for *shake* read *shape*
- P 58, l 17, for 6 read 7
 Note 30 for *rustaruparīṭa* read *rustaruparīṭaḥ*
- P 59, l 20, for JB read JUB
- P 61, l 9, after Cow read , within the mansion of the Moon.

A COOMARASWAMY

* The author saw no proof of this article

TWO NOTES ON THE HISTORY OF THE CHINESE FRONTIER

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I HU 胡 COLONIES IN NORTHWESTERN CHINA UNDER THE HAN

We are in August 155 A. D., the seventh month of the first year of the Yung-shou 永壽 era, according to the Chinese reckoning. The weakling Lau Chih 劉志¹ is the Son of Heaven occupying the throne, but the reins of government are in the hands of Liang Chi 梁冀, omnipotent dictator and head of the wealthy and arrogant Liang clan, it is to him and his sister, the Dowager Empress Liang, widow of Liu Pao 保, that the young Emperor owes his elevation to the throne².

Following the death of the Dowager in 150, however, Liang Chi's power had begun to wane. Another of his sisters is the Emperor's consort, but she is childless, and a palace clique is already secretly plotting the dictator's downfall³. Drought, locusts, famine and epidemics are devastating the northern and central provinces of the empire. Banditry and general social unrest have been growing in intensity all through China⁴ and the "Barbarians" are restless on the frontiers. In the north after a decade of peace on the Ordo front of the Han Empire, the Southern Hsinnu are again sending raiding parties across the border. A repetition of the disaster of 140-143 A. D. threatens the population of the marches.

¹ Pht. Hsiao Huan Ti 孝桓帝 of the Eastern Han, 132-147-167 A. D., *Hou Han Shu* 7.

² Liang Chi d. 159 A. D., *Hou Han Shu* 64. Liang Na 嬖 pht. Shun Lieh 順烈 Liang Huang Hou 116-130 150 A. D., *ibid* 10B. [Read 35 for 45 as her age at the time of death or 23 for 13 as her age in 108 A. D. when she entered the Emperor's harem in the latter case she would be born in 108 A. D.] Hsiao Shun Ti (pht. of Liu Pao) 115-106-141 A. D., *ibid* 6.

³ Liang Yung 榮 pht. I Hsien 懿獻 (?) 14 Aug. 9 159 A. D., *ibid* 10B. Ex. actly a month later on Sept. 9 Liang Chi and his clan were overthrown and exterminated by the eunuch party.

⁴ The seriousness of the situation is indicated by the fact that between 147 and 154 A. D. the *Annals* record at least six cases of usurpation of the imperial title by rebels in various parts of China.

It was in May 140 A.D. [Yung-ho 5] that a chieftain of the Left Horde of the Southern Hsiung-nu, Chu lung Wu-ssü 句龍吾斯,⁵ broke the long period of amicable relations with the Chinese and, together with his clansman Chu-lung Chu-niu 車紐, rose in rebellion against the Han. Joined by the Right *hsien-wang* 賢王, they besieged Mei-chü 美稷 in Hsi ho chun 西河 and raided the entire northern frontier causing the removal of three administrative centers of border provinces into the hinterland.⁶

In their raids the Hsiung nu were assisted by the Wu-huan 烏桓 and the Ch'iang 羌 and Hu 諸胡 of the Shensi uplands. Their combined forces, now numbering several myriads, threatened the metropolitan district of Ch'ang-an itself. Although Chu niu, who had been made *shan-yu* by the rebels, was soon forced to surrender to the Chinese,⁷ Wu-ssü and his allies continued their depredations. In September 142 A.D. Wu-ssü was joined in his rebellion by the *yu-chien* 夷犍 T'ai ch'ü 臺耆 and the *chu-ch'ü* 且渠 Po-tê 伯德.⁸ In the eleventh month of the next

⁵ *Hou Han Shu* 6, 119 In ch 6 Wu ssü is referred to as "chief of the Chü lung [tribe?]" 大人, in ch 119 as "prince of Chu lung" 王. Wu ssü < *NGA Si is a common termination in Hsiung nu names Cf 烏鞬牙斯, 囊知牙斯, 伊屠智牙師, 都塗吾西, 呼屠吾斯, *Han Shu* 94

⁶ The seat of Hsi ho chün was removed to Li shih 離石, that of Shang chün to Hsia yang 夏陽, and that of Shuo fang 朔方 to Wu yüan 五原

⁷ He was made *shan yü* in place of Hsiu li 休利 who reigned under the title of Ch'ü t'ê jo shih chu 去特若尸逐 *shan yü* 128 140 A.D. and was driven to commit suicide by the Chinese general Ch'ên Kuei 陳龜 [biography in *Hou Han Shu* 81, d about 158, ch 119 incorrectly makes him die in prison in 141] who accused him of laxity towards his subjects during the crisis Chü niu was defeated on Dec 1, 140 A.D. and submitted to the Chinese with many Hsiung nu dignitaries. A year later, however, two more *chün* are apparently overrun by the invaders, as the seats of An ting 安定 and Pei ti 北地 are removed to Fu fêng 扶風 and Fêng i 馮翊 respectively

⁸ *Hou Han Shu* 6 writes *yü chien*, ch 119 *yü ti* 鞬. *Yü chien* and *chü-ch'ü* are undoubtedly *Hsiung nu* titles, but may have already been used as surnames. On July 24, 143 A.D. the Chinese government in its efforts to liquidate the rebellion appointed amid great pomp a Hsiung nu prince named Tou lou-ch'ü 兜樓諸 as *shan yü* [= Hu lan jo shih chu chiu 呼闐若尸逐就 *shan yü*, 143 147 A.D.] The festivities took place at the capital [where the prince had been residing as hostage], outside Lo yang's western Kuang yang 廣陽 gate Liu Pao [Shun Ti] is said to have witnessed the games which accompanied the ceremonial of investiture from the Hu t'ao 胡桃 [= 'walnut,' *Juglans regia*] palace. Many of the Han palaces both at Ch'ang-an and Lo-yang, were named after plants [usually exotic ones] cultivated in their gardens. In his study of the introduction of the walnut into China [*Sino-Iranica*, pp 254 275] Laufer expressed in conclusion (p 263) the opinion that "... it is not probable that the walnut was

year, however, Wu ssü was assassinated by *brats* in the pay of the Chinese, and in the spring of 144 A. D., with the defeat of the remnants of his horde by the Chinese general Ma Shih 馬寔, peace was re-established on the border.⁹

It is T'ai-ch'ü and Po-tê,¹⁰ the old associates of Wu-ssü, that we find on the war path again eleven years later, and again Mei-chü is the first among Chinese communities to suffer from their raids. Again the easternmost of the Ch'iang tribes are up in arms ready to join hands with the nomads of the North. Should the two groups of "Barbarians" succeed in effecting a union all the work of the preceding years is lost.

Fortunately for the Han, the post of *magister militum* of the "dependent state" of An ting 安定屬國都尉 is held by the energetic Chang Huan 張奐.¹¹ Unmindful of the protests of his pusillanimous subalterns, Chang Huan, who has at his disposal but some two hundred men, moves quickly to the Great Wall, and assembles under his command all the available frontier guards. Having first detached a small force to delay the Ch'iang, he occupies with his contingent a place called Kuei-tz'ü 龜茲, thus preventing the Hsiung nu from penetrating South and establishing contact with their allies. As able a diplomat and administrator as he is a soldier, Chang Huan soon wins the Ch'iang over to his side, turns in force against the Hsiung-nu, defeats them in battle, and obtains their submission.¹²

The quick and courageous action of the Chinese commander prevented thus the repetition of the disastrous war of the forties. In the interpretation of this episode in the history of the Han frontier by some western writers, Chang Huan's feat has, however, been magnified to colossal proportions. The strategic center of operations, Kuei-tz'ü was identified by them with Kucha [Chin. Ch'ü-tz'ü 龜茲, written with

generally known in China earlier than the fourth century A. D. under the Eastern Tsin dynasty (265-419). He rejects completely the testimony of the spurious work *Hsi ching tsu chi* 西京雜記 which mentions walnuts as being grown in the parks of Ch'angan under the First Han dynasty. The above reference to a "Walnut" palace would indicate, however, that that foreign tree was cultivated at Lo-yang over a century prior to the earliest date conceded by Laufer

⁹ *Ibid* 119. Cf. PARKER, *Turko-Scythian Tribes*, *China Review* 21, pp. 297-299.

¹⁰ *Hou Han Shu* 7, sub anno 155 reads 左寔且渠伯德等

¹¹ Native of Tun huang 104-181 A. D. In his youth he had served under Liang Chi and probably owed him his position. At the time of the downfall of the latter, he was saved only through the intercession of an old friend, Huang fu Kuei 皇甫規. 104-174 A. D. Biographies of both in *Hou Han Shu* 95.

¹² *Hou Han Shu* 95.

identical characters], the famous oasis city of Central Turkestan. Thus, in his account of the event, Father Wieger writes: "... T'ai-t'i chef hun, tente de soulever la Dzungarie (12). Les K'iāng du Tangout (h) se disposent à faire cause commune avec lui [Chang Huan] fut d'une traite s'établir à Koutcha (m) empêchant ainsi toute possibilité d'une jonction entre les Huns (19) et les K'iāng (h)." ¹² L. Aurousseau ¹⁴ cites Chang Huan's exploit as evidence of the Chinese being in control of Kucha in the fifties of the second century. Both authors neglect to explain how Chinese troops could have been transported with such lightning rapidity from the marches of Shensi to the heart of the "Western regions" and how the occupation of Kucha in Turkestan would have prevented the union of Huns and Tibetans.

Neither suspected the existence of a second Kucha. The unfortunate mistake was caused by overlooking an important note by the Chinese commentator Li Hsien 李賢 ¹⁵ immediately following the mention of Kuei tzü in ch. 95 of the *Hou Han Shu*. In this note we are informed that the name of Ch'iu tz'ü [so reads the phonetic gloss for the two characters 龜茲, 音丘慈] designated a hsien in Shang chun 上 [in modern NE Shensi]. Li Hsien adds that, according to the *Yin-i* 音義 of the *Han Shu*, the place derived its name from the fact that it was inhabited by people from the state of Kucha [龜茲國 in Turkestan] who had surrendered to the Chinese and settled there.

The *Yin-i* referred to by Li Hsien is that of Yen Shih ku, the well known annotator of the Han history, found in *Han Shu* 28 B, where Ch'iu-tz'ü is enumerated among the *hsien* sub-divisions of Shang chun and is described as follows: "Seat of the *magister militum* of the 'dependent state'; has an office of the salt [administration]. According to Ying Shao 應劭 ¹⁶ the name is pronounced Ch'iu tz'ü. [Yen] Shih ku says, 'It is said that . . . [follows the above explanation of the origin of the city's name in a slightly different wording from that of Li Hsien:

¹² *Textes Historiques*, 1922 ed., pp. 750-751. The numbers and letters in parentheses refer to map X of Wieger's atlas. In an effort to link the situation with Kucha in Turkestan he makes out the rebels to be Northern Hsiung nu in Western T'ien shan, hence "la Dzungarie."

¹⁴ A propos de l'article de Sylvain Lévi Le 'tokharien B,' langue de Koutcha, *TP* 1914, pp. 391-404. On p. 398 "Koutcha est occupée à l'automne de année 155 par . . . Tchang Houan . . ." Aurousseau refers the reader to *Hou Han Shu* 95 and *Tsü chih t'ung chien pu-ch'eng* 53.

¹⁵ 651-684 A.D. P'ei Chang huai 裴常懷, Sixth son of Kao Tsung of T'ang and, from 675 to 680 his heir apparent. *Chiu T'ang Shu* 86, *T'ang Shu* 81.

¹⁶ *Hou Han Shu* 78. Flourished in the last third of the second century A.D.

龜茲國人來降附者處之於此故以名云] *Hou Han Shu* 33 likewise mentions the 'dependent state' of Ch'iu tz'u as an administrative sub-division of Shang chun, and Li Hsien again calls attention to it in a note to *Hou Han shu* 4 under the year 90 A D [Yung yuan 2] on the occasion of the re-establishment of the offices of *magistri militum* of the 'dependent states' of Hsi ho and Shang chun¹⁷

We possess, however, a still earlier reference to the Kucha of Shensi and the origin of its name in the *Shui ching chu* 水經注 of Li Tao-yuan 酈道元 of the Northern Wei¹⁸ and are not thus entirely dependent on the T'ang scholiasts for this important information on the existence of a Kuchean colony in Northern China. Describing the course of the She-yen 奢延 river in northeastern Shensi, the *Shui ching chu* repeatedly mentions Ch'iu tzu hsien 龜茲 and states specifically that it acquired its name from a settlement of Hu from Kucha who had surrendered to the Chinese 縣因處龜茲降胡著稱 [ed *Ssu pu ts'ung kan* 3, 18b 19a]¹⁹

The evidence seems to justify the supposition that sometime during the Han dynasty, presumably after the great conquests under Wu Ti, a colony of Kucheans had come to establish themselves in Northern Shensi under the terms of a treaty concluded by them with the Chinese, as one may infer from the continuance of the colony in the semi-independent status of a *shu kuo* 屬國²⁰ until practically the end of the Second Han. As

¹⁷ Five *shu kuo* were established by Wu Ti in the autumn of 121 B C at the time of the surrender of the Hun yeh 昆邪 prince of the Hsiung nu *Han Shu* 6. They are usually believed to be the 'dependent states' of An ting Shang chun [with the administrative seat at Chiu tz'u] T'ien shui 天水, Wu yüan and Chang yeh 張掖. An ting and T'ien-shui were not established as provinces until 114 B C and Chang yeh as late as 111 B C. It is thought by some therefore that the five provinces were the old frontier commanderies of Lung hsi Pei ti, Shang chun Shuo-fang and Yün chung. Cf. Notes of Ch'ien lung editors to ch. 6. The offices of Chinese military commanders for these 'states' were abolished under Ai ti 6 B C 1 B C.

¹⁸ d. 527 A.D. *Pei Shih* 27 *Wei Shu* 89 cf. ch. 4. Ying Shao Li Tao-yuan and Yen Shih ku all had had considerable experience with frontier affairs and each exercised in his generation some influence on the shaping of the government's foreign policy. Their testimony has therefore considerable value.

¹⁹ If the She-yen river is to be identified with the present Wu ting 無定河 in Shensi, Chiu tz'u may have been situated in the vicinity (probably to the NW) of Mi-chih hsien 米脂. Most Chinese historico-geographical works agree that the dependent state was located within the limits of Yen an 延安府. Wang Hsien-chien is however inclined to place it much further north to the N of Lü lin hsien 榆林.

²⁰ Cf. Yen Shih ku's definition of a dependent state: 不改其本國之俗而屬於漢故號屬國。

hundreds of other communities it must have been engulfed in the cataclysm of the fall of the Han and the subsequent Great Barbarian Invasion. The *Shui ching chu* passage would suggest that it was still alive under the Wei, but had lost most of its importance as we hear no more of it under the succeeding dynasties.²¹

The Kucha of Shensi was not an isolated case of a "Western" colony flourishing on the very frontier of China. Another colony from an oasis kingdom of the "Western Regions" existed in Shensi in close proximity to the Han capital. The evidence is again supplied by Yen Shih-ku in a note to *Han Shu* 96 B, 4a, where he observes that the Wên hsiu 溫宿 mountain range which rose to the north of Li ch'uan hsien 醴泉 in Yung chou 雍 was named after people from the kingdom of Wên-hsiu in Chinese Turkestan who had settled or had pasture lands allocated to them on that range in the time of the Han dynasty.²²

The earliest mention of Li-ch'uan is in the *Sui* geography (*Sui Shu*

²¹ One should not overlook the possibility that the Shensi Kucha might have existed even prior to Wu Ti's time. The existence of a Kuchean colony in Shang chun throws interesting light on the suggestion advanced already by Hsuan ying (VII c. A.D.) that the famous Ch'ü ch'än 屈產 [KD 493, 1167 *l'üet san*] in Shansi, where famous horses were bred in Ch'ün ch'iu times, [cf *Tso chuan*, Hsi 2] is another transcription for Kucha (Kusan). Cf PELLLOT, Tokharien et koutchéen, JA 1934, p. 72 note. Ch'ü ch'än was believed to be situated near Shih lou 石樓 mountain in Shansi, not very far across the Huang ho from where the Shensi Kucha lay. The whole problem of horse breeding regions in Western Shansi and on the Shensi Kansu border demands special treatment. The Chinese northwest was famous for its horses since the time of Fei tzü 非子, the ancestor of the house of Ch'in. To mention but a few passages indicating that the breed of horses raised in that region was associated with the West, I would call attention to *Shui ching chu* 3 20b which mentions a "Dragon Source" 龍泉 where were bred horses as good as the "heavenly horses of the Tien lake" 天池天馬 (Issyk kul?), *T'ai-p'ing huan yü chi* 150 describes in E. Kansu a "Dragon Horse Source" 龍馬泉 where mares produced (after drinking of the water of this source) hairless colts which grew up within the year to resemble the horses of Ta yüan 大宛 (Fergana). The same work, 151, 3b, quotes a doggerel verse current in Wei chou 渭 which extols the virtues of its pasture lands. The "dragon horses" of Kucha are well known [cf PELLLOT, *op cit*], and it is not impossible that long before Wu Ti's conquest Western horse breeders were plying their trade in the northwestern marches of China. En passant, I should like to note that the word *lung* 龍 'dragon' as an epithet applied to a horse may mean nothing more mysterious than 'dapple' [it is then read *man* < **blang* ~ *blung*?].

²² Cf *T'ung Tien* 192 8b and *T'ai-fu yüan kuei* 858 6a. In the latter read 今 for 今 and 此 for 北. For Yen Shih-ku's 本因漢時 it has 本前漢時, which is perhaps to be preferred because of the repetition of 因 a few characters later. Wên hsiu was situated in the region of modern Aqiu

29) A Wên hsiu 溫秀 range (also called 三陽山) is referred to in that chapter in a note on Li ch'uan hsiên. The instability of the graph for the second part of the binom Wen hsiu [溫秀 ~ 溫宿 ~ 溫修]²³ would be a supporting indication that we have here to deal with the transcription of a foreign name.

Besides the two "Aryan" colonies in Shensi there are reasons to believe that there existed on the Chinese border a third colony from the "Far West," this time located in modern Kansu. In the list of hsiên dependent on the prefecture of Chang yeh we have in *Han Shu* 28B a Li chien hsiên 隴軒, which re-appears again in *Hou Han Shu* 33, but is listed among the subdivisions of Wu wei chun 武威 in *Chin Shu* 14.²⁴ It is undoubtedly the same name that underlies the transcription Li kan 力乾 mentioned in *Sui Shu* 29 as one of the five hsiên which were incorporated sometime during the last decade of the sixth century into Fan ho hsiên 番和 in Wu wei chun. It is tempting to see in the name of this administrative subdivision of a western Chinese province a variant transcription of Li chien 犁犍 [*Hou Han Shu* 118, *Chin Shu* 97] Li kan 犁軒 [*Wei Lueh*, in *San kuo chih* 30, *Han Shu* 96A], or Li hsiên 黎軒 [*Pei Shih* 97 > *Wei Shu* 102], which is one of the names under which the Roman Orient (Ta Ch'in 大秦) was known to the Chinese of the Han dynasty.

In *Han Shu* 96 [biography of Chang Ch'ien] Li kan 犁軒 appears in the list of western countries to which were sent Han envoys after the opening up of the Great Silk Route. In his note to the text Fu Chien 服虔 of the Second Han dynasty²⁵ identifies it with our hsiên in Chang yeh. Yen Shih ku [whose note follows], equates it positively with Ta Ch'in, but, while condemning Fu Chien's statement, believes it nevertheless possible that the Li kan of Kansu derived its name from the great country of the West. 隴軒縣蓋取此國爲名耳。隴與犁相近。

The restoration of the original western name that underlies these transcriptions presents manifold and peculiar difficulties,²⁶ as does the identi-

²³ Cf. *Li ch'uan hsiên chih* 2 3b. *Chang an chih* 16 11b.

²⁴ Cf. *Shuo wen chieh* 1 2 3A where Li kan 隴軒 is also defined as a hsiên in Wu wei.

²⁵ Flourished at the end of the second century A.D. *Hou Han Shu* 109B.

²⁶ All the *li* used in the transcriptions are derived from archaic phonemes with initial consonantal complexes the exact nature of which it is difficult to ascertain. Various indications point to a *hL or *bL- and in the case of 隴 to *sL-. The problem deserves detailed consideration. The phonetic glosses in the above sources are confusing.

cation of the place with any district of the Roman East. At present, opinion among scholars on this question remains divided. some following de Groot and Herrmann²⁷ believe that the Chinese characters represent a transcription of Hyrcania,²⁸ others lean towards the suggestion made by Pelliot²⁹ that Li-kan should be equated with Alexandria. It would transcend the scope of this note to attempt even to review the complex evidence adduced in support of either hypothesis. Hyrcania or Alexandria,³⁰ or a *tertium quid*, the name of the little Chinese city on the desert road to the West, would indicate that an important Western community must have sent out its sons to the distant land of the Seres to imprint the name of the metropolis on an outpost of the Han Empire.

The above jottings on "Kucha,"³¹ "Wên-hsiu," and "Li kan" in

²⁷ De Groot, *Die Westlande Chinas in der vorchristlichen Zeit*, p 18, cf. HERRMANN, *Atlas of China*, pp 17, 26 27

²⁸ Old Persian *vrkana* cf. E. HERZFELD, *Archaeologische Mitteilungen aus Iran* 4 1, Oct 1931, pp 29, 31. For the Kansu Li kan one might even think of Ptolemy's 'Appayava

²⁹ In *TP* 1915, pp 690 691

³⁰ We are not, of course, thinking so much of the Egyptian Alexandria, as one of the numerous Alexandrias, founded by the great conqueror in the East (near Khôjend, Kâbul, Merv, Kandahâr, etc.)

³¹ In connection with Kucha, I should like to discuss briefly a peculiar problem arising in the matter of Chinese transcription of foreign words, a problem that has received heretofore only passing mention. In *JA* 1934, pp 74 103 Professor Pelliot has devoted considerable space to the elucidation of the question of what original central asiatic term is represented by the Chinese transcriptions *ch'ueh li* 衛離, *ch'ueh li* 雀離 [KD 1126, 1265, 533 *tsiak li* < a var 梨 *tsiak li*] and *ch'ueh ch'ueh* 拓厥 ["*tsiak li* < cf. KD 883, 503]. All these binoms represented the name of a famous temple in Kucha as well as that of a synonymous mountain pass near that city.

The unknown Kuchean word undoubtedly meant, as established by Pelliot, 'spire', 'point', and is compared by him with the **śākūr* which must have designated [as it appears clear from a Turfan fragment] the spire of a *stupa*. Pelliot dismisses for some reason the possibility of this word having an Indian origin and supposes that the term **śākūr* [and its 'tokharian' original] must have meant 'watch tower' ~ 'stupa' and thus could have been applied to designate both a temple and a pass, protected by watch towers. Even if the mysterious word were 'tokharian' I still would think that it is related to Sanskrit *śikhā* — 'point', 'summit', 'crest' > *śikhara* — 'pointed', 'summit of a mountain', 'steeple', 'spire', 'tower of a palace or temple'. The semantic evolution of the Sanskrit word leaves nothing to be desired for an explanation of its application as the name of the above localities, while the initial may present some difficulty, the earliest Chinese rendering 衛離 *tsiak li*, possibly *tsiak li*, would be a reasonable transcription of *śikhara* ~ *śikhara* or of its unknown 'tokharian' relative

China throw an interesting light on the puzzling twins of Ptolemy's itinerary, Issedon Scythica and Issedon Serica. How many such X Scythicae, transplanted eastward by trade or war, became X Sericae only a further study of the sources will reveal. Our purpose has been to draw attention to the wealth of material hidden beneath the still virgin soil of Chinese historiography and to suggest that in the melting pot that was Northwestern China an "Aryan," linguistic if not ethnic, element may have played a not inconsiderable part.²²

II THE BULGARS OF MONGOLIA

September, 251 A. D. A century has passed and with it has vanished the glory that was Han. Bled by the incessant wars and revolutions of the past three generations, her population decimated, her wealth half gone, China is hopelessly split into three rival political entities. The house of Ts'ao Wei rules over the greater part of the Empire in the North,

One of the common compounds of *çihhā*—'crest' in Sanskrit is *çihhādhāra* ~ *çihhādadhāra*—'crest bearing' which is often used as an epithet for crested birds particularly the peacock. In transcribing a foreign word, the early Chinese scholars often selected out of several possibilities characters which while rendering as faithfully as possible the foreign sounds would at the same time suggest the semantic value of the original. Indeed, all three characters 爵, 雀 and 隹 used in the ancient transcriptions of the Kuchean word are names of birds the second term entering as an element into the Chinese designation of the peacock *kung-chiao* 孔雀 while both *chueh* and *chiao* are occasionally used in reference to tufted birds.

²² It would be desirable to investigate carefully the genealogy of several historically prominent Chinese originating from the Western provinces of the Empire with a view to ascertaining whether under their 'sinicized' surnames are not concealed names that would indicate that they were descendants of western colonists who settled in China. It is well known that most of the Kang 康 of Chinese history trace their origin to Sogdian [Kang-chü 康] emigrants and that the clan An 安 derives its name from An hsi 安—Parthia. If we believe Wei Shu 30 An Shih kao the great Parthian Buddhist missionary must have left descendants in China as that source claims that An Tung 同 an officer of the early T'ang traced his genealogy back to An Shih kao. The Han 甘 clan representatives of which played such a prominent role in Chinese exploration of the west [甘父 Kan Fu Chang Chien's guide, Han Yen shou 甘延壽, Khan Chih-chih's conqueror and Kan Ying 英 Pan Chao's envoy to the West] and whose name is I believe reflected in the name of China's westernmost province was probably of foreign origin. So possibly is the surname So 索 borne by a distinguished Tun huang family under the Chin dynasty. In several cases when it is question of natives of the west Chang 張 appears to be a sinicized form of Chih 支 < Yüeh-chih 月支—"Indo-scythian" Chang Huan who was a native of Tun huang could thus have had foreign blood in him.

but again, as ninety six years ago, at the helm of government, overshadowing the Son of Heaven, stands the powerful figure of a majordomo Ssu ma I 司馬懿, the last of the great warriors of the period, has just breathed his last and left the management of the Empire's affairs and the tutelage over the Emperor to his son Ssü ma Shih 師³³

Among his father's officers to whom the new dictator willingly lends his ear when considering matters of foreign policy, is one Teng Ai 鄧艾³⁴ who is busy outlining to his master a plan for strengthening China's defenses in the North. The perennial problem of Hsiung nu and Ch'iang is under discussion. A new process of unification has been taking place among the Hsiung nu and the age old prescription of political dichotomy is indicated for them, lest the empire's northwestern communications be endangered again.

In 215-216 A.D. Ts'ao Ts'ao, the founder of the fortunes of the Wei house, had divided the remnants of the Southern Hsiung nu who had settled in the depopulated marches of the North into five hordes. Grazing lands were allocated to each of the hordes and each native chief was forced to share the control over his tribesmen with a Chinese resident³⁵. The *shan yu* remained a prisoner at Ts'ao's court, while his uncle Ch'u pei 去卑, a loyal vassal of the Wei, acted as regent³⁶.

But Ch'u pei is now dead, the strict surveillance exercised over the chieftains has apparently been somewhat relaxed, and Liu Pao 劉豹, Right *hsien wang* and nephew of the last *shan yu*, has been extending his authority over all the five hordes, not without opposition, however, from rival leaders³⁷. Teng Ai now proposes to Ssu ma Shih to split the

³³ Emperor Ts'ao Fang 芳 [as he was dethroned by Ssü ma Shih he has no pht.] 232-240-254-274 A.D. *San Kuo chih* 4. Ssu ma I 179-251 A.D. *Chin Shu* 1. Ssu ma Shih 203-255 A.D. *ibid* 2. He passed on his post to his brother Chao 昭 211-265 A.D. whose son Yen 炎, 236-265-289 A.D. became the first emperor of the Chin *ibid* 3.

³⁴ Died 264 A.D. *San Kuo chih* 28.

³⁵ The Northern Horde numbering some 4,000 tents was settled in Hsin hsing 新興 *hsien* the Central Horde 6,000 tents in Tailing 太陵 *hsien* the Left Horde 10,000 tents in Tzu shih 茲氏 *hsien* [many texts have incorrectly 茲 for 茲] near Tai yüan the Right Horde 6,000 tents in Chi *hsien* 祁 and the Southern Horde 3,000 tents in Pu tzü *hsien* 蒲子 *Chin Shu* 97, cf. also G. UCHIDA 内田吟風 On the Five Tribes of Hsiung nu in the Third Century A.D. (in Japanese) *Shirin* 19 2 April 1934 pp. 271-295.

³⁶ *San kuo chih* 1. *Hou Han Shu* 119. *Chin Shu* 56.

³⁷ *San kuo chih* 24 [biography of Wang Li 王禮] mentions an important Hsiung nu chief Lu Ching 靖 who about 248 A.D. was steadily growing in power. I am not able to identify him however with any of the known chieftains.

Hsiung nu anew by "making manifest Ch'u pei's meritorious services to the dynasty" through an appointment of his son to high office among the Hsiung nu. Measures are also to be taken to stop the infiltration of the Ch'iang and Hu among the Chinese population of the marches. Fiat!³⁸

It must have been in that year that Meng 猛, the son of Ch'u pei, received the chieftainship of the Northern Horde³⁹. In the same year to the aged Liu Pao was born a son predestined to revive the old glory of the Hsiung nu and found a Hsiung nu kingdom on the ruins of Ssu ma's empire.

Thirteen years later we find this boy as a hostage at the Chinese court where he is winning the friendship, admiration, and support of many prominent officials.⁴⁰ Ssu ma Chao has just taken another step in the policy of weakening the Hsiung nu through a new division of hordes, and their number is increased to three.⁴¹ About 266 A.D., the imperial Chin government creates a new subdivision, apparently at the expense of chief Liu Meng. The latter raises the standard of rebellion in 271 A.D. and seeks support among the nomads of Mongolia. As in the case of Chu lung Wu-ssu, however, his career is cut short by the sword of one of his followers bribed by the Chinese,⁴² and his brother Kao-sheng yuan 皓升爰 supplants him as chief of the Northern Horde. Some years later Liu Pao, having died, is succeeded by his son, Liu Yuan 淵.⁴³

The reconstruction of the genealogy of the Hsiung nu royal house from the end of the second century on is rather difficult, and several problems present themselves in ascertaining the family relationship of the Hsiung nu leaders during the period under consideration.

If we are to believe *T'ang Shu* 75B, Ch'u pei had little Hsiung nu

³⁸ Cf. *San Luo chih* 28 for T'eng Ai's report.

³⁹ In *Chin Shu* 57 [biography of Hu Fên 胡奮] Liu Meng is however referred to as chief of the Central Horde. *Wei Shu* 93 specifically says however that he resided in Hsin hsing where as we have seen was situated the *ordo* of the Northern chieftain.

⁴⁰ Among them Wang Mi 王彌 *Chin Shu* 100 and Wang Hun 王渾 *ibid* 42.

⁴¹ *Chin Shu* 56 [biography of Chiang T'ung 江統] d. 310 A.D. his lengthy report on frontier conditions was presented to the throne probably in the year 300.]

⁴² Liu Meng's revolt lasted from the first month of 271 to the first month of 272 A.D. *Chin Shu* 3.

⁴³ *Chin Shu* 101 *Wei Shu* 95. Liu Pao must have died a very old man as he could not have been born later than 195 A.D. It is curious that he had no son until about 250 A.D. and the sources would indicate that he died about 290 A.D. In the last year of Ssu ma Yen's reign Liu Yuan was made according to *Shih lu Luo ch'un ch'iu* 1 chief of the Northern horde [supplanting Kao-sheng yuan?]

blood in his veins. The genealogy of the Tu-ku 獨孤 family contained in that source makes Ch'u-pei to be the descendant of the Chinese prince Liu Chin-po 劉進伯 who had been captured by the Hsiung-nu and [having married a Hsiung-nu woman?] had begotten in captivity near Mount Ku [孤山下] a son named Shih-li 尸利.⁴⁴ Shih-li was made *ku-li* 谷蠡 prince by the *shan-yu* and given the surname Tu-ku.⁴⁵ Ch'u-pei was his son or grandson. Supplementing this evidence with information supplied from *Hou Han Shu* 72, we obtain the following genealogy:

Liu Hsiu [Kuang-wu Ti of Han] 4 B. C.-25 A. D.-57 A. D.

Fu 輔, prince of P'ei 沛, ?-39-84 A. D. [cf. ch. 3]

Ting 定, ?-84-95 A. D. [cf. ch. 4]

Ch'ng 正, ?-95-108 A. D. [*T'ang Shu* 75: Kai 丐]

Kuang 廣 ?-108-142 A. D.

I 厲

Jung 榮 ?-142-161 A. D.

Mu 穆

Tsung 琮

Chin-po 進伯

Yao 曜

Shih-li 尸利

Hsieh 契 c. 220 A. D.

Ch'u-pei 去卑

Now the *T'ang Shu* text reads: . . . 尸利生烏利二子去卑猛猛生 etc. . . In the language of the *T'ang* genealogists this can only mean

⁴⁴ There is no doubt from this story that the Chinese etymologized Tu ku < *d'u-l-*kuo as derived from tk *toy*—'to be born'. The existence of this tk. root in Hsiung nu would suggest that the mysterious ku tu 孤塗 < *kuo d'uo*, forming the second part of the title of the Hsiung nu sovereign equivalent to the Chinese 天子 'Son of Heaven,' may be explained as resulting from an inadvertent transposition of the two characters *tu ku < *d'uo kuo*. The original Hsiung title corresponding to the Chinese transcription **ch'ang li tu ku* would then be **tangri toyu*—'born of Heaven'. The latest attempt to explain the puzzling ku tu [K. SHIRATORI, *Sur l'origine des Hiong nou*, JA 1923, pp. 71-81] is not conclusive.

⁴⁵ Tu ku is probably identical with Tu ku hun 渾, registered as a surname in *Wei Shu* 113 and is possibly related to Tu ku 屠各 < *d'uo kán* which was, according to *Chin Shu* 97, the name of the *shan-yu*'s clan. As 瓜 **k^{wa}*, the phonetic of *kuo*, as well as 各 possessed an archaic **KL* in *Anlaut*, Tu ku may possibly go back to **d'uo* **k^{lo}* < tk **toy^{lu}*. Cf. Дойно, the clan name of the Danube Bulgars [cf. MIKKOLA, *Die Chronologie der türkischen Donaubulgaren*].

"Shih-li begat Wu-li, (Wu-li had) two sons, Ch'u pei and Mêng; Mêng begat, etc. . . .," with an unexplainable omission of the repetition of the two characters 烏利. From *Wei Shu* 95 we know that Mêng was Ch'u-peï's son, and not his brother.⁴⁶ We are thus forced to emend the text by inserting 生 'begat' after 去卑 and translate: "Shih li begat Wu li. His [Chin-po's, Shih-li's, or Wu-li's] second son Ch'u-peï begat Mêng. Mêng begat. . . ." Liu Chin-po, as we are also informed by the same text, was Tu Liao 度遼 general at the time of his capture by the Hsiung-nu. The succession of Tu-Liao generals is uncertain only in the period from 141 A. D. to 156 A. D.⁴⁷ If we suppose that Chin po was made prisoner in 155 A. D. at the time of Chang Huan's famous campaign [see *supra*], this would well correspond to his elder cousin's dates and would explain why Chang Huan had to take upon himself the task of stopping the Hsiung-nu movement south, the prevention of which was one of the duties of the Tu-Liao general.⁴⁸

Pei Shih 53 refers, however, to Ch'u pei as the uncle of Hu-ch'u-ch'uan 呼廚泉 [shan yü 195 216 A. D.] who was the son of Ch'iang-chu 羌渠 [shan-yü 179-188] and younger brother of Yu-fu lo 於扶羅 [shan-yü 188 195]. This complicates matters considerably: 1. Yu-fu lo, who died in 195, left a son [Pao], and hence could hardly have been born later than 179 A. D. 2. His father Ch'iang-chü who left two sons at the time of his death in 188, must have been born not later than 164 A. D. 3. Hence Ch'iang-chu's father could not have been Shih-li, if Shih-li was born about 156 A. D. The only way of reconciling the conflicting evidence of the sources is to suppose that Shih-li = Ch'iang-chu and Wu li = Yu fu-lo, and read the above passage of the *T'ang Shu* as follows . . . "Shih-li begat Wu-li. [Chin-po's] second son Ch'u-peï begat Mêng. . . ."⁴⁹

⁴⁶ *Wei Shu* 95 calls Kao-shêng yüan's son, Liu Hu, a nephew 從子 of Liu Mêng, and a grandson of Ch'u pei.

⁴⁷ We can re-establish with almost complete certainty the name and date of tenure of every Tu Liao general from the time of the re-establishing of the office under Ming Ti in 65 A. D. until the war of 141. After the break, from 156 A. D. on, we have half a dozen names of Tu Liao generals, but their order of succession is not at all clear from the sources.

⁴⁸ There is a faint possibility that Liu Chin po's defeat and capture took place in 140-141 A. D. *Hou Han Shu* 119 speaks of Ma Hsü 馬續, then Tu Liao general, as "resigning again" in the summer of 141 A. D. without mentioning, however, a former resignation. If Ma Hsü had, indeed, abandoned his post for a short time previously, due to some indecision on the part of the government during the crisis, Liu Chin po could have undertaken his duties, been defeated in a rashly conducted expedition, and Ma Hsü resumed his post immediately after.

⁴⁹ In Wu li we may have, however, not a name, but a descriptive title < tk mo

Whether Ch'u-peí was the son or the grandson of Chin-po, there seems to be no reason to doubt his Chinese origin. If Ch'iang-chu was his elder brother [and is identical with Shih-li], he may indeed have been the *ku-li* prince whom Chang Huan wished to place on the throne following the Hsiung-nu raid of 166 A D, a plan that would thus appear to have been put in effect by the government only thirteen years later. The Chinese origin of Ch'iang-chu may then explain the revolt of his subjects and his murder in 188 A D, as well as the elevation to the throne by the rebels of a Hsiung-nu prince of another clan.⁵⁰

We must not lose sight, however, of the possibility that the *Pei Shih* statement of relationship between Hu-ch'u-ch'uan and Ch'u-peí is erroneous, and that Ch'iang-chu's branch and that of Ch'u-peí are only remotely connected, the former being a continuation of the old line of Hsiung-nu sovereigns.⁵¹ In that case, the Hsiung-nu policy of the Chinese government during the third century can be explained as shrewd playing of the male line of descent against the female line, with support being given now to the one, now to the other.⁵² The genealogy of the Hsiung nu in the IIIrd and IVth centuries is presented, however, on p 298 with greater emphasis on the first supposition outlined above.

Since the beginning of the century, Ch'u-peí's line of Hsiung-nu had been brought into contact with the T'o pa Hsien-pí in the North. His younger brother and his five sons had been made prisoners after a battle that marked the first appearance of the T'o pa on the Chinese frontier;⁵³ Mêng's son Fu lun found a refuge among them after his father's defeat, his son and grandson married T'o pa princesses, so presumably did Kao-shêng yuan. Thus whatever Hsiung-nu blood there flowed in their veins

**urs* — 'son,' 'offspring' Cf *HJAS* 1 176, also *Han Shu* 17 where Wu li 黎 appears as a Hsiung nu name, and *ibid* 94B where Wu li 累, as a title of a *shan-yü* [the third son, but fifth successor of Hu han hsieh], seems to indicate that with him the throne reverted to an elder [and legitimate] line.

⁵⁰ The new *shan yü* belonged to the Hsü pu 須卜 clan one of the three great clans from which the former *shan yü* choose their wives. We do not know whether this new founded line endured for any length of time. *Hou Han Shu* 119.

⁵¹ The change of the clan name of the Hsiung nu sovereigns from Luan t'i 犁鞮 [*Han Shu* 94A] or Hsü lien t'i 虛連題 [*Hou Han Shu* 119] to Tu ku [cf note 45] would indicate, however, that the male line of Hsiung nu khans had become extinct.

⁵² Until 216 A D the Chinese government supports Hu ch'u ch'uan, then Ch'u-peí, apparently to the time of his death; then shifts its weight to the side of Liu Pao until 251 A D, leans again towards Ch'u-peí's line, and then about 265-270 decides to support Liu Pao again.

⁵³ Cf *HJAS* 1 167, note

became still more diluted with that of the Hsien-pi, the story of Ch'ü-pai's branch is now closely bound with the history of the rise of the T'o-pa Mêng line is assimilated by them, while the house of the Ho lien Hsia 赫連夏, founded by a descendant of Kao-shêng-yuan disappears, in 432 A. D. following a long struggle with the T'o pa Wei, a century after the Han Chao dynasty established by Liu Yuan had come to an end at the hands of another Hsiung nu conqueror.⁵⁴ This mixed nature of our Hsiung-nu is reflected, as we shall see, in their onomasticon.

Some ninety years after the fall of the Ho-lien Hsia we hear again of the Shansi Hsiung-nu. They re appear as a distinct political organization at the time of the break up of the T'o-pa Wei empire under the name Chi Hu 稽胡, when their chief Liu Li shêng 劉懿升 assumes in 525-526 A. D. the title of khan.⁵⁵ Later we see them taking active part in the wars between the Northern Chou and the Northern Ch'ü.

Chou Shu 49 contains a brief description of the mode of life of these Hsiung nu from which we learn that they had become intermixed with the Chinese settlers, were partly engaged in agricultural pursuits, and had acquired some of the ways of their neighbors. Thus they raised hemp, and even silk, as the male part of the population had begun to adopt Chinese dress and funerary customs. They had, however, preserved their language and some of the old mores ["loose morals" and typical nomadic marriage customs are especially noted by the Chinese historian].

Our source informs us also that the name under which they are known in Chinese history was but an abbreviation of their polysyllabic "barbarian" appellation which was Pu lo-chi 步落稽, KD 759, 566, 1215: *b'uo-lâi-kiei* [or *k'iei*]⁵⁶ The considerable emphasis placed by the Chinese on the meticized character of these Hsiung nu would indicate that it is in their mode of life and mixed origin that we must seek an explanation of this curious name unheard of in the previous centuries.

⁵⁴ For the history of the Han Chao, cf. *Chin Shu* 101 103 and *Shih liu luo* 110, for that of the Hsia *Chin Shu* 130, *Shih liu luo* 66 69, also *Wei Shu* 85.

⁵⁵ *Wei Shu* 9. They are also referred to as Shan Hu 山胡, "Mountain" Hu and Hu of Fên 汾胡.

⁵⁶ *T'ung-p'ing Hsuan yü ch'i* 34. *Fu tsu-chi* 部 [KD 756 b'uo]. Quoting the *Sui t'u ching tsu ch'i* 隋岡經雜記, this source describes them in the quaint phrase 胡頭漢舌 "Hu headed and Chinese tongued" which would indicate that during the last part of the sixth century Chinese had largely supplanted their native tongue. Of the several words of the Chi Hu language preserved in Chinese geographical works we can identify with surety only two. *K'u li* 庫利 < *k'uo-li* < *th qul* — 'slave' [Chin 奴] and *K'o-yeh* 可野 < *k'ô-yê* < *mo qasya* — 'fort,' 'enclosures' [Chin 堡].

Genealogy of Hsüung nu Rulers in the III-IV cc. A. D.¹

Chün-po? 進伯 [or Shuh-lü 尸利?]

Ch'iang-chu		Ch'ü-peí		P'an-lu-hsi	
光渠 ?-179-188		去卑		潘六奚	
Yü-fu-lo ²	Hu-ch'ü-ch'üan ³	Mêng	Kao shêng-yuan ⁴	N	N
於扶羅 ?-188-195	呼廚泉 ?-195-216-?	猛 d. 272	諾升发	N	N
Pao	Fu-lun ⁵	副輪	Hu	關陋頭 ?-356-358-?	
𩇛	Lu-ku ⁶	路孤	虎 d. 341		
Yuan	Chuan	務桓 ?-341-356	Wu huan	N	N
淵 c. 352-304-310	春 d. 385	悉勿祁 ?-358-359	O-lou-t'ou	N	N
...	K'ü-jên	衛辰 ?-359-391 ⁷		N	N
	庫仁 c. 319-383			N	N
Hsien ⁸	K'ang-ni ⁹	Chien	Hsi-wu-ch'ü	P'o-p'o ¹⁰	
顯	亢望 d. 396	雉 d. 386 去斤 d. 386	Lo chên	勃勃 381-407-425	
		釋辰 ¹⁰	N		

¹ This genealogical table is based on the following sources: *Wei Shu* 1, 23, 95, 83A, *Chin Shu* 57, 97, 101, 130, *Pei Shih* 1, 53, 93, *T'ang Shu* 70B, *Hou Han Shu* 119, *Shih liu luo ch'un-ch'u* 1, 56

² *Chin Shu* 57 writes *Yu mi fu lo* 彌

³ *Pei Shih* 53, incorrectly, *Hu-ch'u mao* 貌

⁴ For his name cf. *Kao-sheng yuan* 袁, n. of an affluent of the Yellow River in Shansi, *Shui ching chu* 3 14a. It is possible that *Kao-sheng yuan* is identical with Liu Hsuan 宣, Right *Asien-wang* and chief of the Northern Horde who played an important role in establishing Liu Yuan as great *shan yü* in 304. He was still alive in 308 and as we hear of the activities of Liu Hu only beginning with 310, it must be at this time that he died and that Hu succeeded to the chieftainship. *Kao-sheng yuan's* place in the genealogy would also correspond to Yuan's designation as an avuncular grandfather 從祖 of Liu Yuan. Cf. *Chin Shu* 101, *Wei Shu* 90, *Shih liu luo ch'un-ch'u* 1, 8.

⁵ It is possible that *Fu lun* is identical with *Fu lu t'un* 伏留屯 who is mentioned in *Chou Shu* 16 as one of the 36 tribal chieftains under the first *To-pa* and as the ancestor of *Tu lu Hsin* 信.

⁶ *Wei Shu* 1, sub anno 318, supports indirectly the *T'ang Shu* genealogy by calling *Lu ku* a cousin 從弟 of *Liu Hu*.

⁷ *Wei-chên's* name [KD 1308 1197 **g'wai-tien*, *Sung Shu* 95 writes *Wei-chên* 臣] represents undoubtedly *mo geyi-ti ~ geyi-ti* — 'guest', 'stranger'. A related *mo* form *jočün* — 'guest' — so *mo jučü* 'id', name of Genghis Khan's son, appears in the *To-pa* onomasticon under the Chinese transcription *Ch'u-chên* 處真 < *ts'wo-tšien* [name of a *To-pa* prince] and *Ch'u-chên* 初真 < *ts'wo-tšien* [*Wei Shu*, ch. 30 name of the father of *Lai Ta kan* 來大千, and *Chou Shu*, ch. 20, that of the father of *Ho-lan Hsiang* 賀蘭祥]. For various forms of this word in *tk mo*, cf. *V. LADIMIRTSOV, Сравнительная грамматика* p. 247.

⁸ In *Hsien's* 'barbarian' name *Ch'ou fa* 醜伐 < *ts'ou b'wat* we see *tk mo čubar* — 'dapple-gray'. The parallel form *ch i fa* 叱伐 [name of a tribal chief in *Wei Shu* 103] appears also in *Hsü Po cu chih* 4 3a [cf. *Pien* 1a 7] as the color designation of horses presented to the Chinese court by *Ta yuan c* 742 755 *V D* and undoubtedly reflects the *tk mo* variant *čubar* — 'id', the *tk mo* term exhibiting the same fluctuation of the vowel of the first syllable as *mo čnuo ~ čonoa* — 'wolf' for which cf. *HJAS* 1 177.

⁹ Possibly < *tk qangli* — 'cart'.

¹⁰ For *Ch'ü-chün*, cf. *HJAS*, loc. cit. *Lo-ch'ên* < *Ld tšien* is identical with *Yu chên* 奴真 < *nuo-tšien ~ nya tšien* of *Wei Shu* 23. The name of the *Hsiung nu* chieftain was registered by the Chinese in the two variant pronunciations of the *tk mo* word for 'falcon' *lačün ~ načün*. His sister became the consort of *To-pa Kuei*. On her ritual murder, cf. *J. R. WARR, An ordeal among the To-pa Wei*, *TP* 1936, 207. It is to be noted that the custom of putting the heir apparent's mother to death is probably a survival of the old nomadic tradition of killing the parents as soon as their son reached maturity and that the rule applied as much to the father as to mother. It is significant that most of the early *To-pa* rulers ended their lives at the hands of or at least with the connivance of their youthful sons. We have assembled a considerable number of texts both western and Chinese on the subject of the 'dying kings' of the steppes and hope to return to this interesting problem in the future.

B'uo lâk-kiei yields us, indeed, a tk mo form **bulaq* which is undoubtedly derived from the root $\sqrt{*bul-}$, *bula-* < *bulya* ~ *bulaq* — 'to mix,' 'to become mixed.' This root is registered in Orkhon Turkish in the form *bulyaq* — 'Mischung' [= Chin 渾] and appears in almost all turkish dialects in derivatives with the meaning 'mixed,' 'muddy,' 'troubled' > 'rebellious'.⁵⁷ It is also found widely distributed in turkish in the alliterative binoms *alaq-bulaq* ~ *alan-bulan* — 'mixed,' 'variegated'.⁵⁸ In mongol besides the common *bulanggir* — $\sqrt{'muddy'}$ we find *bulaq* used as a term designating a horse spotted with white.⁵⁹

As shown by J. Nemeth,⁶⁰ *bulya* underlies the name of the Bulgars, an ethnic designation which we find applied since the early Middle Ages to three distinct groups of peoples, one on the Upper Volga, one in the Euxino-Caspian steppes, and one on the Lower Danube, all of which, as is well known, were mixed peoples. In the case of the Volga and the Danube Bulgar, the mixture consisted essentially of turkish and slavie elements.⁶¹ Each of these three great regions of Eastern Europe was

⁵⁷ Cf particularly P PELLIOU, "Les Mongols et la Papauté," pp 322 323, J MARQUART, *Die Chronologie der alttürkischen Inschriften*, p 103. For an interesting example of use of *bulyaq* as a proper name, see Ibn Taghri Birdi's *Annals*, ed. W POPPER, 6 273. The relation of our **bula* to tk *bulan* — 'elk' < 'mottled animal?' is problematical, cf PELLIOU, *JA* 1925, I, p 224. While there is no doubt that the medieval mongol compound *al bulya* meant, as established by Pelliot [*Les Mongols* . . , loc cit] 'les peuples soumis et [les peuples] revoltés' the original significance of it may have been 'the *al* (nucleus, original tribe responsible for the creation of a confederacy) and the *bulya* (the heterogeneous elements comprising the larger unit of the nomadic federation, the later 'ad mixtures' to the nucleus)'

⁵⁸ On these alliterative compounds, cf Н К Дмитриевъ, *О парныхъ словосочетанияхъ въ башкирскомъ*, Изв Ак Наукъ, 1930, 501 522.

⁵⁹ Cf *kul bulaq*, *bulaq kul* — 'a white legged horse'. In the form *bula* the term appears in the mongolian vocabulary of Ibn Al Muhanna. On pp 114 and 116 of Melioranskii's edition [Записки Вост Орд Имп Арх Общ, vol LV, 1904 pp 76 171] are found two mongol idioms قار يار and كل يار translated respectively الحجل الد 'horse with white forelegs' and محجل الر جل 'horse with white hind legs'. There is no doubt that for the unexplainable **yala* قار we must read قار **bulā* and transliterate both expressions **yar bulā* **kul bulā* — 'with white hands [i.e forelegs]' 'with white legs [i.e hind legs],' mo *yar* and *kul* corresponding exactly to ar يد and رجل .

⁶⁰ In *Symbolae Grammaticae in honorem Ioannis Rozwadowski* 2. 217 226. La provenance du nom bulgar. The derivation was first suggested by Tomaszek in PAULY WISNOWA.

⁶¹ The belief in a purely turkish origin of the Volga Bulgars has I believe, been based on an undue emphasis on some passages in Arabic geographical works in which these Bulgars are referred to loosely as Turks. Shams al Din al

situated on the nexus of important highways, near trading centers where nomad met, bartered, hobnobbed, intermixed with settler.

The marches of Shansi on the banks of the Yellow and Fên rivers constituted exactly such a region. There converged the great Mongolian caravan routes connecting Central Asia with the Chinese internal system of highways and leading the traveler to the two capitals of China. There nomad met Chinese and Tibetan, and as we have seen, even "Aryan"; and there it was that the Hsiung nu, with the loss of their political cohesion and the severance of formal ties that bound them to the life of the steppes, became definitely committed to the rôle of a 'marginal' people. The Hun was now a 'Mischling,' a *Bulag*, a Bulgar.

The term *bulya* ~ *bulag* as a designation of a hybrid people may be of high antiquity, but space limits forbid detailed consideration of its origin at present.⁶² I should like only to draw attention here to several cases of its use in the nomadic onomasticon. Among Chinese transcriptions of 'barbarian' names scattered through the Northern histories we possess the following which are apparently based on derivatives of **bul*, *bulya* ~ *bulag*.

1. Pu-lo-chi 步落稽 b'uo-lâk-kie < *Bulaqi, *Pei Ch'ü Shu* 10; nickname of the Ch'ü Emperor Kao Chan 高湛.⁶³

Dimashqi [b 1256 A D] reports, however, the answer of some Bulgars who passed through Baghdad on their way to Mecca, and who, when questioned on the meaning of "Bulgar," responded قوم متولدوں بس الترك والصقاله [fed MEHREN, p ۲۴۴], lit "a mixed people between the Turks and the Slavs," with *between* introducing the components of the mixture, rather than indicating the location of the people, cf MEHREN's translation, *Manuel de la cosmographie*, p 381. The name of the river Volga, from which "Bulgar" is often derived, originated itself from **bulya*, cf its other name Rös which it owes to its being the scene of another 'commingling,' that of the Rus > Russians.

⁶² In the *Ch'un ch'iu* there appears [under the years 638 and 606 B C] a Jung tribe called Lu hun 陸渾 < **luh-γhun* which was settled in the first of the above years in the watershed between the I and Lo rivers in Honan. Hung yang's commentary writes, however, Pên hun 𡗗 < **puən-γhun*. As recently established by Karlgren [Word families in Chinese, p 33] 𡗗 was pronounced in archaic Chinese *pjar*, *b'jicor*, we have some grounds to believe, on the other hand, that 陸 *luh* is derived from an archaic **BLuk*. Both compounds thus may go back to **bulγun* or *bulγur*. Cf SHIH CH'ü 110 DE GRUOT *Die Hunnen der vorchristlichen Zeit*, 18, and TSCHERTZ, *Histoire du royaume de Tsun*, 57-58. The syllabic phoneme **BLŌK* is so common in archaic Chinese, forming the root of at least 10 phonetic series in which the semanteme 'mottled' 'variegated' is well attested that the question naturally arises whether we do not have in *vbul*, *bulya* a root common to Chinese and 'Altaic'.

⁶³ P'ei Shih Tsu Wu-ch'eng 世祖武成, 537-561-563-568 A. D., *Pei Ch'ü Shu* 7,

2 Pu lo chien 步落堅 [KD 369 kien] < *bulaqin, *Wei Shu* 74, name of a barbarian chieftain, no doubt from among the Chi-Hu

3 Mo kên 沒根 [KD 637, 312 *muət kən*] < *bulqin, the nickname of Liu [Tu ku] K'ü jên, who was the son of Hsiung nu and a T'o pa princess⁶⁴

4 Mo kô 沒歌 [KD 413 ka] < *bulqa, possibly *bulya, the name of a tribe which T'o pa Shih 1 chien defeated in 364 A D, *Wei Shu* 1 Here we may have *bulya in the sense of 'revolt' > 'rebellious' On the other hand, it may be identical with

5 Mo lu hui 沒鹿回 [KD 576, 108 *luk, yuân*] < *buluyar ~ *bulyar, a tribe related to the T'o pa Cf *Wei Shu* 1, sub anno 220 A D, ch 13, also *HJAS* 1 177

6 Mo ku 沒骨 [KD 427] *muət kuət* < bulgut ~ *bulqur Name of the murderer of T'u fa Shu chi nêng, *Wei Shu* 99

7 Fu li chuan 附力眷 [KD 44, 523, 495 *b'ü-lük k'üan*] < *bul(ü)-qin, name of a chief of the Ho lan horde, *Wei Shu* 2, sub 397, cf 28

8 Fu lo han 扶羅韓 [KD 41, 569, 299 *b'ü la-yân*] < *bulayan, name of a Hsien pi chief, *San kuo chih* 30 This transcription may represent mo bulayan—'sable' The latter word, however, may in itself be derived from bulya—'mottled' [animal] > 'sable'—bulayan⁶⁵

9 Finally, several transcriptions of the name of two T'o pa clans registered in *Wei Shu* 113 and *Tung Chih* 29

a Pu lu ku 步陸孤 [KD 573, 426 *b'uo luk' luo*], Pu lu ku 步鹿孤 [*b'uo luk' kuo*], Pu lu ku 步六孤 [KD 563 *b'uo luk' kuo*] < *buluqu ~ *bulqu

b Pu lu kên 步鹿根 [*b'uo luk' kən*] and Pu lu-chin 步鹿斤 [KD 385 *b'uo luk' kien*] < *bulqin⁶⁶

Pei Shih 8 cf A PFIZMAIER Nachrichten aus der Geschichte der nördlichen Thais p 3 in *Denkschriften of the Vienna Academy* 1884 He was the ninth son of Kao Huan and the fourth sovereign of the Northern Chi dynasty The fact that at the age of eight he was betrothed by his father with a Juan juan princess may explain his nickname

⁶⁴ Ku jên had a third name Lo chu 洛垂 < *läh z'wie* < *alayā? K'ü jên represents undoubtedly tk *qoyin ~ qon: i—'sheep' [*HJAS* 1 171] The history of the latter word in tk mo is of peculiar interest of latter tk qon: vs mo quā qurayan < quāyan ~ qurayan? Compare with the last the Chinese transcriptions of a T'o pa surname 庫若干 ~ 俘官 < *quīyaqan Might then 賀若 which we equated with *ayaγ in *HJAS* 1 178 represent tk *ariγ—'pure' 'honest'?

⁶⁵ On which see PELLIER *JA* 1927, I 283 and *BSOS* 6 562

⁶⁶ The second member of all these trilateral compounds (*luk' luk' läl*) may represent nothing but the l of the 'altaic' original as in the case of A liu tun

The above ending *lu* is apparently the same that appears in *Tu ku* 獨孤 [cf. note 44] and in *Wu lu ku* 烏路孤 [KD 577 'uo-luo luo], the transcription of a name found frequently among the nomads. This name was borne by the *Hsiung-nu* chief T'ieh-fu Lau Hu,⁸⁷ the son of a Kao-shêng yuan and a Hsien pi woman. In *Wu lu ku* [as well as *Lu ku*, the name of K'ü jên's father] we may have a T'o pa nickname derived from the *tk mo* term *uruq* — 'family,' 'relative by marriage,' cognate of both *uq* — 'family,' 'clan' and *urī* — 'offspring,' 'seed'.⁸⁸

The exact relationship of these roots with another 'altaic' term designating the offspring of a mixed marriage, the celebrated appellation *argon* (<*aryun* **āryun*?) of Marco Polo, can be established only by specialists. We have previously called attention to an early transcription of this term in *Ho lu-hun* 賀鹿渾 <*γā-luḥ-γuən*, the name of a prominent T'o-pa official of the fifth century.⁸⁹ It reappears in the cognomen of Kao Huan 高歡⁹⁰ which was, according to *Pei Ch'ü Shu* 1, *Ho lu-hun* 賀六渾 [*γā luḥ-γuən*]. Huan's nickname is undoubtedly explained by the fact that, although a Chinese by descent, he was raised on the frontier among Hsien pi, his family having for generations resided in marginal territory.

I am inclined, moreover, to see the same 'altaic' term in the following transcriptions

1. 阿鹿桓 [KD 1, 841 'ā luḥ-γuān], a T'o-pa surname, *Wei Shu* 113
2. The name of the Wu-lo-hou 烏洛侯 ['uo-lāk-γou] tribe, *ibid* 100, also called Wu-lo-hun 渾.
3. The name of the Lu hun 鹿渾 [*luḥ-γuən*] lake in Mongolia, *ibid*.

阿六敦 < *tk* **altun* — 'gold' which appears in *Pei Ch'ü Shu*, ch 17 as the 'barbarian' cognomen of Ho lü Chin 斛律金 [Chin 金 = 'gold'] Cf PFIZMAIER, *op cit* pp 48-53. Some of these transcriptions may also reflect *mo bulū* — 'family' [maternal line], *bulūken* — 'weak,' and *buluk* — 'company,' 'troop'. The relation of the last to Chinese *pu lo* 部落 deserves special investigation.

⁸⁷ The interpretation of T'ieh fu is still uncertain [cf *HJAS* 1 170]. Shiratori's suggestions, *Ize* 6 and *SZ* 22 12, 1381, are not satisfactory. As a mere possibility, cf *mo tataburi* — 'hybrid'.

⁸⁸ *Uruq* appears probably in *Hsiung nu yu lu* 於陸 < 'uo lγul, *Chin Shu* 97. I am inclined to believe, with Ligeti, that from *uq* ~ *oq* is derived, as a plural form, the name *Oγuz* ~ *Oγur*.

⁸⁹ *HJAS* 1 176-177. *Pu lu ku* Ho-lu hun's biography [*Wei Shu* 40] contains the amusing anecdote of his future father in law, who was otherwise quite pleased with the groom, complaining that his prospective son in law had an impossibly polysyllabic name.

⁹⁰ Pht. Shên wu 神武 T1, 496-547 A D. *Pei Ch'ü Shu* 1 2, *Pei Shih* 7.

103, and the Ho-hun 渴渾 [$'\hat{a}t \sim * \hat{a}r-yu \hat{a}n$] river, *Shih-lu kuo ch'un-ch'iu* 86⁷¹

4 Finally, in the name of another hybrid marginal people, the well known Wu-huan 烏桓 [$'uo-yu \hat{a}n$] or Wu wan 烏丸 [$'uo-yu \hat{a}n$], *Hou Han Shu* 120, *San Kuo chih* 30, cf also *HJAS* 1 172.⁷² The Wu-huan, as all Chinese sources bear witness, reckoned their descent on the mother's side only, or, in nomadic terminology, recognized essentially the *urug* as the only social unit in their organization. The restoration of the original represented by "Wu-huan" is difficult. Normally going back to $'uo-yu \hat{a}n$, the bionom could also be read $* \hat{a}r-yu \hat{a}n$ ⁷³

In connection with *bulaq* \sim *bulan*, our attention is drawn to *tk alaq* \sim *alan*, the second form of which appears in the name of the Ho lan 賀蘭 [KD 512 $\gamma \hat{a}-l \hat{a}n$] Hsien-pi tribe⁷⁴ This tribe played a consider-

⁷¹ Cf the name of the river Argun in present Mongolia. Possibly also Orkhon. The relation of Orkhon to *Warkhonitai, the real name of the Pseudo Avars [suggested by Marquart] and the possible connection of both with *argun constitutes a problem in itself, to which we hope to return soon.

⁷² Of the language of the Wu huan only one word can be identified with surety. This is *chu chueh* 句決 $\langle *kju kw \hat{e}t$ — 'braided hair' [*San kuo chih* 30] $\langle mo kukul$ — 'id'. On this word in mongol cf PELLIER, *JA* 1930, pp 258 259.

⁷³ That KD 1288 烏 $'uo$ possessed in the archaic language a final consonant is suggested by the following: a) $'uo$ in the meaning 'what', 'how' is undoubtedly the cognate of 安 $\hat{a}n$, 曷 $\gamma \hat{a}t$, and 害 $\gamma \hat{a}t$ which, together with 何 $\gamma \hat{a}$, probably go back to $* \gamma \hat{a}r$, b) both $'uo$ and its original form 於 built phonetic derivatives, notably with classifiers 75, 86, 169, which are pronounced $* \hat{a}t$ $* \hat{a}t$ [cf 安 $\hat{a}n$ with Nos 85, 64, 30 and 64, all pronounced $* \hat{a}t$], c) 烏 itself was, according to an early scholiast, quoted by Yen Shih ku in *Han Shu*, ch 96, pronounced $* \hat{a}n$ in the transcription of the name of a Turkestan kingdom. Cf *TP* 1936 pp 276 280, where Professor Pelliot explains this gloss as based on an original reading of 焉 $\gamma \hat{a}n$ instead of 烏 in pursuance of his theory of the graphic confusion of these two characters. In the course of his able argument, Pelliot does not however, take cognizance of the fact that 焉 $\gamma \hat{a}n$ could itself go back to $* \gamma \hat{a}r$, especially in the transcription of a foreign word [cf 安 in 安息 $\langle * \hat{a}rsak$] $\gamma \hat{a}n$, as is well known is a synonym, and undoubtedly a cognate of both 安 and 於, and is sometimes pronounced 夷 $* i \sim iei$, $i \sim n$ in *Auslaut* indicates strongly an archaic r , we suspect that in the case of the Chinese transcription of the native name of mod Qarashahr [Yen-chi 名 $\langle l \hat{a}n p' \hat{a}n$] *yen* transcribes indeed a foreign phoneme with r and it is in a central asiatic root $* \gamma \hat{a}r \sim * \gamma \hat{o}r$ that we should look for an etymology of the old name of the oasis city, its Sanskrit name *agni* — 'fire' is probably a translation of the local designation which was possibly 'shiny' \sim 'fiery'. One should also note that 烏, in the light of the above discussion, is probably a cognate of 𩇛 $yen \langle * ien$ — 'swallow', both being derivatives from $* ier \sim * ien$ — 'black', 'dark'.

⁷⁴ Cf Ho-la 賀賴 $\langle \gamma \hat{a} l \hat{a}t$ the name of one of the nineteen tribes of Hsiung nu that crossed the frontier into China in 287 A D, *Chin Shu* 97. In $* \hat{a}lai$ we un-

able rule in the history of the early T'o-pa and was closely related to them through a series of marriage alliances that continued all through the fourth century.¹⁵ Its name is said to be derived from that of a mountain chain [undoubtedly the modern Ala (< Alay) shan]. According to the Chinese, the Ho-lan mountains were thus called because of the variegated grass covering their slopes which from afar presented the appearance of a coat of a mottled or dapple horse.¹⁶

It was an established tradition among the Chinese historians to derive the name of a nomadic people from the name of a mountain which marked their place of habitat. There is scarcely any doubt that the derivation occurred in the reverse order, the tribe giving its name to the locality. We have abundant evidence, on the other hand, to indicate that all through the steppe region tribes often derived their appellations from the color of their horses.¹⁷

Alan as the name of a tribe would suggest that their horses were dapple. It is significant that in the short T'u chueh vocabulary preserved in the T'ung T'ien 197 the Turkish term for 'horse' is transcribed *ho lan* 賀蘭 < *alan, while, from the linguistic material of the Orkhon inscriptions, we should expect *at*. The dapple coat of a horse, whether piebald, skewbald, or striped, is obviously the result of the crossing of various breeds. Like

doubtedly have a 'mongol' plural in *t* a regular formation from a singular in *-n*. An interesting case of an irregular *t* plural is found in the Chinese transcription of the 'barbarian' name of a cave in Lung-chih 龍支 *hsen* (Kansu). According to *T'ai ping huan-yu chi* 151 10a it was inhabited by fairies and avoided on that account by the local Chiang and Hu who called it Tang shu 唐述 < *dang-tset which in their language meant 鬼 'ghost' 'supernatural apparition.' *dang-tset represents undoubtedly *tangsut a mongol plural of *th. mo tangsuq* — wonder 'supernatural thing. It is with the latter term that K. Shiratori [*SZ* XXI 1017 1018] followed by Fano Chuang yao [*Hsien pi yü yen lao* 鮮卑語言考 *YCHP* 1930 pp 1440 1441] has attempted to equate the original of 'Tan shih huai' [on which cf *HJAS* 1 168]. See also notes 77 80.

¹⁵ To-pa I hua; Shih[-chun] and Kuei married Ho-lan women while daughters of Yu lu and Shih i-chien became the wives of Ho-lan chiefs. The struggle between the Ho-lan and the Mu jung hordes for domination over their To pa relatives explains many an upheaval in early Wei history.

¹⁶ See *T'ung ching huan-yu chi* 38 14a *T'ung-ching huan-yu chi* 38 14a CHAVANNES Documents p 56 note.

¹⁷ Cf the name of a Turkish tribe the Po-ma 駝馬 [Chin. dapple horses] which was also known as O lo-chih 焉羅支 < *at la tsie* < *th. *allač* [CHAVANNES Documents sur les Tou kiue p 29 n. 4] or Ho-la 曷刺 < *yât lât* < *th. allat* [T'ung T'ien 200 10b *T'ai-ping huan-yu chi* 200 2a where it is specifically said that *ho la* meant dapple in T'u-chueh]. Cf also the *alalcin* tribe mentioned by Abu l-yazi [J. NÉMETH Die petschenegischen Stammesnamen in *Ungarische Jahrbücher* 10 32].

horse, like man, in the life of the steppes, a mixed breed of horses indicates strongly a mixed breed of men. The T'u chueh confederacy, controlling at the height of its power the entire stretch of highways that linked China with the West, must have intensified the interbreeding of horses of subject tribes, both consciously, for improvement of the stock, and incidentally, by promoting contact among various tribes, until 'dapple' supplanted in the common terminology the generic term 'horse' ⁷⁸

The convergence of so many terms into single concept 'mixed' should not astonish one. 'Commingling' is indeed the big moment in the historical life of the steppe. Names of nomadic organizations, as well as those of individuals, are built up according to limited number of principles. In the predominant majority of cases they go back to words designating

1. Birds, beasts, implements, and other familiar objects of the nomad's milieu in tk mo lačín, qoyun, noxar — 'dog,' yaqar — 'pig,' qangli etc., are especially common ⁷⁹

2. Terms of relationship, such as uruy, qudu, aqan, oyul ⁸⁰

3. Official titles, in the case of a tribe, the position of its chief at the khan's court may give the tribe its name. Such are tulmač, qorčín ⁸¹

4. Geographical position or relationship of the individual tribe in respect to a larger unit ⁸²

⁷⁸ Like *bulaq, alan may not be a Turkish word originally. The alan horses of the Middle Ages may be the same as the 'dragon horses' of antiquity [see note 21] and we must look to Western Turkestan for their place of origin. It is tempting also to seek in alan the origin of the ethnic designation Alani.

⁷⁹ Articles of apparel gave names to two of the greatest nomadic unions. Hsien pi 鮮卑 < *Sarbi [cf PELLLOT, TP 1921, 331, Karlgren op cit., pp 29-30] is undoubtedly derived from the name of the animal style buckle or fibula so common among the nomads [cf mo serbe — 'agraffe'] while Mu jung 慕容 was originally, according to CHIN SHU ch 108, the designation of a special form of headgear. Cf also Pelliot's note in TP 1930, p 49.

⁸⁰ Oyul appears in a 'mongol' plural form *oylut in the name of the Hu lu 斛律 < yuk lučit clan, found among the Kao-chü and also the T'ieh lü while the clan name of the Ho-lien is probably based on Oyulan [cf also Juan Juan Wu chü lan 烏丸 烏丸]

⁸¹ Cf J NÉMETH, Zur Kenntnis der Petschenegen, Kőrös Csoma Archivum 1 219-225, TP 1930, p 30, one of the earliest cases on record is that of the Hsüung nu title chü-chü [cf supra note 8] which became the name of the royal clan of the Northern Liao [see CHIN SHU 129].

⁸² The Quriqan tribe of the Orkhon inscriptions probably owes its name to its western position in respect to the center of the Turkish confederacy cf quriqaru — 'backward' 'westward', the Su ho 蘇和 tribe of Hsien pi to its

5 The color of the tribe's horses⁸³

6 The number of clans or tribes composing a federation, which is then simply called "the Eight," "the Forty" etc⁸⁴

7. Finally, as we have seen, 'mixture,' 'association of heterogenous elements,' 'hybrid'⁸⁵

Whatever aristocratic ideals or tendencies may have existed among individual nomadic clans, 'hybridization' was never conceived by the nomad as an evil in itself. The constant formation and desintegration of enormous confederacies promoted inter breeding in the steppe and especially on its fringe, on the frontiers of the great peripheral civilizations of China, Persia, and Rome. Intermarriage, in peace and war, repeatedly created mixed racial types and individuals who often were, in the words of the Venetian, *plus beaux hommes que les autres mescréans et plus sages* and who as often obtained *la seigneurie* over their pure-blooded relatives.

The 'mongers' of Central Asia have always been 'mongrels'. It would seem, therefore, that for a better understanding of the history of the steppe, emphasis should be laid not on ascertaining the location of the 'original home' of this or that group of nomads, but on investigating the emplacement of this or that politico geographical crucible from which, mixed with other ingredients, it emerged on the historical scene, not on the study of "the path of migration" of, let us say the Bulgars, from "their ancestral home in Central Asia," but on the analysis of the interplay of forces which produced the *bul'ya* — 'mixture,' without which there could have been no Bulgars.

position to the left of the center [cf *Tang Shu* 217B, where Su ho is translated by Chin 左]. Distinction is often drawn between the nucleus of a nomadic union and the 'federati' or occupants of the original pastures and the 'emigrants'. Thus the name of the Tartar is probably derived from the *tat* on which see THOMSEN *Turcica*, in *Samlede Afhandlinger* 3, 102-105, while the terms *Tolis* and *Tardu*s of the Orkhon inscriptions are based on the second distinction.

⁸³ See note 77 and J. NÉMETZ, *op cit*. As shown by Marquart in *Über das Volkstum der Komänen* [cf Pelliot's review of this work in *JA* 1920]. Polovtsi [the Russian name of Kumans, germ. Falben] is derived from *paldry* — 'fallow,' possibly from the color of their horses. I am inclined to interpret their *tk* name as **Qum man* — 'sand like' — 'sand-colored' and قس المي *quman aty* [MARQUART, *op cit* 58-64] as 'with sand-colored horses'.

⁸⁴ Cf especially LIGETI *Die Herkunft des Volksnamens Kirgis Korös: Csoma Archivum* 1, 369-383.

⁸⁵ Another great semi-turkish political organization which derives its name from a term meaning mixed [again one of great antiquity on the Asiatic continent] is that of the Khazars. On the root **Kas* cf MARQUART [Markwart], *Woher stammt der Name Kaukasus?* in *Caucasica* 6, esp. p. 29.

FINANCIAL DIFFICULTIES OF THE EDO BAKUFU¹

SAWADA SHŪ² 澤田 亨

TRANSLATED BY HUGH BORTON FROM *Kokushū Gaku* VOL. 22 FEB 1935, PP. 1-20

THE MILITARY³ AS A HIGH CLASS IDLE PEOPLE IN A PEACEFUL WORLD

The government of the Edo Period was especially a militaristic organization. Though such a government was obviously an advantageous one in the midst of a warring world, it had no social significance in a peaceful one.

A concomitant of peaceful society was the development of cities. Ex-

¹江戸幕府 This is the usual term for the form of government under the Tokugawa Shōguns centering at Edo from 1603 to 1868. Bakufu literally means tent government hence warlord government. [Unless there is a contrary indication all notes are by the translator.]

²Professor S. Sawada was born Feb. 3, 1876, the second son of Shinzaburō Sakuragi, a farmer in Nakashima District of Aichi Prefecture. After entering primary school he led his class in scholarship but in order to continue his studies he found it necessary to enter Middle School secretly, to which his father strenuously objected. In 1896 he entered Shiritzu Kokugakuin University 私立國學院大學 where he graduated in 1897. In 1899 he received an appointment at the Tōkyō Imperial University Library and in 1907 changed his name to Sawada after marrying a daughter of that family in Kyōto. In 1908 he became a librarian at Tōkyō Imperial University and a lecturer the next year at Shiritzu Kokugakuin University specializing in modern history. After 1911 he had charge of the compilation of works for the Mitsui Family 三井家 and in 1923 took charge of Kokugakuin University Library. He became head librarian in 1927 and also held until his death the post of full time professor of history at that university. Died Dec. 31, 1934.

His chief works include *Nihon Shōkō Shi* 日本商工史 (A History of Japanese Commerce and Industry) 1 vol. 1900. *Sokumenkan Bakumatsu Shi* 側面觀幕末史 (A side view of the history of the last days of the Tokugawa Shōgunate) 1 Vol. 1905. *Nihon Gaka Jiten* 日本畫家辭典 (Dictionary of Japanese Artists) 2 Vol. 1927. *Meiji Zasshi no Kiseki Kenkyū* 明治財政の基礎的研究 (Studies in the Foundations of Meiji finances) 1 Vol. 1934. Cf. FUJII Sawada Sensei Etsureki Shitagaki *Kokushū Gaku* 澤田先生隱匿下書き, 國史學 Feb. 1935 pp. 106 et seq.

³武士階級 The Bushi or military class were one of the four main groups of society in the Edo Period.

travagant customs arose with the financial power of the larger merchants following the prosperity of industry. This extravagance, appearing in all spheres, from the necessities of life to its diversions, had a decided influence on the development of all forms of culture, while naturally enough the development of industry was quickened by this luxury.

Thus all phases of economic life underwent a gradual enlargement. Since the military class had to live in the same mode in spite of being unproductive, naturally its members must have felt economic pressure in their life. The financial distress of both the daimyō 大名 and *hatamoto* 旗本 warriors increased with the years. Kumazawa Banzan* 熊澤番山 said in the 17th century that the total debts of the various feudal lords aggregated a hundred times the amount of coin in circulation in all the provinces, while later on, Satō Shinen* 佐藤信淵 asked whether the

* Direct retainers of the Tokugawa shōguns

* (EDITOR'S NOTE) Kumazawa Ryōkai 了介 (1618 1691) was a well known Confucianist. His name was Hakukei 伯繼 and his agnomina were Banzan and Sokuryōken 立遊軒. He began his study of Chinese classics with the Chu Hsi commentaries, but later, under the well known philosopher Nakae Tōju 中江藤樹 he familiarized himself with Wang Yang-ming's 王陽明 doctrines. In 1645 he was invited by the feudal lord Ikeda Mitsumasa 池田光政 and took part in the administration of the fief, highly improving agriculture and economic conditions. In 1656, having fallen from a horse and hurt his arms and legs, he resigned from his administrative post and went to Kyōto, where many court nobles and officials became his pupils. He discussed with them topics in economics and government. In 1666 secret reports were sent to the chief official of the shōgun's government in Kyōto concerning the teaching of Kumazawa. It was pointed out that his opinions were not always friendly to the Edo government. In order to avoid difficulties with the Kyōto governor Kumazawa fled and for several years lived in different places. In 1687 the shōgun ordered him to settle in Shimosa. From here Kumazawa sent a letter to the shōgun discussing necessary reforms in the administration. For this advice he was jailed. Cf *Da Nihon Jimmes Jisho* 大日本人名辭書, p. 622. Kumazawa Ryōkai is the author of many books on rural economics and administration, as well as on Chinese classics and Japanese literature. Cf SAMURA Hachiro 佐村八郎, *Kokushokaidai* 國書解題 (Bibliography of Japanese Books), where his bibliography is given under the title of *Kōkyō Gaiden Wakumon* 孝經外傳問. Cf also GALEN M. FISHER, Kumazawa Banzan, *TASJ* 45, 139-175.

* Sato Shinen, 1773-1849. He is also known under the name of Nobuhiro which is a different reading of the two characters forming his name. Undertaking the study of Dutch and economics, he became a well known scholar in rural economics. He travelled all over Japan and as adviser to many feudal lords, improved the economic administration of many fiefs. He was also interested in strategy and discussed these questions with the feudal lords. His many publications include works on rural economy, strategy, and a book on European history. Cf *Da Nihon Jimmes Jisho**, p. 797.

assertion could not be made that among the feudal lords there was not stored up even 300,000 *ryō* *

THE REAL POWER OF THE BAKUFU FROM AN ECONOMIC POINT OF VIEW

When the Edo Bakufu is considered from an economic point of view, the real power of this government reached its apex under the third shogun, Iemitsu 家光 (1603-1651), and henceforth it supported itself by mere inertia. Not only was the power and strength of the Bakufu far less than was universally believed, but also when its regulations became formalized in every respect, capable people everywhere were blotted out. In such a society, even though the Bakufu was gradually losing its power economically, it did not quickly collapse, since the governing group exercised special privileges. There came a time nevertheless in this period of peace, prosperity and luxurious living, when the country was lifted out of its temporary idleness.

The government, receiving external stimulus from the incidental arrival of foreign warships, and reaching a situation where it must face the power of the whole country, found its internal defects exposed. The people, who until now had been passing their days in a dream world, were awakened for the first time. Pulled along by the force of the rest of the world, the ports were unavoidably opened, and commerce and trade were carried on. Because the defective monetary system had far reaching influence, the finances of the Bakufu were seized by an inevitable fate. Even though there had not been the external stimulus of the foreign warships, the finances of the government would have been in distress.

THE ECONOMIC POLICY OF IEYASU 家康 *

When the Bakufu was first established by Ieyasu, he wished to control the country with simplicity and economy. He paid great heed to finance, saying 'If stringent economy is not followed then the state cannot be governed well. Whoever becomes extravagant will automatically and gradually fall into distress, thereby support will be lacking to carry out our military preparations completely. To fail in one's duty is a great

* *ryō* 兩 was the unit of money equal to 4 *bu* 分 or 16 *shu* 朱. One *ryō* equalled roughly one *en* 圓 and one *ryo* of gold equalled 60 *momme* 匁 of silver. A *momme* equals 3.75 grams. Cf. HONJO E. *The Social and Economic History of Japan* Vol. 1 Kyōto 1935 pp. 371.

* Tokugawa 徳川 Ieyasu was born in 1542 founder of the Tokugawa Shōgunate or Bakufu and first Shōgun from 1603 to 1605. He continued to control the government after abdication until his death in 1616.

mistake" In criticizing Ieyasu, Gamo Ujisato 蒲生氏郷⁹ said "He was a man who undertook only what he could accomplish and avoided what was beyond his powers," which is an ideal criticism of him

There appear in two separate works¹⁰ the famous story illustrating Ieyasu's eagerness to save and store up riches The tale says that he could neither forget nor treat lightly the throwing away of a single scrap of white cloth for a sleeve He transmitted this spirit to his descendants, concerning himself only with the need of the country Continually keeping his purse shut he was even better versed in proper economics than was Hideyoshi 秀吉¹¹

Not only did Ieyasu economize in order to store up riches but he also planned to increase his supply of precious metals and encouraged foreign trade for its profit The work of mining gold and silver, which arose at the end of the Muromachi Period 室町, 1392-1490, reached its greatest productivity from 1592-1615 Hideyoshi cast the special coin, the *oban*,¹² as well as hoarded metal in his Ōsaka Castle As for Ieyasu, he appointed Ōkubo Nagayasu, Iwami no Kami 大久保長安石見守,¹³ to mine the

⁹ 1557-1596 Daimyō of Ōmi a follower of both Nobunaga and Hideyoshi and a close observer of Ieyasu

¹⁰ *Amano Itsuwa* 天野逸話 anecdotes of court and country and *Sumpu Miyage* 駿府土産 which is probably a misprint for *Suruga Miyage* 駿河土産 a contemporary account of some events in Ieyasu's life during his stay in Suruga by DAIDOJI Shigesuke 大道寺重祐 (1639-1730) known also under his agnomen Yūzan 友山 The book has been reprinted in the *Zoku Shiseki Shūran* 續史籍集覽 Vol. 8 pp. 171-193

¹¹ Toyotomi Hideyoshi 豊臣秀吉 (1536-1598) was made regent *Kampaku* in 1585 after which he became undisputed ruler of Japan The following year he received the surname Toyotomi his sister being married to Ieyasu

¹² This *oban* 大判 coin was equal to seven *ryō* and two *bu* of about 44 *momme* weight See note 7

¹³ 1545-1613 He was from the Kai 甲斐 province and served the lord Takeda Shingen 武田信玄 After the fall of the Takeda family (1591) he went to Suruga and stayed with Ieyasu The latter ordered him to make a search for gold and silver which he found in Izu and started to send to Ieyasu He accumulated great wealth in various questionable ways and lived in a luxurious manner having many concubines After his death since his son did not treat the father's concubines according to the terms of the will some of them sent a complaint to the government Officials were astonished to find such great wealth in Ōkubo's house and after a search they found documents which proved that Ōkubo Nagayasu was fomenting a plot against the Tokugawa and had had important correspondence with foreigners His elder son and several retainers were jailed and punished by death

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* *ryō* 両 was the unit of money equal to 4 *bu* 分 or 16 *shu* 朱. One *ryō* equalled roughly one *en* 圓 and one *ryō* of gold equalled 60 *momme* 匁 of silver. A *momme* equals 3.75 grams. Cf. HOSIJO I., *The Social and Economic History of Japan* Vol. I, Kyoto 1935 pp. 371.

* Tokugawa 徳川 Ieyasu was born in 1542 founder of the Tokugawa Shōgunate or Bakufu and first Shōgun from 1603 to 1605. He continued to control the government after abdication until his death in 1616.

mistake" In criticizing Ieyasu, Gamo Ujisato 蒲生氏郷* said "He was a man who undertook only what he could accomplish and avoided what was beyond his powers," which is an ideal criticism of him

There appear in two separate works¹⁰ the famous story illustrating Ieyasu's eagerness to save and store up riches The tale says that he could neither forget nor treat lightly the throwing away of a single scrap of white cloth for a sleeve He transmitted this spirit to his descendants, concerning himself only with the need of the country Continually keeping his purse shut he was even better versed in proper economics than was Hideyoshi 秀吉¹¹

Not only did Ieyasu economize in order to store up riches but he also planned to increase his supply of precious metals and encouraged foreign trade for its profit The work of mining gold and silver, which arose at the end of the Muromachi Period 室町, 1392 1490, reached its greatest productivity from 1592 1615 Hideyoshi cast the special coin, the *oban*,¹² as well as hoarded metal in his Ōsaka Castle As for Ieyasu, he appointed Ōkubo Nagayasu, Iwami no Kami 大久保長安石見守,¹³ to mine the

* 1507 1596 Daimyō of Ōmi a follower of both Nobunaga and Hideyoshi and a close observer of Ieyasu

¹⁰ *Amano Itsuwa* 天野逸話 anecdotes of court and country and *Sumpu Miyage* 駿府土産 which is probably a misprint for *Suruga Miyage* 駿河土産 a contemporary account of some events in Ieyasu's life during his stay in Suruga by DAIDOJI Shigesuke 大道寺重祐 (1639 1730) known also under his agnomen Yuzan 友山 The book has been reprinted in the *Zoku Shiseki Shuran* 積史籍集覽 Vol 8 pp 171 1930

¹¹ Toyotomi Hideyoshi 豊臣秀吉 (1536 1598) was made regent *Kampaku* in 1585 after which he became undisputed ruler of Japan The following year he received the surname Toyotomi his sister being married to Ieyasu

¹² This *oban* 大判 coin was equal to seven *ryō* and two *bu* of about 44 *momme* weight See note 7

¹³ 1545 1613 He was from the Kai 甲斐 province and served the lord Takeda Shingen 武田信玄 After the fall of the Takeda family (1581) he went to Suruga and stayed with Ieyasu The latter ordered him to make a search for gold and silver which he found in Izu and started to send to Ieyasu He accumulated great wealth in various questionable ways and lived in a luxurious manner having many concubines After his death since his son did not treat the father's concubines according to the terms of the will some of them sent a complaint to the government Officials were astonished to find such great wealth in Ōkubo's house and after a search they found documents which proved that Ōkubo Nagayasu was fomenting a plot against the Tokugawa and had had important correspondence with foreigners His elder son and several retainers were jailed and punished by death

gold and silver ore in Sado 佐度, Izu 伊豆 and Kai 甲斐;^{13*} and learning of the art of metallurgy in the West, he charged the missionary, Jeromino de Jesus,¹⁴ to summon mining engineers. Again at the time of the return of the Governor-General of the Philippines, Don Rodrigo de Vivero, he sent a request for a mission of mining engineers and ship-building experts. Because of his attention to mining gold and silver ore, an unusually large amount was produced. Following the advice of Gotō Mitsutsugu 後藤光次 and Sueyoshi Toshikata 末吉利方, he ordered utterance of the *ōban*, *koban* and *ichibuhan* coins, ordered two silver coins cast and issued for circulation, and planned to fill the government store houses.

As for foreign trade, he used every effort to increase facilities for its growth. It was his plan not only to open the harbors, towns and cities of the entire country to trade, but also to begin trade with Nuova Espania, or Mexico. There was a surprising number of Japanese who travelled abroad at this time to such places as the South Seas, Annam, and Siam. This tendency continued paramount even after Ieyasu's death, but following 1624,¹⁵ and the decree closing the country, trade gradually ceased completely.

THE LEGACY OF IEYASU

In 1605 when Ieyasu retired and transferred the office of Shōgun to his son, Hidetada 秀忠, 1579-1632,¹⁶ all the gold and silver in the Edo Treasury, which is reported to have been 150,000 *ōban* and *koban* pieces, and 13,000 *kan*¹⁷ of silver, was handed over to him. Moreover, Ieyasu

^{13*} Sado is an island off the N W coast of Japan. Izu and Kai were provinces S W of Edo in the fief of Tokugawa Ieyasu. The *Kembunshu* records the following: "The island of Sado was a treasure island composed of gold and silver only. These products were shipped in boxes of 12 *lamme* each, one hundred of such boxes constituting a ship load for uniform vessels of fifty horse loads each. Every year five or ten vessels left Sado in fair weather and arrived at a port of Echigo province." Cf. TAKEKOSHI, Yosaburo, *The Economic Aspects of the History of the Civilization of Japan*, 3 Vols., London, 1930, Vol. II, p. 38 and Vol. I, p. 545-555.

¹⁴ Jérôme de Jesus, a Franciscan born in Lisbon, came to Japan in 1594, was expelled in 1596, returned in 1597, and died in 1602.

¹⁵ Although the Kanel Period 寛永 extends from 1624-1643, the so called *Sakoku Rei* 鎖国令 referred to here was issued in the 7th month of 1639.

¹⁶ Second Tokugawa Shōgun from 1605-1622, the 3rd son of Ieyasu. In 1622 he abdicated in favor of his son Iemitsu.

¹⁷ The *kan* 貫 or *lamme* 兩 is a weight equal to 1000 *momme* or 375 kilograms. See note 7.

hoarded a vast amount even during the period of his retirement in Suruga 駿河, and in 1616 after his death, when the treasury at Kunozaan 久能山 was examined, it contained the following

4953 boxes of silver containing 10 <i>lamme</i> each	
	Total 49,530 <i>lamme</i>
470 boxes of gold containing 2,000 <i>ryo</i> each	
	Total 940,000 <i>ryo</i>
550 <i>lamme</i> of separate silver coins ¹⁸	

Furthermore the following articles were distributed from Ieyasu's possessions¹⁹

270 <i>lamme</i> of aloes wood for incense	
50 <i>lamme</i> of aloes wood for incense	
251 bundles of woolen cloth	
565 <i>tan</i> ²⁰ of <i>seten</i> cloth (foreign made satin?)	
271 pieces unweighed cloth	
371 bundles of <i>serukita</i> (corruption for silkets?)	
130 bundles of velvet	
129 " embroidered cloth	
1271 " damask silk	
122 " figured satin	
309 " " "	
282 " thin silk twill	
1056 <i>hiki</i> ²¹ of picked silk thread	
431 <i>tan</i> armored cloth	
275 <i>lamme</i> raw silk	

These goods all came from abroad and although many of them were presents, doubtless some of them were not²²

Also we learn from the *Amano Itsuwa* 天野逸話²³ and *Maebashi Kikigaki* 前橋聞書²⁴ that Ieyasu did not have a very good reputation

¹⁸ Cf. 久能山御藏金銀受取帳 Receipts of Kunozaan Treasury

¹⁹ Cf. 駿府御物御道具帳 The Register of Articles at Sumpu or Suruga

²⁰ A *tan* 反 is a bolt of cloth from 30-45 feet in length

²¹ A *hiki* 匹 equals two *tan*

²² I omit here a reference to the purchase of lead by Ieyasu prior to 1616 appearing in Richard Cock's diary as this seems like an irrelevant reference

²³ See note 10

²⁴ An account of the strife during feudal Japan up to the early Tokugawa period with comments on the *Daimyō* and *Bushi*

among the people because of his speculation in rice and other products on a fluctuating market, from which it appears he was a financier who cleverly looked for profit.

At the time of the third Shogun, Iemitsu 家光,²⁵ 1624-1643, when the Nikkō 日光 Mausoleum was being built, 568,000 *ryo* of gold, 100 *lamme* of silver and 1,000 *loku*²⁶ of rice were used, while during the Amakusa 天草 Revolt,²⁷ 398,000 *ryo* of gold was paid out from the Ōsaka Treasury. Moreover, the savings in the government store houses were becoming exhausted by the lending of stored gold from the treasury to help the Edo warriors and *hatamoto*, as well as by the reconstruction of the Edo castle after its demolition by fire. In other words, the finances of the Bakufu became depleted from this time on

BEGINNINGS OF THE FINANCIAL DIFFICULTIES OF THE BAKUFU

During the time of the fourth Shogun, Ietsuna 家綱,²⁸ there occurred the famous conflagration of 1657²⁹ when more than 160,000 *ryo* of gold was lent to the sufferers, then followed the reconstruction of the Edo castle and the second rebuilding of the Imperial Palace at Kyoto. As has been said before, the government coffers were thus gradually emptying. A proposal was made at this time by the officials of the gold guild that silver coins be cast in addition to the gold ones, but this was not allowed. After the fire of 1657, 20 ingots of gold³⁰ were made from the melted gold bullion and were stored as money for military use. The government had not yet reached the point of financial distress.

During the following period of the fifth Shogun, Tsunayoshi 綱吉,³¹ and up to 1703 the financial condition of the Bakufu was most precarious. Tsunayoshi was a great believer in Buddhism and spent enormous sums of money for the erection of temples and monasteries. At one time the Shōgun wished 100,000 *ryō* for a pilgrimage to Nikko and was surprised when he realized for the first time that it was doubtful whether he could

²⁵ 1603-1651. He was third shōgun, 1622-1651.

²⁶ A *loku* 石 of rice equals 4 00 *bu* or 180 liters, at that time the price equalled 23 30 *momme* of silver.

²⁷ This is more commonly called the Shimabara 島原 Revolt of 1637-1638.

²⁸ 1639-1680. He was shōgun, 1651-1680.

²⁹ This fire in Edo spoken of as the Meireki 明暦 fire, was in the first month of 1657 when more than 18,000 perished.

³⁰ This metal was called *fundo* 分銅 a weight equal to $\frac{1}{10}$ a *mome* or 58 grains. There must be a misprint here as this is only a very light weight.

³¹ 1646-1709. He was shōgun, 1680-1709.

obtain the money from the treasury. Quickly a tax on goods was imposed, with the distressing result that it was impossible to obtain the money necessary to make up the deficiency of 100,000 *ryō*. Therefore the Minister of Finance, Ogiwara Shigehide 荻原重秀,³² proposed it be supplemented by inflating the currency. It is stated that 5,000,000 *ryō* was obtained for recasting new coin. After this the Bakufu recast the coin whenever in financial difficulties, gradually causing a debasing of the currency and a rise in the price of commodities, with resulting confusion and mal administration.

ARAI HAKUSEKI 新井白石³³ OPPOSES RECASTING OF COIN BY OGIWARA

When Tsunayoshi died in 1709 and Ienobu 家宣³⁴ became the sixth Shogun, it is reported that conditions were such that it was impossible to meet the expenses of ceremonial investiture. Ogiwara Shigehide proposed again recasting the currency. According to his statements, the material income of the Bakufu was 4,000,000 *lokū* in all and the yearly collections were more than 760,000 *ryō* of gold. Deducting from this amount 300,000 *ryō* for salaries, there remains 460,000 *ryō*. When it is considered, however, that the expenditures for the previous year were more than 1,400,000 *ryō* plus some 7,800,000 *ryō* for the construction of the Imperial Palace, the deficit for the year was somewhat more than 1,800,000 *ryō*. Furthermore the savings at this time probably amounted to no more than 370,000 *ryō*, while the immediate expenses were for memorial services for Tsunayoshi during the first forty nine days after his death,³⁵ for the construction of the Spirit Hall, and for the shōgunal investiture ceremony. As there was no way to pay for these, Shigehide demanded that the currency be quickly recast.³⁶

Arai Hakuseki opposed this plan of debasement and at the risk of his life impeached Shigehide. In 1712 he was appointed to the office of

³² 1658-1713. The Minister of Finance of the Tokugawa Government was called *Kanjōbugyō* 勘定奉行.

³³ 1656-1725. His name was Kimiyoshi 君実. He was a statesman and an outstanding historian. His complete works *Arai Hakuseki Zensho* 6 volumes were edited by the Kokusho Hankai 国書刊行會 Tokyo 1907. He was entirely at the service of Tokugawa Ienobu in 1693 following him to Edo in 1709 and remaining there until his death.

³⁴ 1662-1712. Son of Tsunayoshi.

³⁵ Referred to here as *Gochūin* 御中陰.

³⁶ Cf. TAKEKOSHI op cit. Vol. 2 p. 234 where the author states that an income tax of 2 *ryō* on every 100 *lokū* was levied for the first time in Jan. 1708 to relieve the situation.

"Examiner of the Treasury" *Kanjōgumi* 勘定吟味 and carried out great financial reforms, correcting the evils of the various local Bakufu officials. Because of his efforts it is stated that the income from rice levies increased 433,400 bales³⁷ and the Public Works' expenses decreased 38,000 *ryo*³⁸. Unfortunately for the reform Ienobu died prematurely. Hakuseki's proposals were followed by the next Shōgun, Ietsugu 家継³⁹ and the bad currency was recast into good coin like that of Hideyoshi (1596-1614). The policy of guarding the exportation of coin from Nagasaki was enforced by stricter regulations. But the reform was short-lived, for Ietsugu died at an early age.

THE REAL FINANCIAL POWER OF THE BAKUFU

If the foregoing figures of Ogiwara Shūhide are accepted, the income of the Bakufu was 4,000,000 *loku*. In short, what was the real financial power of the Bakufu? Dividing the total income of the various daimyō into external and internal increments, the former amounted to 1,000,000 *loku* and the latter to even more. Though the external total did not change, the internal amount was often greatly increased by the daimyō individually breaking new soil. The same situation existed for the Bakufu so that its exact variations in wealth from year to year are not known. As result of the first inventory of Japanese rice in the time of Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1589-1595) it is stated there was a total of 18,500,043 *loku*. A century later, during the period 1688-1703, examination shows 25,786,920 *loku*. In 1842 the corresponding figure for Japan was 30,435,206 *loku*, to which was added 123,711 *loku* from Ryūkyū to give a total of 30,558,917 *loku*.

ITEMS OF ACCOUNT

Imperial Palace and Ex-emperor	400 247 <i>loku</i>
Bakufu income	4,191,123 "
Total amount from daimyō rated above	
10 000 <i>loku</i>	22,499 497 "
Temples and shrines ⁴⁰ of Bakufu	294,191 "

³⁷ A bale or *ryo* 俵 of rice equals 193 *bu*.

³⁸ The author gives as his sources *Oritaku Shiba no Ki* 折たく柴の記 and *Kenzan Kōtaku Hisaku* 兼山肥田秘策. The former is the autobiography of Arai Hakuseki written in 1716 in Japanese style (cf G. W. Knox, *Autobiography of Arai Hakuseki TASJ* 30, part 2) and the latter are letters of Muro Kyōso 室屋玄左衛門, 1678-1734.

³⁹ 1709-1716. Seventh Shōgun 1713-1716.

⁴⁰ These were called *Shuin Chū* 朱印地 and were temples and shrines given a document by the government freeing them from taxation and forbidding sale or purchase.

Officials ⁴²	179 482 <i>loku</i>
Portion of court nobles temples and shrines exempt from taxes, plus income from all other fiefs	3 354 077 "

Though these figures are taken from the *Sui Jin Roku* ⁴² 吹塵録 the 4,000,000 odd *loku* listed as Bakufu income corresponds with the 4,000,000 Bakufu wealth of Ogiwara Shūgehude

Likewise the *Sui Jin Roku* gives the following average figures for the Bakufu income over ten year periods

	Private domain	External domain
1716 1725	4,120 075 <i>loku</i>	1 395,782 <i>loku</i>
1786 1795	4 392 041 "	1 413 323 "
1832 1841	4 127,153 "	1,334 901 "

What the records call "the 8,000,000 Bakufu domain" seems to be the Bakufu income of 4,190,000 *loku* from its own lands plus the 3,000,000 *loku* from the domains of the *hatamoto* and *bushū*

The annual income of the Bakufu was chiefly from the 4,000,000 *loku* of rice of their private domain, for from external lands they collected from 1,300,000 to 1,400,000 *loku* only ⁴³ Moreover there were various taxes and additional levies of money The following table gives the net result of payments for the year 1843

Annual income in gold	925 099 <i>ryō</i>
Items of account	
Yearly tribute money	550 374 <i>ryō</i>
River boat taxes	3 203 "
Salaries for <i>hatamoto</i>	34 633 "
Presents in gold and silver	16 633 "
Nagasaki grants	22 792 "
Provincial service money	25 932 "
Borrowings and repayments	76 686 "
Presents in kind	146 846 "
Total ⁴⁴	877,099 "

⁴² *Kōke* 商家 were Tokugawa officials in charge of ceremonies and nobles and warriors, *Kōtaiyoriai* 交替寄合 feudal lords with incomes less than 10 000 *loku* and *hatamoto* with incomes of 3 000 *loku* or more alternated in office

⁴³ A 3rd vol collection compiled by Katsu Yasuyoshi 勝安房, 18th 1000 and printed by the Department of Finance in 1890 it treats primarily of the question of Tokugawa finances

⁴⁴ For further lists of income cf TAKAKOSHI *op cit.*, Vol 2 pp 227 and 308 312

⁴⁵ Professor Sawada makes no attempt to explain the difference of 48 000 *ryō* in the above table This is doubtless a result of the posthumous publication of the article

and the Bakufu finances were greatly diminished. However, strict regulations against the warrior class were not enforced so they were allowed to live unhampered, while special excises or income taxes were levied on the wealthy and common people to help fill up the government coffers. If there were any who offered a plan to benefit the country, Tanuma would adopt it. Thus there developed numerous speculators among whom were Hiraga Gennai 平賀源内⁵⁴ and Miura Shosû 三浦莊司 who became Tanuma's favorites.

An example of the policy of Tanuma is his order that all special products from each district be sent to the city market for sale in order to increase the total production of these products, inspection of them being established by the government. However the following tax was taken from the sale price: two *bu* five *rin* of silver for one bolt of silk cloth, and five *bu* of silver for 100 *momme* of silk thread. All goods not officially inspected were destroyed. By 1781 there were established in the forty-seven markets of the provinces of Musashi 武蔵 and Kozuke 上野 ten inspection bureaus. Because there eventually developed all sorts of trouble in collecting this tax, no one bought either silk cloth or thread. This caused the farmers who transported the materials extreme distress so that in 53 villages of the two provinces, there were more than 1,000 people who asked for a cancellation of the transportation tax⁵⁵.

⁵⁴ [Editor's note] 1723-1779. He was born in Sanuki and is known in Japan as a botanist and a writer of farcical novels. He travelled much in Japan and for a time was an interpreter and a customs inspector in Nagasaki controlling the importation of Chinese medical plants. During his stay in this harbor he acquired a knowledge of Dutch. From Nagasaki he came to Ōsaka and Kyōto and spent his time in company with wealthy merchants as their advisor. Some where between 1757-1763 he came to Edo and continued his studies in Confucianism and botany. He was a man of quick temper and refused all propositions to become an official preferring to lead an independent life and to live on what he earned by teaching and publishing books. In 1779 he was involved in a murder case and jailed where he died of small pox. Cf. Karl FLORENZ *Geschichte der japanischen Litteratur* pp. 551-552 Leipzig 1906.

⁵⁵ The author gives as references *Atomu Gusa* 後見草 by SUOTA Gempaku 杉田玄伯 and *Koshi Yakuwa* 甲子夜話 by MATSUURA Sei 松浦清, contemporary accounts. This tax was established in the 7th month. The farmers then petitioned rose in revolt and by the 12th of the next month the revolt had increased to 10,000 men having wrecked the house of nearby officials as well as those of the three men who originally proposed the silk tax to Tanuma. All entrances to the castle town of Takasaki the centre of the silk markets were closed and closely guarded. When an order arrived on the 10th of the 8th month stopping the exchanges the district gradually quieted down. Cf. TAMURA Fitarō 田村笈太郎 *Ikkai Aomozuke Bakufu* — 揆助博徒 1 40th Tokyo 1933.

In 1785 the wealthy persons of Ōsaka were ordered to hand over their savings and the same were to be lent from the Bakufu to the various daimyō, one seventh of the interest being confiscated by the government. This law, called the *Santoku Hō* 三徳法⁵⁶ was strictly enforced. However at times the loans were not paid back by the daimyō though the one seventh of the interest was invariably confiscated by the government. Thus many savings were lost and the policy was in great disfavor. In order to obtain further money to be lent to the daimyō "a tax of three silver *momme* per *ken*"⁵⁷ of frontage for townsmen and 25 *momme* on each hundred *koku* of rice for farmers in all private and public domains in all provinces" was ordered for five years. This was to be collected at Ōsaka and to be lent to the daimyō at seven percent interest. What remained of the interest from these loans, after the government expenses were met, was to be returned to the original lenders. Because of the great unpopularity of this new law, together with the frequent natural calamities, including a flood in the eastern province, it was given up.⁵⁸

Following the advice of the Edo Inspectors and Minister of Finance the powers of the *Machidoshiyori* 町年寄⁵⁹ were made monopolistic, several tens of thousands of gold was confiscated from the exchange shops,⁶⁰ and on temple grounds where a harlot lived a tax was imposed although Tanuma made it his own residence.⁶¹ Thus in various ways part of the wealth of the townsmen and farmers entered the government treasury, saving the warriors from distress. For this historians have given Tanuma high praise which he really does not deserve. He oppressed the townsmen and farmers on one hand and on the other lived in the greatest luxury and extravagance himself. It does not seem probable that he really wished to save the warriors from their economic distress. His policy which resulted in distress and misfortune, even though it filled the Bakufu treasury, does not make him a great economist.⁶²

⁵⁶ James Murdoch *A History of Japan* 3: 400 London 1923.

⁵⁷ A *ken* is a linear measure equal to 1.92 yd.

⁵⁸ J. Murdoch *op cit* 3: 392-401. An account of some of these calamities as well as reference to Tanuma and his policies: see also TSUJI Zennosuke 止善之助 *Tanuma jidai* 田沼時代 1 vol. Tokyo 1915.

⁵⁹ These were officials in charge of the collection of the impost within Edo.

⁶⁰ Cf. *Shoku Sanno Gaidō* 積三子外記 [Author's note].

⁶¹ *San no Shōden Makō* 賤の小田巻 [Author's note].

⁶² Some unimportant omissions have been made in translating this paragraph for the sake of brevity.

and the Bakufu finances were greatly diminished. However, strict regulations against the warrior class were not enforced so they were allowed to live unhampered, while special excises or income taxes were levied on the wealthy and common people to help fill up the government coffers. If there were any who offered a plan to benefit the country, Tanuma would adopt it. Thus there developed numerous speculators among whom were Hiraga Gennai 平賀源内⁴⁴ and Miura Shōsu 三浦莊司 who became Tanuma's favorites.

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⁵⁶ James MURDOCH *A History of Japan* 3 400 London 1925

⁵⁷ A *ken* is a linear measure equal to 1.99 yd

⁵⁸ J. MURDOCH *op cit* 3 392-401. An account of some of these calamities as well as reference to Tanuma and his policies see also TSUJI Zennosuke 止善之助, *Tanuma jidai* 田沼時代 1 vol Tokyo 1915.

⁵⁹ These were officials in charge of the collection of the impost within Edo

⁶⁰ Cf. *Shoku Sanna Gaki* 積三手外記 [Author's note]

⁶¹ *San no Shōden Maki* 賤の小田巻 [Author's note]

⁶² Some unimportant omissions have been made in translating this paragraph for the sake of brevity

Annual expenditure	1,453,209 <i>ryō</i>
Deficit	528,110 <i>ryō</i>
Additional unexpected needs	156,469 "
Total deficit	684,579 "

Though this is only one example, there grew up a yearly deficit of at least 5 600,000 *ryō*. On account of this, those in charge racked their brains to supplement this deficit, for taxation and levies have their limits.⁴⁵ In spite of extraordinary taxes imposed upon the rich merchants from time to time, they were unable to supplement completely this yearly deficit.⁴⁶ Thus the financial regulations for reform usually took the form of recasting the currency which served only as temporary remedy.

RECASTING OF THE CURRENCY BY THE SHŌGUN YOSHIMUNE 吉宗⁴⁷

Although Yoshimune followed the advice of Hakuseki to the previous Shōgun, Ietsugu, to recast the debased currency into good coin like that of the early 17th century, commodity prices fell and rice reached an unprecedented low of 83 bales for 10 *ryo*. On account of this, the *hatamoto*, who lived on a "rice salary" were the most adversely affected.

However, Yoshimune came to follow the advice of Ogiu Sorai 荻生徂來⁴⁸ who admitted that it was impossible to escape from the fall in commodity prices if the total good coin was scarce and that a plentiful debased currency was preferable to an insufficient good currency. There-

⁴⁵ Cf TAKEKOSHI, *op cit*, Vol 2, p 330, where he gives tables showing average surpluses from 1722 as high as 75,504 *koku* of rice and 415,502 *ryō* of gold for a yearly average from 1742 1751. The greatest deficit he estimates to be a yearly average of 7,406 *koku* of rice and 74,415 *ryō* of gold between 1812 1821. As late as 1836 a surplus is noted. A deficit of about 500,000 is quoted for 1831, 1835, and 1842 only. Still more enlightening, and substantially agreeing with the opinion of Professor Sawada above and in the pages that follow, is Professor Honjō's chart showing the deficit of the Shōgun from 1832 to 1842 averaging about 544 000 *ryō*. This deficit, he points out was met by profit from re-coinage, called *deme* (出目). Thus a net surplus in expenditures is noted for all years but 1834, 1835 and 1842. The deficit for the last date being 202,764 *ryō*. Cf HONJŌ *op cit*, pp 293 294.

⁴⁶ In 1813 forced loans (*goyō'in* 御用金) amounting to 6367 *tanme* were collected from rich merchants of Sakai and Hyōgo to assist the financial distress of the Bakufu. This is in contrast to the 1,972 000 *ryō* of forced loans ordered to be collected. Cf HONJŌ, Fijirō, *Tokugawa Bakufu Reika Chōsetsu*, I, 256, 本庄榮治郎, 徳川幕府米價調節 Kyoto, 1924.

⁴⁷ 1694 1751; eighth Shōgun, 1715-45.

⁴⁸ 1666 1724; a Confucian scholar in Edo who founded his own school of thought.

with the coinage was recast in 1736 into *bunji koban* 文字小判 and *ichibu han* 一分判.⁴⁹ Henceforth any reference to recasting meant debasement, while innumerable kinds and varieties of coins were produced and all commodity prices fell.

FINANCES OF THE 10TH SHOGUN, IEHARU

In 1765, Ieharu⁵⁰ 家治 recast the currency following the proposal of his Finance Minister Kawai Hisayoshi 川井久敬, Echizen no Kami 越前守, making a bad quality of the *go momme gin* 五匁銀 (half silver and half copper), but the people disliked it and would not use it. In 1772 were cast the *nanryo nishugin*⁵¹ 南鐐二朱銀 (eight equalled one *ryo* of gold), which on account of their convenience came to be highly valued by everyone. Also gold had an unusually high price abroad at this time, being more than three times that in Japan. Thus it was that the custom of importing silver, changing it for gold, and returning home with the latter, flourished among the Hollanders who came to Nagasaki. This was an additional cause for the depleted treasuries of the government after 1818.⁵²

Although no further depreciation of the currency occurred during this time, yet it was the age of the despotic government of Tanuma Okitsugu 田沼重次,⁵³ when public bribery and extravagance reached their limit.

⁴⁹ For a general account of finance in Japan cf. TAKIZAWA U. *The Penetration of Money Economy in Japan* 1 vol. New York 1907 especially chap. 11. For a treatment of coins cf. MUNRO Neil Gordon *Coins of Japan* 1 186-215 Yokohama, 1904.

⁵⁰ 1737-1786 tenth Shōgun 1760-1786.

⁵¹ The actual value of this coin was less than the order making eight equal one *ryō*. The quotation in Osaka was ten to one as merchants were used to only a silver standard. Cf. TAKEKOSHI op. cit. 3 140.

⁵² Cf. KURITA Mototsugu 栗田元次 *Edo Jidai* 江戸時代 in *Sōgō Nihon Shi Taikan* 総合日本史大系 9 414 Tokyo 1907 where ARAI Hakuseki is quoted as giving the outflow of gold and silver from 1601-1707 at 7 190 800 *ryō* and 1 120 607 *kan* of silver.

⁵³ [Editor's note] 1710-1788. He was a samurai of the Ku province. His father Motoyuki 亡行 was an official in Tokugawa Yoshimune's court and came to Edo in 1716 accompanying his lord who became the eighth Shōgun. Mototsugu embraced also an administrative career and served the ninth and tenth shōguns. In 1758 he received the fief of Tōtōmi 遠江 with an income of 20 000 *koku* of rice. In 1767 he was appointed *sobayōnin* 側用人. In 1769 he received the important post of *rōchu* 老中 and his income was raised to 57 000 *koku* of rice. Till the death of shōgun Ieharu in 1786 Mototsugu was a very influential statesman but after the tenth shōgun's death he was deprived of his position and even his income was curtailed.

FINANCES OF THE 11TH SHOGUN

The latter half of the age of Ienari 家齊⁶³ is called the Period of Cultural Government (*kasei jidai* 化政時代). Though this period was that in which the Edo culture reached its highest expression, the distress of the national treasury was beyond imagination. Between 1818-1829 numerous coins were cast.⁶⁴ During the next period, 1830-1843 still others⁶⁵ were cast, among which the *ni shukin* was by far the worst. The Minister of Finance of the time, Okamoto Jiro 岡本次郎, would not allow discussion of this bad policy and was subsequently dismissed.⁶⁶

The currency was so far debased that the financial position of the Bakufu was desperate and it seems inevitable that the government would have been destroyed even if there had been no foreign ships coming from abroad. Their arrival, however, gave an immense stimulus to its downfall.

THE COMING OF THE FOREIGN SHIPS EXPOSES THE DEFECTS OF
BAKUFU FINANCES

There is no need for a detailed account of the coming of Western battleships. American ships arrived off Uraga in 1853 asking for mutual commerce. In March 1854 the Treaty of Kanagawa was signed binding the signatories to friendship, the supply of fuel, water and provisions to ships, and the opening of the two harbors, Shimoda 下田 and Hakodate 函館. With this as a precedent, English ships soon called at Nagasaki,

⁶³ 1773-1841, eleventh shōgun, 1786-1837

⁶⁴ For the sake of convenience I give the names of these coins and their epigraphs as follows: *Shinryū Nibu Han* 眞字二分判 *Sōgi Ichibu Han* 草字一分判, *Sōbun Jigin* 草文字銀, *Sōgi Nibu Han* 草字二分判 *Isshū Kin* 一朱金, *Isshū Gin* 一朱銀 and the *Nishū Gin* 二朱銀. The *Isshū Kin* was printed in 1824 and sixteen equalled one *ryō* of gold. As this was the Bunsei Period many of the coins were called by that name. Of the *Shinryū Nibu Han*, 2,980,000 were issued at a profit of 200,000 *ryō*, this was followed in 1828 by the *Sōbun Nibu Han*, having only 8-1/2% gold content, the *Sōbun Jigin* was issued in 1820 to check the fall in price of silver. It contained only 30% silver but was made equal to the *Nanryō Nishū* of 1772. Cf. TAKEKOSHI, op. cit. 3, 209-215.

⁶⁵ *Goryōban* 五兩判, *Ichibu Han* (Hōji Kin) 一分判 (保子金), *Nishū Kin* 二朱金, *Ichibu Gin* 一分金, also called *Kagin* 花銀, *Chōgin* 丁銀, *Mameita Gin* 豆板銀, and finally *Tōhyakusen* 當百錢 or *Tempō Tsūhō* 天保通寶. These coins are often referred to as Tempō 天保 or Hōji 保字 coins taking the name from the period.

⁶⁶ *Kendō Ichibu Han* 懐中一文 [Author's note]. It is reported that the shōgun made a profit of 9,000,000 *ryō* through various re-coinages between 1824-1837. Cf. TAKEKOSHI, op. cit. 3, 209.

asked for a commercial treaty, and were granted one opening Nagasaki and Hakodate. These three ports were also opened to Russia by treaty. Thereafter, in contrast to the restriction of trade with the Hollanders at Nagasaki, various treaties were signed.⁶⁷ Harris came to Shimoda as American consul and negotiated with the Bakufu an amendment to the Kanagawa Treaty and a new one devoted to commerce. This treaty of fourteen articles and six sections on trade opened the port of Kanagawa in place of Shimoda, and Nagasaki, Nagata 新潟 and Hyogo 兵庫 in addition to Hakodate. It permitted Americans to reside in Edo and Osaka for the purpose of trade.

Following this, France, Russia, England and Holland bound themselves to treaties roughly similar to that of America. The question of circulation of internal foreign currency was settled as well as that of customs taxes. By the treaty, foreign currency should circulate with the same kind and weight of Japanese currency (that is comparing them by the same weight and kind of gold) and foreign currency was settled as well as that of customs dues. By the treaty, foreign currency should circulate with the same kind and weight of Japanese currency. Providing these coins were of the same sort, they were to be exchanged and circulated without discussion as to their good or bad quality, at the rate of one western dollar for three Japanese silver *bu* coins.⁶⁸ No note was taken, however, on the question of the comparative price in Japan, in which there was a great difference. At that time the exchange rate between gold and silver abroad varied between one to fifteen and one to nineteen, while the exchange rate in Japan was fixed at five to twenty four and in the cities at six to thirty-six. In other words, gold was comparatively cheaper at home than abroad.

Thus the defects of the currency regulations in Japan were disclosed through this foreign trade. Foreign merchants, taking advantage of their unusual opportunity, would exchange one *bu* silver coins for *loban* pieces and through the price of gold reap a great profit. There were not a few people who learning of this profit, would go to Shanghai and Hongkong with western silver, make counterfeit one *bu* silver coins, and offer them in exchange for gold coins. The foreign merchants monopolized this trade and made a vast profit in several months. There is an interesting story about a member of the crew of an American battleship who

⁶⁷ For a detailed account of this treaty cf. TREAT Payson J., *Diplomatic Relations between U S and Japan 1853-1893*, 2 vols., California 1932 Vol. 1 pp 58-59. Cf also MURDOCH op cit 3 568.

⁶⁸ *ichibu gin* — 分銀

came to Yokohama in 1857. Hearing of the profit in the trading of gold and silver, he resigned his post, became a merchant, and with the profit he made, built up a magnificent company for himself.

Because a foreign silver dollar was exchangeable for three Japanese *ichibu* silver coins, and the comparative price of gold differed, the Bakufu realized that commodity prices were becoming very low. Consequently in the fifth month of 1855 the currency was recast into new *nishu gin* 二朱銀 silver coins, and *seiy koban* 正字小判 and *ichibu han* 一分判 coppers. This new *nishu gin* coin was larger than the former one,⁶⁹ its weight was 2 *momme* and 6 *bu* (85% silver and 15% copper), and two were exchangeable for one foreign silver dollar. In this way its weight was equated to that of the foreign dollar, and it was accordingly ordered to be circulated for use in trading. However, the *nishu gin* coin had the value of one half a *bu*, that is two pieces of four *shu* equalled a *bu*. Because two pieces of this new coin naturally circulated within the country⁷⁰ as before for one *bu*, the result in the realm of foreign trade was to place it on the same level with the western silver dollar and one *ichibu gin* coin. In other words, the price of western silver rapidly fell to a third of its value. Also in the purchase of Japanese goods, three times the former price was received.⁷¹

The Bakufu officials believed they could raise the Japanese commodity prices by this temporizing means, but the foreigners would not accept it. They presented a protest to the Bakufu and would not trade unless there was a reform in the market value of the currency. Saying they would disregard the treaties, they rejected the new *nishu gin* coins and demanded the exchange of one western silver dollar for three *ichibu gin* coins should be fixed by treaty. After various negotiations, their demands were finally approved and the new *nishu gin* coin was prohibited. Thus in the eighth month, with an inflation of *ichibu gin* coins, the silver of equal quality to the western silver, an unprecedented debasement occurred. At that time the American Consul, Harris, unable to bear the sight of the disorderly Japanese currency regulations, sent an official document to the Bakufu Ministers in the eleventh month of the same year. Therein he explained the various evils resulting from the flow of currency abroad, and discussed the reasons for urgent need of new currency reform. In order to raise the price of gold coin, he earnestly advocated advancing the exchange rate from four to twelve or thirteen silver

⁶⁹ *Op cit* p. 20 note 3.

⁷⁰ TAKEKOSHI *op cit* 3 318.

ichibu gin as equivalent to one gold *ryo koban* ¹¹ However, the foreigners did not fully understand the Japanese coinage regulations, and judging the quality of the *ichibu gin* coin in circulation, they formed a policy for Japan from which they would lose no profits. As the Bakufu believed that if they followed this policy, the currency regulations and commodity prices would become more disorderly, they could not accept it. In fact the regulation that four *ichibu gin* coins were exchangeable for one *ryō* of gold was determined from the beginning because one *ryō* of gold equalled 60 *momme* of silver and four *ichibu gin* coins also equalled that amount.

The depreciation of the currency continued. Most noteworthy was the recasting in 1859 of the *ichibu gin* coin in which the content of sixty *momme* per four coins deteriorated to merely nine *momme* and two *bu*. This circulated then simply because it had the Bakufu official seal of approval. A fundamental reform in the regulations would be so extremely grave, that the government could not decide to follow Harris' advice. Moreover, if the price of silver fell together with such a reform, there would be no escape from an unusual rise in the price of common commodities. In fact, the Bakufu was faced with decided distress. In order to prevent further flow of gold coin abroad, the total amount of foreign silver which foreign merchants could exchange was limited and a complete record kept. However, this minor policy was unable to stop the outflow of gold coin. Inevitably the western silver dollar circulated, and in the twelfth month of 1859 foreign silver coins of seven *momme* were ordered by the silver guild to circulate for three *ichibu gin* coins. Their use, however, was not extensive. In the fifth month of the following year, the official seal was withheld and the old *chōgin* 丁銀 were initiated, their use being optional for the merchants.

On account of this situation and because of the bad balance of trade, the following coins were recast for circulation in 1860

- 3 *ryo* 1 *bu* 2 *shū* gold for 1 *ryō hōjī koban* ¹²
 2 *bu* 2 *shū* gold for 1 *ryō hōjī ichibu han*
 2 *ryō* 2 *bu* 3 *shū* gold for 1 *ryō shōjī koban*
 2 *bu* 3 *shū* gold for 1 *ryō shōjī ichibu han* ¹³

¹¹ Ibid 325-328

¹² This *Hōjī Koban* 保字小判 is not listed among those issued in 1830-1843 above but was a coin of one-third the weight and contained five-eighths the gold content of the *goryōban*. See *supra*, note 6.

¹³ These *Shōjī* 正字 coins were cast in 1859.

II Chapitre 13, en 25 sections non numérotées

Entièrement consacre aux *samadhī* de Taravidyaraññī

- III { 10 chapitres numérotés 1-12 (la numérotation passe de 1 à 4),
 qui forment le "Grand Secret" (*gsan chen* = *mahaguhya*)
 5 chapitres non numérotés
 1 chapitre numéroté 11 et qui porte la même désignation que
 le chap. 11 de la section I
 8 chapitres non numérotés, appendice (*phyi-ma*) de l'*Urdhva-
 tamahatantra*

Contient des rites magiques dont quelques uns, particuliers à Brahma, Trisankhu Īśvara, les quatre Lokapala, Garuda,⁵ Vemacitra, etc., sont exposés par chacune de ces divinités. Contient aussi *in fine* un rituel d'Hayagriva.

La comparaison des deux *mulakalpa* s'imposait. Je l'ai faite en confrontant non seulement le *Manjusrimulakalpa* et le *Tāramulakalpa* tibétains, mais, ce qui est plus instructif, le *Manjusrimulakalpa* sanskrit et le *Tāramulakalpa* tibétain. Voici ce que ce travail apporte comme certitudes et comme indices.

- La première section du *Tāramulakalpa*, est un démarquage des 13 premiers et des 3₄ du 14^e chapitre du *Manjusrīm*⁶ actuel.
- Ce morceau n'est pas une copie de la version tibétaine du *Mañjuśrī mulakalpa* : le style est différent, il est plus élégant, souvent plus près du sanskrit. De plus, le traducteur a eu entre les mains un texte sanskrit plus correct que celui qu'a édité Ganapati Sastrī.⁷ Les fragments versifiés sont mieux conservés et certains passages qui manquent à cette édition et qui ont parfois été omis ou maltraités, soit par la version chinoise, soit par la version tibétaine, peuvent être rétablis grâce au *Tāramulakalpa*.
- C'est un ouvrage dédié à Mañjuśrī qui est à l'origine du premier tiers du *Tāramulakalpa* car, circonstance heureuse qui permet de déceler le plagiat : le texte a été imparfaitement adapté à son nouveau but. Quelques exemples choisis dans les descriptions iconographiques des *paśa* suffisent à le prouver.⁸

⁵ La "section de Garuda" est différente de celle que contient le *Mañjuśrīm*⁶ et un traité de magie bouddhique. *Mélanges Linossier*.

⁶ *Tsandrakāra* *hanskrit* *heries* no 70.

⁷ *Infra* p. 33-33. Les descriptions des mandala sont identiques dans le *Mañjuśrīm* et le *Tāram* et ceci n'est pas surprenant en étudiant la chronologie de

J'ai signalé plus haut que le *Taramulakalpa* manque au *Kanjur* manuscrit conserve à Berlin. D'après un récent travail de M. VON STAEL-HOLSTEIN,⁸ le texte est omis également dans une édition pekinoise de 1692, tandis que l'édition, également pekinoise de 1700, le contient. Dans le *Kanjur* de Pékin de 1692, en 105 volumes, le volume 2a est entièrement consacré à un recueil de *dharani* attribué à Bu ston. Dans le *Kanjur* de Pékin de 1700, en 106 volumes, ce même volume 2a contient le *Taramulakalpa* tandis que le recueil de *dharani* est littéralement hors-cadre puisqu'il est désigné par *om*. De sorte qu'on ne conçoit pas bien pourquoi M. VON STAEL-HOLSTEIN considère le *Taramulakalpa* comme une "addition nécessaire" faite par les éditeurs du *Kanjur* de Pékin de 1700.⁹ Il semble plutôt, d'après la lettre qui classe les volumes, que, dans cette dernière édition, l'addition soit constituée par le recueil de *dharani*. Mais cette discussion ne fournit pas d'éléments sérieux pour l'histoire du *Taramulakalpa* puisqu'elle ne porte que sur de tardives traditions chinoises.¹⁰

Seulement, comme le remarque à bon droit M. VON STAEL-HOLSTEIN, le fait que le *Taramulakalpa* manque au *Kanjur* manuscrit de Berlin ainsi qu'à l'édition de Pékin de 1692, permet d'établir l'étroite parenté de ces deux collections. L'origine pekinoise du manuscrit de Berlin est une chose que d'autres indices ont déjà révélée,¹¹ ces nouveaux documents permettent un rapprochement plus précis.

Le titre complet du *Taramulakalpa* est, en langue de l'Inde *Ūrdhva-jatamahākālpa-mahabodhisattvavikurāṇapatalaśisara Bhagavatī Āryalā-rāmūlakalpanama*, et en tibétain *Ral pa gyen* [b]rjes kyī rlog pa chen po byan chub sems dpa chen po rnam par 'phrul ba le u raḥ byams las

la composition du 1^{er} tiers du *Manjuśrīm*.¹² J. PRZYLUCKI a déjà montré que les premiers chapitres se accroissent encore de sermons sur le *maṇḍala*. Ceux-ci n'ont pu être incorporés à la collection postérieurement au V^e siècle de notre ère et sont caractérisés par la prééminence du Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara. (Les *Vidyārāja* contribution à l'histoire de la magie dans les sectes mahāyānistes *SPFLG* 25 306)

⁸ On a Peking edition of the Tibetan Kanjur which seems to be unknown in the West. Harvard Sino-Ind. Series 3 Peking 1934

⁹ Ibid p 2

¹⁰ L'article précité apporte une documentation précise sur l'emplacement de ces textes qui paraissent interchangeables dans les *Kanjurs* pékinois et mongols.

¹¹ P. PELLEROT Notes à propos d'un Catalogue du Kanjur JA Juil Août 1914 115 M. LALOU La version tibétaine du Ratnakūṭa JA Oct Déc 1927 244

Moreover, thirteen and a half *ichibu gin*⁷⁴ coins were made exchangeable for one *ryo hōin koban*. In the 3rd intercalary month, the new new *ōban* was recast, as were a new *koban* (weight 8 *bu* 8 *rin*),⁷⁵ an *ichibu rin* (2 *bu* 2 *rin*), a *nibu rin* (8 *bu*) and a *nishu rin*, all of low value, so that the comparative price of gold and silver was balanced with foreign metal. Therewith commodity prices rose to an unprecedented high and living became very difficult for the people, while the financial and economic world was in the greatest consternation.⁷⁶

The consuls general of the various powers discussed the evils of the currency and urged upon the government the necessity for fundamental currency reform so strongly that the Bakufu could not overlook it. In the 5th month of 1866, England, France, the United States of America and Holland signed a new treaty in which Article 6 stipulated that the Japanese currency would be reformed, to become effective January 1867. Henceforth Japanese and foreign currency of the same kind and weight should be exchangeable, and in order to facilitate the exchange of these currencies, the Bakufu should establish a gold and silver bureau. This was to take all foreign coin and bullion from the foreigners resident in Japan and recast it into various Japanese coins. To make this effective it became necessary to rectify stipulations regarding circulation of currency in all previous treaties. After various negotiations, approval was given and the new regulations were to become effective from the middle of November 1867. However, as the machinery for casting this new coin was to come from France, and as it had not arrived by November 1867, the whole plan was interrupted by the Meiji Restoration.

To relieve the sudden rise in price of commodities, the disorder in the currency circulating in the Eastern Provinces, and to facilitate foreign trading at Yokohama,⁷⁷ paper money of 200, 100, 50 and 25 *ryō* denominations was issued by the Bakufu in October 1867. Before this emission could be completed the government collapsed.

In fine, in the realm of economics and finances of a country, money is that which represents foreign confidence. Thus when the currency credit was lost abroad, the Bakufu lost its own credit. It was approaching an unavoidable fate, and as its dignity was declining at home it became of prime importance to carry through even more fundamental reforms.

⁷⁴ See *supra* p. 26.

⁷⁵ *Rin* 匁, smallest monetary unit.

⁷⁶ Cf. TAKEKOSHI, *op. cit.* 328-337.

⁷⁷ For statistics as to actual trade at the time cf. HOKUSŌ, *op. cit.*, 301. In 1867 total exports and imports equalled yen 13 100 078.

MANJUŚRĪMŪLAKALPA ET TĀRĀMŪLAKALPA

MARCELLE LALOU

Les deux *Kanjur* conservés à la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris contiennent un texte qui remplit à lui seul un volume de la section *Rgyud*¹. Cet ouvrage, pourtant considérable, manque au *Kanjur* manuscrit de Berlin². Le Catalogue de l'Université Ōtani le signale (n° 469), mais sans donner le détail des sections³. Jusqu'ici, on n'en connaît pas de version chinoise.

CSOMA DE KÖROS, dans son *Catalogue* traduit par FEER, a consacré dix lignes d'analyse à l'ouvrage qu'il cite avec un titre abrégé *Āryatāra mulakalpa*⁴.

Les textes qualifiés *mulakalpa* ou *mūlatantra* sont peu nombreux. Le mieux connu est l'énorme, rebutant, mais précieux *Manjuśrīmulakalpa*. Les auteurs des Catalogues du *Kanjur* n'ont pas signalé que le *Manjuśrīmulakalpa* et le *Tāramulakalpa* ont d'autres points communs qu'une finale de titre. En effet, le premier tiers du *Tāramulakalpa*, abstraction faite des variantes imposées par le changement de la divinité éponyme, est identique aux 13 premiers et à la majeure partie du 14^e chapitre du *Manjuśrīmulakalpa*.

Moins encyclopédique que ce dernier texte, le *Tāramulakalpa* présente, après une introduction apocalyptique, un ouvrage que la teneur des colophons qui terminent les chapitres permet de diviser en trois grandes sections

- I { 3 chapitres, numérotés 1-3
11 chapitres, numérotés 1-12 (le 2^e manque)

Contient un rituel détaillé ou sont décrites des cérémonies complexes dont les éléments essentiels sont les peintures sur le sol (*maṇḍala*) et les peintures sur étoffe (*paṭa*)

¹ Ed. noire de Narthang vol 18 453 f. éd. rouge de Pékin vol 22 330 f. Le *Kanjur* conservé au Musée Asiatique, indexé par SCHILLING et qui serait écrit par M. STCHERNATSKY une éd. de Narthang et non pas de Koumboum contient le texte (vol 13a 453 f., comme l'éd. noire que j'analyse ici).

² H. BECKH *Verzeichniss der tibetischen Handschriften*.

³ Le *Kanjur* de Sde-dge [Derge] le contient aussi. Cf. *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons* publié récemment par l'Université Tohoku n° 724.

⁴ *AMG* (= Annales du Musée Guimet) 2 p. 339.

bčom-ldan-'das-ma 'phags ma sgrol-ma'i rca-ba'i rlog-pa 'zes-bya-ba. Le titre est plus clair en tibétain qu'en sanskrit "Grand rite de [Celle qui a un] haut chignon, appelé rite fondamental de la Bienheureuse Ārya-Tārā, extrait (las) d'une section (le'u rab-byams) du miraculeux (rnam-par 'phrul-ba = vikurvana) Mahābodhisattva-[pitaka].

L'introduction du mot *pitaka* que je propose est justifiée par la teneur de la majorité des colophons qui terminent les chapitres. Par exemple, chap 2 (f 67 a) : *Byan-čhub-sems-dpa'i sde-snod bčom-ldan 'das-ma sgrol-ma ral-pa gyen brjes kyī rca-ba'i čho ga-las* . . . D'autres colophons, encore plus complets, citent le *Bodhisattvapitaka avatamsaka-mahāyāna-sūtra* = *Byan-čhub-sems dpa'i sde-snod phal-po-čhe theg pa čhen-po'i mdo sde bčom-ldan-'das-ma* . . . (f 178 a). Enfin, développé à l'extrême, un colophon rattache correctement l'ouvrage au *Bodhisattvapitaka-avatamsaka-mahāyāna-vaipulyasūtra* = *Byan-čhub-sems-dpa'i sde-snod phal-po-čhe theg-pa čhen-po'i cin-tu rgyas pa'i mdo sde-las bčom-ldan-'das ma* (f 83 a). Dans ces conditions, il est évident qu'au moins un mot : *pitaka*, a sauté dans les titres et qu'il est légitime de le restituer¹².

D'après le colophon final, c'est Atiśa qui serait l'auteur de ce *Tārā-mālaka* et le *bhikṣu* Śākya Rin-čhen grub (= *Ratnasiddhi, alias Bu-ston, 1290-1364) l'aurait traduit sur la demande du grand ascète (*dka' thub čhen-po*) de Rva-sgren. Cette traduction aurait été terminée par Rin-čhen-grub le 15^e jour du mois du Cheval [c'est à-dire le jour anniversaire du] Grand Miracle, l'année de sa promotion. Le copiste est le *bhikṣu* Śākya Bsod-nams grub (= *Punyasiddhi) son disciple¹³.

Après ce colophon précis, vient un quatrain qui justifie les leçons du texte en en rejetant la responsabilité sur des savants anonymes :

Le Pandit n'ayant pu être joint,
le commentaire original n'ayant pas été découvert,
le sens des mots corrompus est devenu possible
grâce aux savants sollicités

Ces vers sont assez mystérieux car qui est le Pandit ? Pas Atiśa, car on se doute que les deux siècles qui le séparent de son traducteur Bu-ston aient suffi à le rendre introuvable. Et si Pandit désigne Bu-ston, c'est que ce dernier n'est peut-être pas le traducteur du texte, du moins de la version qui nous est parvenue.

¹² Cf. J. PREVIKKE, *OPPEO* 23, 302-306.

¹³ Le Catalogue de l'Université Tôhoku ne donne que le nom du traducteur Rin-čhen grub, nom qui, du reste, est omis à l'index.

En resume, le premier tiers du *Taramulakalpa* est fort intéressant à étudier

- 1° — Il permet de poser un ouvrage dédié à Mañjuśrī à l'origine d'un texte qui exalte Avalokiteśvara Tara
- 2° — Il éclaire la composition du *Manjusrimulakalpa* qui est singulièrement incohérente. En effet, avant le *Mañjusrimulakalpa* actuel on peut maintenant supposer l'existence d'une collection réduite, *M*, en 13 ou 14 chapitres. De cette collection auraient plus tard été tirées deux sortes d'encyclopedies
 - a) le *Manjusrimulakalpa* actuel, qui compte $M + 41$ chapitres, ¹⁴
 - b) le *Taramulakalpa*, qui compte $M + 25$ chapitres ¹⁵
- 3° — Il apporte des éléments précieux pour la compréhension et la correction de la partie correspondante du *Mañjusrimulakalpa*. Désormais, un travail quelconque portant sur les 14 premiers chapitres de ce texte devra tenir compte de la version qu'il fournit
- 4° — Il est important pour l'histoire de Tāra puisqu'il montre que cette déesse est, personnifiée, la Grande-Reine-des-Formules Magiques (*Mahavidyārājñī*) ¹⁶
- 5° — Il montre enfin qu'un texte iconographique peut être dangereux à utiliser lorsqu'une critique préalable n'en a pas établi l'autorité. De combien d'images incorrectes le *Tārām*^o n'est-il pas responsable et que de perturbations ses formules picturales falsifiées n'auraient-elles pas apportées dans nos connaissances iconographiques si nous n'avions pas connu d'abord le *Manjusrim*^o ?

Le reste de l'ouvrage est loin d'être négligeable. Son intérêt serait mis en évidence si on le comparait aux contes du cycle d'Udayana *Brhatkatha Kathāsaritsāgara*, etc. et aux récits bouddhiques apparentés. Par exemple, nous y apprenons (f 200 a) la façon d'obtenir la "vidyā des éléphants" et ce morceau complète un des premiers épisodes de la légende d'Udayana dans la *Brhatkathā* ¹⁷. De sorte que, tout comme le *Manjuśrīm*^o, le *Tārām*^o permet de mesurer le développement des croyances relatives aux Magiciens, Vidyadhara ou Vidvārāja, ¹⁸ dans le bouddhisme tardif.

¹⁴ Cf. le Catalogue de l'Université Ōtani n° 16^o qui donne le détail des chapitres du *Manjuśrīm*^o en sanskrit tibétain et chinois.

¹⁵ Cf. *supra* p. 328 le détail des parties II et III.

¹⁶ Cf. J. PRZYLUCKI *BFFFO* 27 301-318.

¹⁷ Cf. LACÔTE, *Essai sur Guṇadhara et la Brhatkathā* p. 248-250.

¹⁸ Cf. J. PRZYLUCKI *ibid.*, p. 316.

COMPARAISON DE PASSAGES ICONOGRAPHIQUES

*Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*¹*Taramulakalpa*⁰

En premier, qu'on représente Bhagavat Śakyamuni sur un lotus dont la tige est soutenue par les deux *nāgaraja* Nanda et Upananda. À gauche, huit fleurs de lotus dans les quelles doivent être peintes les formes de huit Mahabodhisattva en premier, l'Ārya Mañjuśrī, jaune, un peu comme les pistils du lotus ou bien comme le safran ou l'or, ayant l'apparence d'un *kumara* d'un adolescent, portant le *pañcaciṅkala*, paré des ornements d'un *kumara*, portant un lotus bleu dans la main gauche avec la main droite il salue le Tathagata il regarde le Tathagata

Dans le 2^{me} lotus, qu'on peigne

Candraprabha ,
dans le 3^{me} lotus, Sudhana ,
dans le 4^{me} Sarvanivarana ,
dans le 5^{me}, Gaganaganja ,
dans le 6^{me} Kṣitigarbha ,
dans le 7^{me}, Anagha ,
dans le 8^{me} Sunetra

À droite de Bhagavat on doit représenter huit autres Mahabodhisattva Maitreya , Samantabhadra , Avalokitesvara , Vajrapani , Mahamati , Śantamati , Vairocana-garbha , Apayajaha

En premier, qu'on représente le Tathagata Śakyamuni sur un lotus dont la tige est soutenue par les deux *nagaraja* Nanda et Upananda. À gauche, huit fleurs de lotus dans les quelles doivent être peintes les images de huit Mahabodhisattva en premier, l'Ārya Avalokitesvara,² blanc, un peu comme l'*āśmagarbha* et le safran, ayant la couleur de l'or,³ il a comme ornement de tête la tiare dans la quelle siège Amitabha, il porte un lotus bleu⁴ dans la main gauche, avec sa main droite, il salue le Tathagata il regarde le Tathagata

Dans le 2^{me} lotus, qu'on peigne

Candraprabhakumara ,
dans le 3^{me} lotus, Sudhana ,
dans le 4^{me} Sarvanivarana ,
dans le 5^{me} Gaganaganja ,
dans le 6^{me} Kṣitigarbha ,
dans le 7^{me} Mañjuśrī⁵ ,
dans le 8^{me}, Sunetra

À droite de Bhagavat, on doit représenter huit autres Mahabodhisattva Maitreya , Samantabhadra , Avalokitesvara⁶ , Vajrapani , Mahamati , Śantamati , Vairocana-garbha , Apayajaha

⁰ F 55 a in fine ¹ Cf. *L'Iconographie des étoffes peintes* p 31 et suiv

² L'adaptation du *Tāram*⁰ est ici correcte sinon log que car étant donné le titre de l'ouvrage on attendrait plutôt Tāra comme personnage en vedette

³ Adaptat on incomplète on nous dit qu'Avalokitesvara est blanc comme l'*āśmagarbha* mais le reste de la description n'est pas corrigé et il reste couleur de safran ou d'or comme Mañjuśrī

⁴ Encore une preuve d'adaptation maladroite le lotus *utpala* est l'attribut de Mañjuśrī il aurait pu être facilement corrigé en *padma* attribut d'Avalokitesvara

⁵ Mañjuśrī est relégué au septième rang à gauche de Bhagavat

⁶ Avalokitesvara paraît donc deux fois Sa description est la même que dans le *Mañjuśrīm*⁰ celle d'Amitābha qui siège dans le chignon est très développée

Ces Bodhisattva doivent être peints portant à la main le fruit de *bīḥa* et le livre, resplendissant de toutes les parures, portant un vêtement supérieur de soie, parés de tous les ornements, vêtus de vêtements flottants. Au dessus d'eux, qu'on peigne huit *pratyekabuddha* tenant les ustensiles du *bhikṣu*, le corps portant les marques du Grand Homme, vêtus du *dharmacīvara* rouge, assis les jambes étroitement croisées sur le "lotus de joyaux," etc . . .

• A gauche de Śakyamuni, au dessus de Mañjuśrī, qu'on peigne un immense palais aérien . . . et qu'on y peigne huit Buddha Bhagavat: Ratnaśikhin, Saṅksumitarājendra, Śālendrarāja, Sunetra, Duḥprasaha, Vairocana Jina, Bhaṣajyaguru, Sarvaduḥkha-praśamaṇa.

Dans les angles supérieurs, deux *devaputra* placés au dessus de tous les Buddha, Bodhisattva, *pratyekabuddha*, Śrāvaka, font tomber des fleurs . . .

Ces Bodhisattva ont à la main le fruit et le livre, ils ont une forme brillante, ils portent un vêtement supérieur de soie; ils sont parés de tous les ornements; leur corps est couvert d'un *kāśaya* rouge qui flotte, ils sont assis, les jambes étroitement croisées, sur le tabouret précieux.¹

A gauche de Śakyamuni, au dessus de l'endroit où se se trouve Mañjuśrī, qu'on peigne un immense palais aérien². . . et qu'on y peigne huit Buddha Bhagavat: Ratnaśikhin, Saṅksumitarājendra,³ Śālendrarāja,⁴ Sunetra, Duḥprasaha, Vairocana Jina, Bhaṣajyaguru, Sarvaduḥkha-praśamaṇa.

Dans les angles supérieurs, deux *devaputra* placés au dessus de tous les Buddha, Bodhisattva, *pratyekabuddha*,⁵ Śrāvaka, font tomber des fleurs. . .

¹ Bien que les *pratyekabuddha* ne soient pas mentionnés dans le *Tārām**, la description des Bodhisattva leur emprunte quelques traits, ce qui devient incohérent. C'est ainsi que les Bodhisattva sont habillés à la fois d'un vêtement supérieur de soie et d'un *kāśaya*.

² Texte du *Mañjuśrīm** sans modification. Et pourtant, puisque Mañjuśrī, dans la rédaction du *Tārām**, est l'avant-dernier de la rangée, le palais aérien (*vimāna*) placé au dessus de lui n'aura guère la place de s'étendre. De plus, il semble que ce *vimāna* devrait être, dans un texte à la louange d'Avalokiteśvara, au dessus de ce Bodhisattva.

³ *Tārām** ajoute "Il regarde l'Ārya Mañjuśrī". Dans le *Mañjuśrīm**, ce nom n'est donné que par la version chinoise, les textes skt. et tibétain disent simplement "Il regarde l'Ārya". Il est conforme à la tradition de lier Mañjuśrī à Saṅksumita, son père spirituel, c'est peut-être le respect de cette tradition qui a empêché de modifier la position du *vimāna* (cf. note *supra*).

⁴ Conforme au *Mañjuśrīm** skt. tandis que le tibétain a Padma'i gyug tor (Padma uṣṭiṣa).

⁵ Nouvelle preuve que le passage ci-dessus du *Tārām** est corrompu: on nous parle

*Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa**Tārāmūlakalpa*

Au dessus de *pratyekabuddha*, huit Mahāśrāvaka doivent être peints

Emergeant du lac de lotus, sur un pic de montagne, est représenté le *krodharāja Yamāntaka*. Il a un aspect terrifiant, il tient le lacet et le bâton, il regarde Mañjuśrī en écoutant son ordre

En dessous de cette montagne, qu'on peigne l'officiant regardant Mañjuśrī

Au dessous de Śakyamuni, du côté droit, qu'on peigne un grand Roi des Monts, tel qu'on l'a déjà décrit, mais sans le *krodharāja Yamāntaka*. Qu'on peigne cette montagne en dessous d'Avalokiteśvara. Là est placée la déesse Tārā

Au dessus¹ des *pratyekabuddha*, huit Mahāśrāvaka doivent être peints

Emergeant du lac de lotus, sur un pic de montagne, est représenté le *krodharāja Sgrol mas non pa*². Il a un aspect de grande cruauté, il tient le lacet et le bâton, il regarde le Mahābodhisattva³ comme s'il recevait son ordre

En dessous de cette montagne, est peint l'officiant qui contemple Mañjuśrī⁴

Au dessous de Śakyamuni, du côté droit, qu'on peigne un grand Roi des Monts, tel qu'on l'a déjà décrit, mais sans le *krodharāja Sgrol mas non pa*

Cette montagne est peinte au dessous d'Avalokiteśvara⁵. Là est placée la déesse Tara

¹ *Mañjuśrīm*° skt : *uttare*, tib *og tu* "dessous", *Tāram*° *byan du* = *uttare*

² *Sgrol mas* [g]non pa ' Subjugué par Tara (?), ' remplace Yamantaka, forme terrible de Mañjuśrī

³ Mahābodhisattva remplace ici Mañjuśrī

⁴ Oubli ou négligence, pour être logique l'officiant, dans le *Tāram*° doit contempler Avalokiteśvara

⁵ Nouvelle preuve de négligence dans l'adaptation Avalokiteśvara, au début de la description du *Tārām*°, est à gauche du Buddha, il ne peut donc pas dominer la montagne de droite

*Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*¹*Tarāmūlakalpa*^{2 bis}

Mañjuśrī int rlocuteur

Qu'on représente la Demeure Pure au milieu doit être peint Śākya muni, à droite Mañjuśrī, semblable à la couleur des pistils du lotus, du safran ou du soleil, un lotus bleu est accroché à son épaule gauche, il regarde Śākyamuni en joignant les mains il a l'aspect d'un *kumara* coiffe du *pañcacaśrāla*

À gauche de Śākyamuni est peint Avalokiteśvara, couleur de la lune d'antimoine. Au dessus, Maitreya Samantabhadra, Vajrapāṇi, Mahamati, Śāntagata, Gaganagañja Sarvanivarapaviśkambhīn sont représentés

Au dessus de deux, huit Buddha Bhagavat doivent être peints les Tathagata Sankusumitarajendra, Ratnaśikhin, Śikhin, Viśvabhūṭ, Krakutsanda, Sunetra, Kanakamuni et Kāśyapa

À droite de Bhagavat, à côté de Mañjuśrī il faut peindre le cercle de la Grande Assemblée

Mañjuśrī² interlocuteur

Qu'on représente la Demeure Pure au milieu, est placé Śākyamuni. À droite, Avalokiteśvara,³ semblable à la couleur des pistils du lotus, du safran ou du soleil. Un lotus bleu (*utpala*) est accroché à son épaule gauche, il regarde Śākyamuni en joignant les mains

À gauche de Śākyamuni est placé Vajrapāṇi, bleu comme le *priyangu*

Au dessus, Maitreya, Samantabhadra, Vajrapāṇi,⁴ Mahamati, Śāntamati,⁵ Gaganagañja, Sarvanivarana viśkambhīn sont représentés

Au dessus de deux, huit Buddha Bhagavat⁶ doivent être peints les Tathagata Sankusumitaraja, Ratnaśikhin, Viśvabhūṭ, Krakutsanda, Kanakamuni et Kāśyapa

À droite de Bhagavat, à côté d'Avalokiteśvara, il faut placer le cercle de la Grande Assemblée

¹ Cf. *L'Iconographie des étoffes peintes* p. 42 et suiv.

² bis f. 80^b

³ Noter la stabilité de Mañjuśrī comme interlocuteur du Buddha

⁴ Le nom de Mañjuśrī est complètement éliminé de l'Iconographie du *paśa* moyen dans le *Tarām*. Néanmoins sauf des traits visibles comme *kumara* *pañcacaśrāla* les caractéristiques de Mañjuśrī ont subsisté et Avalokiteśvara est de ce fait couleur des pistils du lotus du safran ou du soleil et porte le lotus bleu.

⁵ Ici ce n'est pas Avalokiteśvara qui paraît deux fois mais Vajrapāṇi. L'adaptateur du *Tarām* n'a pas poursuivi son travail et la liste de Bodhisattva du *Tarām* reproduit exactement celle du *Mañjuśrī*.

⁶ *Mañjuśrīm* 21 ba, gregs pa = *Śāntagata Tārām* 21 ba, blo-gros = Śāntamati comme le *Mañjuśrīm* skt

⁷ Les huit Buddha annoncés ne sont que six dans le *Mañjuśrīm* tibétain il manque Kanakamuni et Kāśyapa. Le *Tārām* n'en cite aussi que six, mais ce sont Śikhin et Sunetra qui sont omis

Mañjuśrīmulakalpa

Au dessous du trône de Bhagavat, une grande montagne émerge du Grand Océan ...

Sur cette montagne, au dessous de Mañjuśrī, est représenté le *krodharāja* Yamāntaka ... A gauche de Bhagavat, au dessous du trône, près des pieds d'Avalokiteśvara, sur un plateau de la montagne de joyaux, la déesse Tārā doit être peinte ...

Tārāmūlakalpa

Au dessous du trône de Bhagavat, une grande montagne émerge ... etc

Sur cette montagne, au dessous d'Avalokiteśvara, est placé le *krodharāja* Sgrol mas [non pa]. ... A gauche¹ de Bhagavat, au dessous du trône, près des pieds d'Avalokiteśvara ... la déesse Tara doit être peinte ...

¹ Bien que l'adaptateur du *Tārām** ait placé précédemment Avalokiteśvara à droite du Buddha (cf p 329 n 10), il le laisse maintenant à gauche, comme dans le *Mañjuśrīm** et le résultat est parfaitement incohérent

*Mañjuśrīmulakalpa*¹

Mañjuśrī interlocuteur

En premier, qu'on peigne Mañjuśrī ... à gauche, Samantabhadra, à droite Avalokiteśvara. A droite et en dessous du siège de Mañjuśrī, est placé le *krodharāja* Yamāntaka ... au dessous, l'officiant. Au dessus de Mañjuśrī, qu'on peigne le Tathāgata Sankusumitārājendra

*Tārāmūlakalpa*²

Mañjuśrī interlocuteur.

En premier, qu'on peigne le Mahābodhisattva ... sous la forme d'un enfant (*lhye'u*) ... à gauche, Samantabhadra, à droite, Avalokiteśvara. A droite et en dessous du siège d'Avalokiteśvara, est placé le *krodharāja* Sgrol mas non pa ... au dessous, l'officiant. Au dessus d'Avalokiteśvara, qu'on peigne le Tathāgata Amitābha

¹ Cf L'Iconographie des étoffes peintes, p 47 et suiv

² f 83.

³ Adaptation prudente; mais il reste encore à ce Mahābodhisattva [Avalokiteśvara] l'aspect juvénile de Mañjuśrī

⁴ Ici encore, Avalokiteśvara paraît deux fois. Le reste de la description est adapté correctement.

*Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*¹*Tārāmūlakalpa*^{1bis}

Mañjuśrī interlocuteur

Au centre est peint Mañjuśrī . . . à droite, Samantabhadra, à gauche, Avalokiteśvara (ces trois images sont placées dans trois lotus qui n'ont qu'une tige centrale. Le texte répète plus bas que Mañjuśrī est au centre, encadré de Samantabhadra et d'Avalokiteśvara).

Avalokiteśvara interlocuteur.²

Au centre est peint Avalokiteśvara . . . à droite, Samantabhadra . . . à gauche de Mañjuśrī (sic), Avalokiteśvara³. . . (ces trois images sont placées dans trois lotus qui n'ont qu'une tige centrale. Plus bas, le texte dit que le Mahābodhisattva est encadré de Samantabhadra et de Mahāsthāmaprāpta⁴)

¹ Cf. *Iconographie des étoffes peintes*, p. 54.

^{1 bis} f. 87^v.

² Depuis la description du *paśa* supérieur, l'adaptateur ne s'était pas avisé de changer le nom de l'interlocuteur du Buddha.

³ Voici une des preuves les plus flagrantes du démarquage : après avoir placé Avalokiteśvara au centre de l'image, l'adaptateur ne poursuit pas son travail, il conserve la description du *Mañjuśrīm*¹ de sorte que nous retrouvons Mañjuśrī chef des Trois Grands Hommes, et qu'Avalokiteśvara est nommé deux fois.

⁴ La description du *Mañjuśrīm*¹ est claire, celle du *Tārām*² est incohérente : le rappel de la description n'est pas conforme aux indications initiales puisqu'une triade formée d'Avalokiteśvara entre Avalokiteśvara (sic) et Samantabhadra est ensuite citée comme devant être composée du Mahābodhisattva [Avalokiteśvara] encadré de Samantabhadra et de Mahāsthāmaprāpta.

ANALYSE ET CONCORDANCES

Tārāmūlakaḷpa
(tibétain)

Hommage à Avalokiteśvara

etiam ...

nidāna · Sgrol ma'i gru'i sten-gi nam mkha'
mthil na (*Tārānau-upari-gaganatale).

2a Le Buddha annonce aux dieux de la Demeure Pure (*Suddhāśa-lāyika*) qu'ils aient à écouter son enseignement sur la méthode de *samādhi*, la magie, etc, afin que tous les êtres soient exempts de maladies, possèdent la maîtrise, etc Les *deva* acquiescent et réclament cet enseignement qui va les introduire dans la méthode de *samādhi* de tous les Bodhisattva, qui procurera la délivrance, qui fera asseoir sur le trône de *rajra*, qui vaincra Mara, qui fera tourner la Roue de la Loi, etc

3b Śākyamuni contemple le cercle de l'Assemblée avec l'Œil de Buddha, remplit la région de lumière et entre dans le *samādhi* Rnam-par 'joms pa Miracles lumineux qui parviennent au Sukhavatī, auprès du Tathagata Amitāyus (Che-dpag med) ou se trouve déjà Avalokiteśvara

4a7 Avalokiteśvara salue Amitāyus et lui annonce

4b l'arrivée de Śākyamuni Programme de l'enseignement qui rejout l'assemblée Alors, Amitābha ('Od dpag tu med pa), s'adressant à Avalokiteśvara, répète le programme, avec quelques variantes et c'est le prétexte de nouvelles jouissances

5a3 Mention du *Rin po che snan ba'i le'u rab byam* [*Ratna avabhasapatalavisara*]

5a5 *Mulamantra* de Tara

6b Le "secret de Tara" une syllabe magique, (*ekaksara*) qui fait tout réussir

7b Phénomènes qui effrayent les dieux de la Demeure Pure Śākyamuni les rassure

8a Śākyamuni traverse des Champs de Buddha et se

Mañjuśrīmūlakaḷpa
(sanskrit)Hommage aux
3 Joyaux.

etiam ...

nidāna : Suddhāśa-lāyika
dhāvasa-upari-gaganatale.

p. 1, l. 11 *

p. 1, l. 18

p. 2, l. 22.

p. 6, 2^{ème} parag
p. 6, l. 23 *Rat
napatalavisara*
Cf p. 3, l. 5,
mūlamantra de
Mañjuśrī

Cf p. 3, l. 19

Cf p. 7, l. 7

<i>Taramulakalpa</i> (tibetain)	<i>Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa</i> (sanskrit)
rend dans un univers nomme Kun nas me-tog ldan (Samantakusumavati ?), a la frontiere du Sukha rañ.	
11a Enumeration de Tathagata Zla ba ñid kyī snan ba dri kun tu gsal ba 1 dpal.	p 7, l 9, Jyoti saumyagandha vabhāsañ Bhaiṣajyaguru vaiduryapra bharaja Samantavabha- sañ.
— Sman gyī bla vaidurya 'od kyī rgyal po	Samundataraja (sic)
— Kun tu snan ba'i dpal	Śalendraraja.
— Yan-dag par 'phags pa rgyal po (Samyakārya raja ?)	Lokendraraja.
— Sa la 1 dhan po 1 rgyal po	Amitayurjña
— 'Jig rten dhan phyug rgyal po	navinīscaya
— Che dan ye-ces dpag tu med pa rnam par nes pa'i rgyal po	raja
— Kun tu snan ba snan ba miba' yas pa'i rgyal po Vai-ñu rya snan ba 1 'od zer kyī rgyal po	Cf Jyotīraññi rajendra
12a Enumeration de Tathagata.	p 7, l 24.
13b1 Enumeration de Buddha qui se trouvent avec Śakyamuni au Spyod yul, sur le "Vaisseau de Tara."	p 9, l 7, la scene est placee au Śuddhava sabhavana.
14b Enumeration d'etres et d'objets	p 9, l 11
16a Liste de Rig pa rgyal po (Vidyaraja)	p 9, l 17
16b Liste de Rig pa rgyal mo (Vidyarajñi)	p 9, dernier §
20a Liste de āharañi personifiees	p 9, en bas
21a Liste de Grands Auditeurs.	p 13, dernier §
22b Description de la suite de Mara. Liste de noms, tous feminins.	p 14
23b Liste de Grandes Auditrices.	p 14 dernier §
24a mantra.	p 15, en bas.
26b Liste de gēnies.	p 17, en haut.
28a Liste de rñi	p 18, l 16
28a7 Liste de mahoraga	p 18 l 23
28b Liste de garuḍa	p 18 l 26
29b Liste d'astres.	p 19, l 21.
30a Signes du zodiaque.	p 20, l. 15

	<i>Tarāmulakālpā</i> (tibétain)	<i>Mañjuśrīmulakālpā</i> (sanskrit)
	[Rite pour l'obtention de la réussite de l'opération supérieure, extrait du rite fin du chap 7] Immédiatement, commence le rite en bateau sur le Gange	p 85
105b	°ras ris mēhog gi sgrub pa : le u ste brgyad pa rjogs so [Réussite du paṭa supérieur, fin du chap 8] Immédiatement, Saḥyamunī annonce à Avalokīteśvara l'enseignement du rite du paṭa moyen	fin du chap 10
116b	L'officiant emporte le paṭa au sommet d'une montagne	début du chap 11
122a	Énumération de Bodhisattva, etc	p 111
125a	Passage géographique (décalage ce passage se trouve, dans le <i>Mañjuśrī</i> °, immédiatement après le rite en bateau supra f 105)	cf p 88
127b	°ras ris bar ma : ḥho ga rab byam [le u] ste dgu-pa rjogs so [Rite du paṭa moyen, fin du chap 9]	fin du chap 11
131a	°ras ris bar ma : ḥho ga rab byam las bēu-pa bgran phren gi cho ga : le u rab byam rjogs so [Rite du rosaire (akṣamaḥ), extrait du rite du paṭa moyen fin du chap 10]	fin du chap 12
136a	byan chub sems dpa : ° °ra ba : rtog pa-las bgran phren srad bu : cho ga : le u rab byam b'u gčig pa yons su rjogs so [Rite du rosaire (akṣamalasutra), fin du chap 11]	fin du chap 13
144b	byan ḥhub sems dpa : ° °ra ba : rtog pa las le u rab byam bcu gnis pa rjogs so [fin du chap 12]	fin du chap 14 mais les derniers paragr diffèrent

A PARTIR DE LA FIN DU CHAPITRE 14° LES DEUX TEXTES DIVERGENT

- 148b bcom ldan- das ma phags ma sgrol-ma : rca-ba : rtog pa yans-pa dan ldan-pa : tin ne jin[las]nes par skye'o || rkan pa gcig ḥes bya-ba : rig pa : rgyal po yons su rjogs so [Fin du Roi des Formules (vidjaraḥ) nommé Unipède (ekapāda)]

* Noter que précisément à cet endroit la numérotation des chapitres du *Mañjuśrī*° est décalée au l'en du 15e chap on trouve une 2ème fois un chap 13 et la suite continue l'erreur

- 150b *bḥom ldan 'das ma 'phags ma sgrol ma : yans pa dan ldan pa'i tin ne 'jin gyi rgyal-po'i rea ba'i rtog par 'jug pa zes bya ba : rig pa rgyal po ḥhen-po yons-su rjogs so* [Fin du *vidyārāja* nomme "Descente" (*atātara*)]
- 152b *bḥom ldan-'das ma° tin ne 'jin-gyi rgyal po* [las nes par *skye'o*] || *dkar mo ḥhen-mo : rtog pa yons su rjogs so* || [Fin du rite (*kalpa*) de la "Grande Blanche"]
- 154a *bcom ldan-'das-ma° tin ne 'jin-gyi rgyal por sems-can thams-ḥad rjes su son par byed pa po zes bya ba : rig pa rgyal-po rjogs so* [Fin du *vidyārāja* nomme "Celui qui attire tous les êtres"] (si le *paṭa* remue violemment, on obtiendra la royauté, etc cf f 161^a)
- 156a *bḥom-ldan-'das ma° tin ne 'jin-gyi rgyal por gser 'od ḥes-bya-ba'i rig pa rgyal po chen po yons su rjogs-so* [Fin du *mahāvīdyārāja* nommé Or Eclat (*Suvarṇaprabhāsa*)] (toutes les maladies sont écartées)
- 157a *bḥom ldan-'das ma° tin ne 'jin las nes par skyes pa sans rgyas bcu gñis kyis mnon-par ḍban-ḥskar ba zes bya ba : rig pa rgyal po ḥhen-po* [(Fin du) *mahāvīdyārāja* nommé "Consecration par les douze Buddha"]
- 158b *bḥom-ldan 'das-ma° tin-ne 'jin gyi rgyal po lhag par mos pa'i phren-ba zes bya ba'i rig pa'i rgyal po* [Fin du *vidyārāja* nomme "Guirlande de suprême adoration"]
- 160b *bḥom ldan 'das-ma° tin ne 'jin-las nes par skyes pa gnod-sbyin thams cad lun-nas 'on bas zes° rig pa : rgyal po chen po yons su rjogs so* [Fin du *vidyārāja* nomme "Qui fait venir de partout tous les *yaḥsa*"]
- 162b ° *tin ne-'jin-las nes par skyes pa ḍban ldan-gyi rigs lun tu 'on ba : rig pa'i rgyal po rjogs so* [Fin du *vidyārāja* [nomme] "Qui fait apparaître partout la lignée d'Isana" (*Ḍban ldan*)]
- 164a ° *tin-ne 'jin la nes par byun ba : 'jug par byed rig pa'i rgyal-po ḥhen-po yons su rjogs-so* [Fin du *mahāvīdyārāja* [nommé] "Qui introduit"]
- 164b ° *tin ne 'jin-las nes par skyes pa yi ge ḥcu ba zes° rig pa : rgyal po ḥhen-po yons su rjogs so* [Fin du *mahāvīdyārāja* nommé "Dix syllabes"] (si le *paṭa* remue violemment, on obtiendra la royauté, cf f 151^a)
- 166b ° *tin ne 'jin las nes par skyes pa 'od-zer dan ldan-pa zes° rtog pa'i rgyal po ḥhen po rjogs so* [Fin du *mahākāśparāja* nomme "Qui possède les rayons"]
- 167b ° *tin ne 'jin gyi rgyal po las nes par skyes pa pad ma lun-tu snan ba zes° rig pa rgyal po ḥhen-po yons su rjogs so* [Fin du *maḥāvīdyārāja* nommé "Lotus partout brillant" (*padmasamanta prabhā*)] (pour faire tous les *karma*)
- 168b ° *tin ne 'jin-las nes par skyes pa dpe byed brgyad-ḥu : rjes su byed-pa zes° rig pa rgyal-po rjogs-so* [Fin du *vidyārāja* nommé "Qui entraîne à sa suite les 80 signes"]

<i>Tarāmulakalpa</i> (tibétain)	<i>Mañjuśrīmulakalpa</i> (sanskrit)
30b Liste de <i>gal</i> <i>gini</i>	p 20, l 23
32a7 Mention du <i>tin ne 'jin gyi le'u rab byam byan</i> <i>chub sems dpa :</i> <i>sde snod</i> (<i>samādhi paṭalaḥ sara</i> <i>bodhisattvaḥ paṭala</i>)	p 22, l 8
32b Ordres donnés au <i>khro bo rgyal po</i> (<i>krodharaja</i>) 36a <i>ral pa gyen rjes kyi rtog pa chen-po byan-chub</i> <i>sems dpa' sems dpa' chen-po' rnam 'phrul gyi le u</i> <i>rab byam las / bcom ldan-das 'phags ma sgrol-ma i</i> <i>rea ba : rtog pa las 'dus pa : le'u ste dan pa o</i> [Chap de l'Assemblée, ¹ le 1 ^{er}] Avalokitesvara entre dans le <i>samādhi</i> , nommé <i>lun</i> <i>tu lta ba</i>	p 25
37a Trois syllabes	p 25
38a 39a Série de <i>mantra</i>	dhupamantra, p 27, l 13
39b <i>Mantra</i> et fumigations pour inviter les Buddha et Bodhisattva	p 27, l 13
40a-44a Combinaisons de <i>mantra</i> et de <i>mudra</i> pour des résultats précis	p 34, dernier mantra
45a Dernier <i>mantra</i> (de Garuḍa)	p 34, dernier mantra
45b7 Avalokitesvara entre dans le <i>samādhi</i> , nommé <i>Bskul bar byed pa</i>	p 36
46b Le Mahasattva Vajrapanī Guhyadhipatī interpelle Avalokitesvara	p 36
47a Passage versifié (Mañjuśrī et Mañjuśhosa sont remplacés par Bodhisattva)	p 36
47b Pour le profit des êtres Avalokitesvara révèle le rite du <i>mandala</i>	p 36
64a Rite d' <i>abhiseka</i>	
67a <i>byan chub sems dpa : sde snod bcom ldan-'das ma</i> <i>'phags ma sgrol ma ral pa gjen brjes kyi rea-ba :</i> <i>cho ga-las / dkyil-khor gyi cho ga rab byams kyi le u</i> <i>ste gn s pa rjogs so</i> [Rite du <i>mandala</i> fin du 2 ^{ème} chap]	

¹ La traduction complète des colophons n'est pas répétée dans l'analyse Cf
p 330 où les différentes formes sont étudiées

<i>Tarāmulakalpa</i> (tibétain)	<i>Mañjuśrīmulakalpa</i> (sanskrit)
[Rite pour l'obtention de la réussite de l'opération supérieure, extrait du rite fin du chap 7] Immédiatement, commence le rite en bateau sur le Gange	p 85 fin du chap 10
105b °ras ris mčhog gi sgrub-pa : le'u ste brgyad-pa rjogs so [Réussite du paṭa supérieur, fin du chap 8] Immédiatement, Śakyamuni annonce à Avalokiteśvara l'enseignement du rite du paṭa moyen	début du chap 11
116b L'officiant emporte le paṭa au sommet d'une montagne	p 111 cf p 88
122a Enumération de Bodhisattva, etc	
125a Passage géographique (décalage ce passage se trouve, dans le <i>Mañjuśrī</i> °, immédiatement après le rite en bateau, supra, f 105)	
127b °ras ris bar ma : čho ga rab byam [le'u] ste dgu-pa rjogs so [Rite du paṭa moyen, fin du chap 9]	fin du chap 11
131a °ras ris bar ma' čho ga rab byam las bču-pa bgran phren gi čho ga : le'u rab byam rjogs so [Rite du rosaire (aḷṣamala), extrait du rite du paṭa moyen, fin du chap 10]	fin du chap 12
136a byan čhub sems dpa'i° °rca-ba : rtog pa-las bgran phren srad bu'i čho ga : le'u rab byam bču gčig pa yons su rjogs so [Rite du rosaire (aksamalasutra), fin du chap 11]	fin du chap 13
144b byan čhub sems dpa'i° °rca ba'i : rtog pa-las le'u rab byam bču gnis pa rjogs so [fin du chap 12]	fin du chap 14, mais les derniers parag différent.

A PARTIR DE LA FIN DU CHAPITRE 14,² LES DEUX TEXTES DIVERGENT

- 148b bcom ldan'das ma 'phags ma sgroi ma : rca-ba : rtog pa yans pa dan ldan-pa : tin-ne 'jin[las]nes par skye'o || rkan pa gcig čes bya-ba : rig pa : rgyal po yons su rjogs so [Fin du "Roi des Formules" (*vidyārāja*) nommé "Unipède (*ekapada*)"]

² Noter que précisément à cet endroit la numérotation des chapitres du *Mañjuśrī** est décalée au lieu du 15e chap on trouve une 2ème fois un chap 13 et la suite continue l'erreur

- 150b *bcom ldan 'das ma 'phags ma sgrol ma : yans pa dan ldan pa : tin ne 'jin gyi rgyal-po : rca ba : rtog par 'jug pa zes bya ba : rig pa rgyal po chen-po yons su rjogs so* [Fin du vidyārāja nommé "Des cente" (avatāra)]
- 152b *bcom ldan-'das ma° tin ne 'jin-gyi rgyal po [las nes par skye'o] || dkar mo chen-mo : rtog pa yons su rjogs so ||* [Fin du rite (kalpa) de la ' Grande Blanche']
- 154a *bcom ldan- das ma° tin ne 'jin-gyi rgyal por sems-can thams-cad rjes su son par byed pa-po zes bya-ba : rig pa rgyal-po rjogs so* [Fin du vidyārāja nommé "Celui qui attire tous les etres'] (si le pata remue violemment, on obtiendra la royaute, etc cf f 164^b)
- 156a *bcom ldan-'das ma° tin ne 'jin gyi rgyal-por gser od des-bya ba' rig pa rgyal po chen po yons su rjogs so* [Fin du mahavidyārāja nommé Or Eclat (Svarnaprabhāsa)] (toutes les maladies sont écartées)
- 157a *bcom ldan-'das ma° tin-ne 'jin las nes par skyes pa sans rgyas bcu gñis lyes mnon-par dban bskur ba zes bya-ba : rig pa rgyal-po chen-po* [(Fin du) mahavidyārāja nommé "Consecration par les douze Buddha']
- 158b *bcom-ldan-'das-ma° tin ne 'jin gyi rgyal po ltag par mos pa' phren-ba zes bya-ba : rig pa : rgyal po* [Fin du vidyārāja nommé "Guirlande de supreme adoration]
- 160b *bcom ldan 'das-ma° tin ne-'jin-las nes par skyes pa gnod-sbyin thams cad lun-nas 'on-bas zes° rig pa : rgyal-po chen po yons su rjogs so* [Fin du vidyārāja nommé ' Qui fait venir de partout tous les yaksas']
- 162b *° tin ne jin-las nes par skyes pa dban ldan-gyi rigs lun tu 'on ba' rig pa' rgyal po rjogs so* [Fin du vidyārāja [nommé] " Qui fait apparaitre partout la lignée d'Isana' (Dban ldan)]
- 164a *° tin ne 'jin-la nes par byun-ba : 'jug par byed rig pa : rgyal-po chen-po yons su rjogs so* [Fin du mahavidyārāja [nommé] ' Qui introduit"]
- 164b *° tin-ne 'jin-las nes par skyes pa yi ge bcu ba zes° rig pa : rgyal po chen-po yons su rjogs so* [Fin du mahavidyārāja nommé ' Dix syllabes'] (si le pata remue violemment on obtiendra la royaute, cf f 154^a)
- 166b *° tin ne-'jin las nes par skyes pa 'od-zer dan ldan-pa zes° rtog pa : rgyal po chen po rjogs so* [Fin du mahakalparāja nommé ' Qui possède les rayons']
- 167b *° tin ne jin-gyi rgyal-po las nes par skyes pa pad ma lun-tu snan-ba zes° rig pa rgyal po chen po yons su rjogs so* [Fin du mahavidyārāja nommé "Lotus partout brillant' (padmasamanta prabhā)] (pour faire tous les karma)
- 168b *° tin-ne jin-las nes par skyes pa dpe byed brgyad-cu : rjes su byed-pa zes° rig pa rgyal-po rjogs so* [Fin du vidyārāja nommé " Qui entraine a sa suite les 80 signes']

- 169b ° *tin ne 'jin gyi rgyal po las nes par skyes pa yon tan-gyi rgyan*
les° rig pa rgyal po chen po yons su rjogs so [Fin du mahavidyārāja
 nomme "Ornement des qualites" (*gunalaṃkara*)]
- 170b ° *bde ba-čan gyis blod pa les° rig pa rgyal po chen-po rjogs so*
 [Fin du mahavidyārāja nomme "Arrange par les Tusita" (*Tuṣi-*
tavyuha)]
- 171a ° *tin ne 'jin las nes par skyes pa dpa'bo ldan les° rig pa rgyal-mo*
chen-mo yons su rjogs so [Fin de la mahavidyārājñi^s nommée
 "Héroïque"]
- 173b ° *tin ne 'jin-las nes par skyes pa lhor ba'i sna thag grol-bar*
byed-pa les° rig pa'i rgyal po chen-po rjogs so [Fin du mahavidya
 rāja nomme "Qui délivre du lien (litt nez-corde = *nastaka*) de la
 transmigration"]
- 174b *bčom ldan 'das ma° rca ba'i rtog par 'dod cin don du gñer ba sbyin-*
pa'i rig pa'i rgyal po chen po yons su rjogs so [Fin du mahavidyārāja
 [nomme] "Qui procure la possession du but désiré"]
- 175a *bčom ldan 'das ma° rca ba'i rtog pa'i rgyud chen-por ras ris kyi gnas*
yons su rjogs so [Fin de la série (*gnas*) de pata dans le grand
 rituel (*rgyud*) du °*mulakalpa*]
- 176a ° *tin ne 'jin-las skyes pa pad-ma'i mtha' les° snags kyi rgyaṣ-po^l*
chen po yons su rjogs so [Fin du mahamantrārāja nommé "Limite
 du Lotus"]
- 176b ° *tin-ne'jin-las skyes pa pad-ma gzi brjid ces° snags kyi rgyal po*
chen-po yons su rjogs so [Fin du mahamantrārāja nomme "Lotus
 Eclat"]
- 177b ° *tin ne 'jin las skyes pa dpaḥ be'u les° rig pa rgyal po chen po*
yons su rjogs so || [Fin du mahavidyārāja nommé Śrīvatsa]
- 178a ° *tin ne 'jin las skyes pa'i mi 'jigs pa sbyin pa les° rig pa rgyal*
po chen-po yons su rjogs so || byan-čhub sems dpa i sde-snod phal
po-če theg pa chen po i mdo sde bčom ldan 'das ma 'phags ma sgrol
ma i yans pa dan ldan pa'i tin-ne 'jin las skyes pa i snags rnam te
le'u-rab byam bču gsum pa rjogs so [Fin du mahavidyārāja nommé
 "Qui donne l'absence de crainte," Treizième chap (*patalaṃsara*) du
Bodhisattvapitaka aṭaṃsaka mahajanasutra, sur les mantra (*snags*)
 qui résultent du *samādhi* développé de Bhagavati Ārya Tara]
- 100a *bčom ldan 'das ma rig pa i rgyal mo chen por (sic) le u dan po rjogs-*
so [Fin du 1^{er} chap, dans *Bhagavati mahavidyārājñi*]
 Rites enseignés par Vajrapāṇi à Avalokiteśvara
- 191b Rites nocturnes dans un cimetière
- 193a "Récussite du rajra" (l'officiant emporte un paṣa au sommet d'une
 montagne, récitations, offrandes, s'il se produit un son de tambour,
 l'officiant renaîtra dans la Famille du rajra)

* Noter le féminin

- 193b "Reussite des flèches" (offrande de nourriture au *saṃgha*, puis peinture d'Avalokiteśvara, jaune, à trois yeux, entre Bhṛkūṭi et Uṣṇiṣa (lire Uṣṇiṣā), l'officiant renaitre au Sukhavatī)
- 194a *bḥom idan-'das ma rig pa rgyal mo chen mo le'u b'ṣi pa'o* [Bhagavatī *vidyarañjī*, 4ème chap⁴ prononcée par le Mahabodhisattva Arya Vajrapāṇi]
- 194b Mahabrahmā révèle la *vidya* qui protège des voleurs, de la peur des serpents etc
- 195a Description d'une peinture sur étoffe (*pata*) Buddha exposant la Loi, à droite, Avalokiteśvara, à gauche, Vajradhara. Auprès d'Avalokiteśvara, Bhṛkūṭi et Mahavidyarañjī, tous les personnages en *padmasana*. Rites (*kumārī* de 15 ans, recitation du rosaire)
- 196b5 "Réussite du rosaire" (*maṇḍala* tracé dans un cimetière. Le *vidya dhara* y place des ossements, apparitions effroyables, puis on va au Brahmaloḥa. Tous ces rites sont accompagnés de 7 recitations)
- 197a5 "Reussite de la Jouissance de la Fille de l'Asura" (*lha ma yin-gyū bu mo la lons spyod*)
- 197b *bḥom idan-'das ma rig pa rgyal mo chen-mo chans-pas gsuns pa le'u lna pa o* [Bhagavatī *mahavidyarañjī*, 5ème chap, prononcé par Brahma]
Rites enseignés par Triśankhu, roi des Matanga (os de femme, arrosage d'urine de vache)
- 198a Peinture, par un artiste habile ayant observé *lupoṣadha*, d'une image de Triśankhu sous l'aspect d'un démon. Rites (on renait au Sukhavatī)
- 199a2 *bḥom idan-'das ma rig pa rgyal mo phur bu gsum-pas bḥad-pa le'u drug pa o* [Bhagavatī *vidyarañjī*, 6ème chap, prononcée par Triśankhu]
Rites enseignés par Indra Bhutanatha (peinture montrant Bhagavat entre Avalokiteśvara à droite, et Vajrapāṇi à gauche. Bhagavat, parée, couleur de *priyangu* est auprès d'Avalokiteśvara, en haut, un *devaputra* porte des fleurs, en bas, l'officiant tient l'encensoir)
- 199b Rites (il apparaît un seigneur-éléphant sur lequel on monte. Un cadavre est emporté auprès d'une rivière où il est lavé, puis placé sur un bucher, tête à l'Est, rite de protection du compagnon, on
- 200a brûle le corps et on recite jusqu'à ce que la fumée sorte par la bouche du cadavre. Obtention de la *vidya* des éléphants.) (cf *supra*, p 331,
- 200b note 17) La *vidyadhara* modèle l'image d'un paon avec de la terre

⁴ La numérotation des chapitres passe de 1 à 4. Après le 1er *le'u* l'instruction est faite par Vajrapāṇi et la fin du 4ème *le'u* se rapporte précisément à la section de Vajrapāṇi.

de fourmillière prise dans un cimetière Récitations jusqu'à ce que le paon remue, on le touche il se change en femme

- 201a "Réussite du lion" (on suscite un lion sur lequel on monte et qui, comme le vent, vous conduit chez les 33 dieux on est maître des filles de l'Asura). Rites au moyen d'un cadavre

- 202b *dban ldan gyis rab tu bḡad-pa'i bḡom ldan 'das ma'i rig pa'i rgyal mo'i le'u [bdun] rjogs so [Bhagavatī vidyārājñī, fin du 7ème chapitre prononcé par Isāna (Dban ldan)]*
Rites enseignés par les quatre Lokapāla

- 203a Peinture représentant Bhagavatī Sugatā Rites aquatiques
- 204a Un peintre habile, ayant observé l'*upoṣadha*, peint Bhagavat, jaune d'or enseignant la Loi, à droite, Avalokitesvara (tiare de tresses, rosaire, lotus), à gauche, Vajrapāni ayant auprès de lui les 4 Grands Rois, en bas, l'officiant Rites (un bœuf se présente sur lequel on monte on obtient un corps de *deva*, on soumet les filles de l'Asura, on vivra 1500 ans et on renaitra dans la famille des quatre Grands Rois)

- 205a *bḡom ldan 'das ma rig pa'i rgyal mo-ḡhen-mo rgyal ḡhen bzis gsuns pa'i le'u brgyad-pa'o [Bhagavatī mahavidyārājñī, 5ème chap prononcé par les quatre Grands Rois]*

Rites enseignés par Garuḡa (pour guérir du venin, trancher les *vidyā* adverses, subjuguier, devenir invisible, faire partie de l'entourage des Vidyadhara, renaitre au ciel des Tuṣita)

- 206b *bcom ldan 'das-ma rig pa'i rgyal mo nam mkha' ldan gyi bḡad pa'i le'u ḡgu pa'o [Bhagavatī vidyārājñī, 9ème chap, prononcé par Garuḡa]*

Rites enseignés par les Meres, les yakṣa, les Sœurs, les Pisaca, etc

- 207b "Réussite du Pisāca" (*mandala* dans un cimetière, *baḡi* de viande et d'alcool, offrandes ignées de poils d'homme et de sang qui attirent les Pisaca)

- 208a Rites pour se rendre invisible, pour dominer une femme, pour délivrer de l'emprise des Pisaca (offrande de chair humaine)

- 210a *bcom ldan 'das ma rig pa'i rgyal mo ḡhen-mo | ma mo dan | gnod-sbyin dan | srin-mo dan | 'byun po dan | ḡa za thams cad kyis gsuns pa'i mehan-ñid-kyi le'u bcu ba rjogs so || [Bhagavatī mahavidyārājñī, fin du 10ème chap des signes (lalṣana), prononcé par les Mères, les Yakṣa, les Sœurs, les Bhuta, les Pisaca]*

Rites pour faire tomber la pluie

- 211a *bḡom ldan 'das ma rig pa'i rgyal mo chen mo'i le'u bḡu ḡḡig pa'o [Bhagavatī mahavidyārājñī, 11ème chapitre]*

Rites enseignés par Vemacitra (Thag bzans ris), chef des Asura

- 212b *lha ma yin gyi dban po thag bzans ris kyis bḡad pa'i bḡom ldan 'das ma rig pa'i rgyal mo chen-mo'i le'u bḡu ḡḡis pa'o || byan-ḡhub sems*

dpa's sde snod phal po-che las bcom-ldan-'das ma rig pa : rgyal mo's bshyed-par byed-pa : gsan chen tes pa'o [Bhagavatī mahavidyārājñī, 12^e chap, prononce par Vemacitra chef des Asura "Grand Secret" (*mahaguhya*) qui fait apparaître Bhagavatī vidyārājñī, extrait du *Bodhisattvapitāka avatamsaka*]

- 217a Peinture sur étoffe (Avalokitesvara, couleur des nuages d'automne, sur un lotus, un lotus à la main, pare, tiare de tresses), on accroche l'image à un *stupa*, grand sacrifice au Buddha. Si sort une lumière d'Avalokitesvara, si la terre tremble, si on entend le son d'un grand tambour (*rna bo che*), le *pata* remue et la réussite est faite
- 217b Réussite du remède pour les yeux (*rig sman*)
- 218a Recettes pour lier les *vidya* adverses
- 219a Rites pour se concilier les Naga
- 220a Rites pour asservir les Yaksini
- 220b *bcom ldan das ma 'phags ma sgröl ma° rca ba : rtog par 'jig-rten gsum las rnam par rgyal ba chen po's rtog pa rjogs so* [Fin du rite (*kalpa*) du Grand vainqueur-des Trois Mondes (Trailokamahaviṣaya) dans le "mulakalpa"]
- 221a Rites au moyen de *pata*
Longs mantra
- 220b *bcom ldan-'das ma° rca ba : rtog par sgrub thabs kyi cho ga's rim pa : le u yons su rjogs so* [Fin du chap de la méthode (*rim pa*) du rite pour la réussite (*sgrub thabs*)]
- 230b Rites pour se rendre maître d'une ville
- 233a Rites pour guérir toutes les maladies (fil file par une vierge, beurre baratte par une vierge)
- 244a Presages vus en rêve
- 247b Série de *vidya* de Tara
- 266a7 Fin des *vidya* de Tara
- 280a7 Fabrication de *pata*
- 280b Rites médicaux
- 281a Rites pour obtenir de nombreux enfants
- 281b4 Rites pour devenir chef des Preta (Yi-dags dhan)
- 284b Rites pour asservir une vierge (en faisant l'offrande en son nom)
- 290a *byan-chub sems-dpa : sde snod bcom ldan das ma° rca ba : rtog par tkams-cad ti un mon pa : cho ga's rig pa's le u rab byam rjogs so* [Fin du chapitre de la *vidya* des rites (*tidhi*) pour tous les usages dans le *Bodhisattvapitāka° mulakalpa*]
- 299b *byan-čhub sems dpa : sde snod bcom-ldan das ma° rca ba : rtog par phyag rgya : le'u rab byam rjogs-so* [Fin du chapitre des *mudra*, dans le *Bodhisattvapitāka° mulakalpa*] (le passage est presque entièrement versifié)
- 300a *vidya* de Paṇḍaravasini.

- 302a *byan čhub sems dpa'i sde-snod phal-po-čhe cin-tu-rgyas-pa čhen-po*
ñid-kyi rtog-pa'i rgyal-por ral pa gyen du brjes ces bya-ba bčom-ldan-
'das-ma sgrol ma'i rtog-pa rjogs-so [Fin du rite (*kalpa*) de Bhaga-
 vati-Tārā, nommé "Le haut chignon" (*ūrdhvajata*), dans le *Bodhi-*
sattvapitaka avataṃsaka-mahāvaiṇyaka-kalparāja] (Le Buddha est au
 Potala Son entretien avec Avalokiteśvara est suivi d'une nouvelle
 série de rites. pour devenir ministre, général, etc.: offrandes de
 fleurs, *maṇḍala* avec les produits de la vache).
- 333a Offrandes à l'arbre de Bodhi
- 344b *Maṇḍala* dans un cimetière
- 348a Pour asservir une femme, frapper Mañjuśrī avec des fleurs de
śaughandika
- 360b *byan čhub-sems-dpa'i sde snod° ral-pa gyen brjes° sgrol-ma'i rca ba'i*
rtog pa las bgran 'phren srad-bu'i čho-ga'i le'u rab-byam bču gčig-pa
yons-su rjogs so [Fin du 11ème chap qui est le rite du rosaire, extrait
 du *Bodhisattvapitaka°-ūrdhvajata°-Taramulakalpa* (cf. f 136a)].
- 365a Réussite du *ril bu* ("pilule" (?) Lire plutôt *dril bu* "cloche") *bčom-*
ldan-'das ma'i rca-ba'i rtog sgrub-thabs thams-čad čes bya-ba 'di
rjogs so [Ce qui est nommé "Réussite pour tout" [dans] le *mūla-*
kalpa de Bhagavati, est terminé]
- 368b *Maṇḍala* de Bhagavati (descriptions).
- 378a Longue énumération de *vidyārājñi*
- 380b *ral-pa gyen brjes kyi rgyud phyi-ma'i dkyil-'khor čhen-po's čhō-ga'o*
 [Rite (*vidhi*) du grand *maṇḍala* de l'appendice de l'*Ūrdhvajataṇtra*].
- 381a Avalokiteśvara enseigne la fabrication de son propre *maṇḍala* Rites
 (une *phyag rgya slob ma*, "femme du sacrifice," vêtue de blanc).
 Nombreuses descriptions iconographiques suivies de rites
- 405a *bčom ldan-'das-ma sgrol-ma'i rca-ba[i's rtog] dan po-las btus-pa rjogs-*
so [Fin du recueil extrait du premier [*mūlakalpa*] de Bhagavati-Tārā].
- 410a7 Peinture de *paśa* (sur l'un. le Buddha, encadré d'Ananda et de
 Vajrapāṇi, a d'un côté Avalokiteśvara, de l'autre, Tārā et Mahāmā-
 yūrī A la droite de celle-ci, au Sud, le Jambudvīpa, à trois pointes,
 en forme d'avant de char; à l'Ouest, le Goḍaniya, rond; au Nord,
 l'Uttarakuru, carré, à l'Est, le Videha, en forme de demi-corps
 (c'est-à-dire demi-lune? jeu de mot sur *videha?*) dans lequel est
 peint le Maître des Gandharva, le Grand Roi Rāṣṭrapāla avec sa
 suite Dans le Jambudvīpa est représenté le Grand Roi Virūdhaka,
 maître des Kumbhāṇḍa Dans la représentation du Goḍaniya du
 Nord (*byan kyi ba-lan spyod gyi glugs su*) est peint le Grand Roi
 Virūpākṣa, maître des Nāga, vêtu de blanc, ayant des yeux de bœuf
 Dans l'Uttarakuru, est peint le Grand Roi Nal-*śa-po* (pour *nal gso*
 — [Vai]śramapa), maître des Yakṣa, avec sa suite).

- 411a Rites (du fil tordu par une vierge, des flèches, du jujube, des amandes, etc, sont places aux pieds du Buddha)
- 414a Cle des songes et des presages
- 415b7 Ceremonies a celebrer avant de partir a l Est, au Sud etc
- 420b Dialogue entre Śakyamuni et Avalokitesvara Rites pour asservir Mara Indra, Brahma, Lokanatha, *deva, naga*, etc
- 422b *Mantra* d'Hayagriva
- 423b *Pata* representant Bhagavat, ayant a gauche Avalokitesvara En dessous de celui-ci, le *vidyaraaja* Hayagriva (pail jaune œil rouge, etc) attend ses ordres Rites
- 427b *nad med-pa : le'u rjogs so* [Fin du chapitre de l absence de maladies]
- 434 *gnod sbyin mo's le'u rjogs so* [Fin du chapitre de la *yaḥsini*] Rites aupres d un lac de lotus
- 436b Rites en bateau
- 438a *byan-chub sems-dpa : mthu rnam par bsgyins pa tes-bya ba's le'u rjogs so* [Fin du chapitre nomme "Proclamation du pouvoir magique du Bodhisattva']
Rites pour voir Amutabha
- 442b *rtā-mgrin rgyal-ba's ḥho-ga zib-mo 'di yan rjogs so* [Ce petit rite, d'Hayagriva vainqueur, est aussi terminé]
Longs *mantra*
- 453a *raḥ-pa gyen-brjes kyi rgyud phyi-ma rjogs so* [Termine l appendice de l *Ūrdhvajatantra*]

AVALOKITA AND APALOKITA

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Avalokita and Tārā are two of the most popular saviours adored by the followers of Mahāyāna Buddhism. The name of the goddess harmonizes perfectly with her rescuing activities, and there is a *consensus omnium* as to the fact that Tārā means "the rescuer". The name Avalokita,¹ on the other hand, has been the subject of the most divergent interpretations.

¹The Indian lexicographical works (*Medinīkoṣa*, *Trīkaṇḍaśeṣa* and HEMACANDRA'S *Anekārthasaṃgraha*, all three missing in the Peiping libraries) quoted by the larger St. Petersburg dictionary in connection with the Bodhisattva name give Avalokita as such. This significant fact has evidently escaped the attention of most modern writers on the subject, who regard Avalokiteśvara as the *nomen proprium* of the saint. In purely religious works too the Bodhisattva is frequently designated as Avalokita. ŚĀN'TIDEVA (seventh century A.D.) uses Avalokita (Avalokiteśvara) as the Bodhisattva name in the second chapter (verse 51) of his *Bodhicaryāvatāra*. See Prajñākaramati's commentary to the *Bodhicaryāvatāra* edited by L. de la Vallée Poussin (*Bibl. Ind.*), p. 66. See also BURNOUR, *Introduction* 200, and RĀJENDRALĀLAMITRA, *The Buddhist Sanskrit Literature of Nepal* 259. Professor de la Vallée Poussin thinks that before becoming śiva Avalokiteśvara was a Bodhisattva, and as such was named "Avalokita" (*PRF* 2 257).

In Tibet the equivalent of Avalokiteśvara (Sgyan ras gzigs-dbañ phyug) is not unknown, but by far the most popular form of the name is Sgyan ras-gzigs (a translation of Avalokita). It seems to me that the various additions to the word Avalokita, like *lokeśvara* (see note 4 below) *virāṭa*, *nātha* (see *ICHP* 17 4) etc. should have been regarded as mere titles. In many documents the name of the Bodhisattva is entirely omitted and he is designated by one of his titles only. See HUNTER'S article "Lokēśvara en Indochine" (*Revue Asiatique* I, published by the F. F. L. O. in 1925). In the Tanjur we find a work entitled: Sgyan ras-gzigs-pal-lhal-can-gyi-agant thab. COMPTON (*Index Tib.* 2 304) gives the following as the Sanskrit title of this work: *Pāśāṅkūśaśāntilāharaṇa*. On page 316 of the same volume we find the titles: *Dpal sgyan ras gzigs kyis* and *don dāḥ kyis* Sgyan ras gzigs kyis and *don dāḥ kyis* and *byāḥ kyis* Sgyan ras gzigs kyis. The first title is the Tibetan equivalent of *lokeśvara* and the second of *virāṭa*. In the index volume of the *Chittell's Tibetan Dictionary* (1921) we find 10 titles beginning with the Tibetan equivalent of *lokeśvara* and merely eight titles beginning with the Tibetan equivalent of *virāṭa*.

The name Avalokīta is not confined to the strictly religious sphere. What are possibly the oldest existing uses occur in medical works. Those who agree with Dr Kunte's dating of VĀGBHATA II (*MHIM* 3 796) will have to believe² that the word Avalokīta was known as the name of a medical authority at least as early as the second century B C. The *Astangasamgraha* reports that its author, VĀGBHATA I, received his [medical] education from his *guru* Avalokīta (*guror aivalokītat*) and from his own father Simhagupta. Vagbhata I describes Simhagupta as more venerable (*gurutara*) than Avalokīta, and the Sanskrit commentary (Indu's *Sasīlekha*) explains the words *guror aivalokītat* by *aivalokītahyad adiguroh*. VĀGBHATA I, the author of the *Astangasamgraha*, was a famous physician, and his teacher (*MHIM* 3 788) Avalokīta too was evidently a human member of the medical profession.

The word Avalokīta must have been known in India as the name of a heavenly being before A D 253. We arrive at this *terminus ante quem* by considering the fact that the larger *Sulhavatiryūha* (NANJIO No 27) was translated into Chinese by Sanghavarman in A D 252. In the edition of the Sanskrit text, which we owe to MULLER and NANJIO, the Bodhisattva is called Avalokītesvara (*Aivalokīta* plus *isvara*), and Sanghavarman gives Kuan shih yin 觀世音 as his name.³ Kuan shih yin is

² The *Asṭāṅgasamgraha* (*MHIM* 3 809) also mentions Avalokīta as a [medical] author. By *MHIM* I designate Dr MUKHOPĀDHYAYA's *History of Indian Medicine*, the third volume of which was published at Calcutta in 1929. Neither the *Astangasamgraha* (ascribed to Vāgbhata I), nor the *Asṭāṅgaśrīdayasamhitā* (attributed to VAGBHATA II and edited by Dr Kunte), nor the writings of HOFERLE on Indian medicine are available in Peking. Therefore I am not in a position to form anything like an independent judgment as to the much disputed dates of Vagbhata's. According to Julius JOLLY's "Medicin," Strassburg 1901, page 8, Huth asserts that Vāgbhata II cannot have lived after the eighth century A D.

³ There is at least one Chinese translation of the larger *Sulhavatiryūha* still in existence (NANJIO No 25), which must be considerably older than Sanghavarman's version. Lo-chia-ch'an 婁迦識, who is responsible for that translation, died according to NANJIO (Column 381), all his translation work before A D 187. In the translation ascribed to Lo-chia-ch'an a Bodhisattva named K'o-lou hsiān 盧樓亘 is mentioned (*Taishō Tip* 12 290A). According to ROSENBERG's *Introduction to the study of Buddhism* Part I (Tōkyō 1916) 170 the *Tetsugaku Daijishō* 哲學大辭書 states that K'o-lo-lou hsiān 盧樓亘 = Avalokītesvara. The character 鵠 seems out of place in the passage quoted by Rosenberg from the dictionary. It has probably found its way into the dictionary by a mistake. Mr L. K. Lin tells me that in the *Fo Erh ya* 佛爾雅 (Yang Chou edition, vol 1 3b) its author (CHOU Ch'un 周春) quotes the expression K'o-lou hsiān and adds

evidently a translation of Skt *Avalokīṭalokasvara*, a compound which, as far as I know, does not occur in the existing documents written with Indian characters.⁴ It has been suggested that Kuan yin 觀音, the most popular Chinese name of the Bodhisattva, is an abbreviation of 觀世音 entirely due to the Chinese. This view will probably not be encouraged by those who know that *Avalokitasvara* occurs in an ancient manuscript written with Indian characters, which has been found in Eastern Turkestan (MIRONOV, p. 243). Dr MIRONOV is evidently right in believing that the form *Avalokitasvara* (which occurs five times on one incomplete leaf) cannot be due to clerical errors. It has never been found in documents doubtlessly written in India, but it must have been regarded as correct by some at least of the Sanskrit scholars living north of the Himālaya.

the three characters 烏合翻 to it (between 盧 and 樓) in small type. In the *Fan : Ming : Chi Hsin pien* 翻譯名義集新編 (Shanghai 1921, page 62b) we find the statement that the *Wu liang Ching ching P'ing t'eng Chueh Ching* 無量清淨平等覺經 gives 盧 (烏合切) 樓亘 as the Bodhisattva's name. Those who regard *Ko lou huan* as a translation of *Avalokiteśvara* or of *Avalokitasvara*, will have to admit that it is rather incomplete, but they may possibly be right in their contention. The character 盧 according to JULIEN (*Méthode* page 132), represents the *a* in *apramāṇābha* (read *apramāṇabha*). 樓 frequently stands for Skt *lo* (see, for instance JULIEN, page 137), and 亘 for *śva* in *lokeśvara* (JULIEN page 185). According to ODA's *Buḥkyō Daijiten* 佛教大辭典, page 1028a the characters 樓夷亘羅 represent the Skt word *lokeśvara-rāja* (the *nom propr* of a Buddha). K'ō hung 可洪, who worked about A D 940 declares that 光世音 (*Avalokīṭalokasvara*) was the Chinese translation of the transliterated name *Ko lou huan*. See the *Tōkyō Meiyo Trip* vol 爲 fasc 1, page 25b. In his article *Kwan Yin* (ERE 7) Professor TAKAKUSU asserts that the name 觀世音 was introduced by Kumārajīva. This assertion does not agree with the fact that this same name occurs in the version of the *Sukhāvatīvyūha* (*Taiśō Trip* 12 273A) ascribed to Saṅghavarman who flourished more than a century earlier than Kumārajīva. In the same article of the *ERE* we find the following words we can further identify *Avalokita* or *Apalokita* (in Pāli) of *Potalaka* with *Apollo Patareus* both being in this case patron deities of mariners.

⁴The compounds *Avalokīṭalokasvara* and *Avalokitasvara* both occur in documents written with Indian characters (See BHATTACHARYYA's *Indian Buddhist Iconography* Oxford University Press 1924 page 182 and MIRONOV's *Buddhist Miscellanea JPAS* for 1927, pages 241 270). In view of these facts the hypothesis that the compound *Avalokīṭalokasvara* which is an exact counterpart of 觀世音, occurred in documents written with Indian characters becomes a moral certainty. According to CORDIER (*Fonds tib* 2 164), the compound *Avalokīṭalokasvara* (*Spyab-ras gziḡs hjiḡ-ten dḡaḡ phḡyug*) also occurs in the title of a work forming part of the Tanjur. A Chinese equivalent of *Avalokīṭalokasvara* (觀世自在) is found in the *Hsi yü Chi* (*Taiśō Trip* 51 883B) and in EITEL's *Handbook* 25.

This supposition is confirmed by the *Fan-i Ming-i Chi* 翻譯名義集 (*Taisho Trip* 54 1062A), which seems to consider 阿婆盧吉低舍婆羅 (Avalokitesvara) correct but admits that [instead of śvara] the sutra texts [written in Sanskrit?] north of the Himalaya mountains (雪山已來經本) have 娑婆羅 (svara) meaning "sound"⁵ The *Ta Fang Kuang Fo Hua yen Ching Su* 大方廣佛華嚴經疏 (NANJIO No 1589) discusses the compounds 觀自在 and 觀世音 in a similar way⁶ and says "In

⁵ In this statement the fact that the two forms of the compound (Avalokitesvara and Avalokitasvara) differ not only as to the sibilant used is ignored. Fa yun 法雲 author of the *Fan-i Ming-i Chi* should have said that the cis Himalayan (from the Chinese point of view) form was *tasvara not *tesvara. Most authorities seem to be sure that the root *lok* from which they derive the name Avalokita must mean to see in this connection. However whether we choose the most popular explanation of *avalokita* or adopt one of the other interpretations of the expression we shall have to admit that a word meaning sound (which certainly cannot be seen) is no appropriate companion for *avalokita*. Therefore I believe that the translation of *stara* (in the compounds Avalokitalokasvara and Avalokitasvara) by sound was probably not accepted by all the cis Himalayan Sanskrit scholars who regarded Avalokitalokasvara or Avalokitasvara as correct. May not *stara* have been considered a more or less exact equivalent of *śvara*? Is it altogether impossible to connect *stara* with *star* meaning heaven? According to the smaller St Petersburg dictionary *stara* is a Beiname of the god Viṣṇu and *starā* the *nomen proprium* of the chief consort of the god Brahman. According to SCHMIDT's *Nachtrage zum Sanskrit Wörterbuch* *starā* bald = *svargastri*. I am not in a position to consult the authorities referred to by the St Petersburg dictionary and by the *Nachtrage* because neither the *Viṣṇusūtra* nor the *Srikāṇṭhacarita* can be found in Peiping. I agree with Professor Tachibana 立花俊道 in believing that the translation Avalokitasvara 觀音 belongs to the same category of mechanical renderings as Asura 無酒 (without wine *Skt surā*) and Abhāsvara 光音 (*lāḥ plus starā* sound). See the *Journal of the Taishō University* 6 7 part 1 pp 167-176. According to MOVIER WILLIAMS dictionary *abhāsura* *abhāscara* *bhāsura* and *bhāstara* all mean shining etc. One of the Chinese translations of the word *abhāscarāḥ* which we find in the *Mahāvastupatti* (SAKAKI edition No 309^o) is 光音天. The *Abhāsvarāḥ* are regarded as gods but it does not seem to be certain whether they live in the third or in the ninth heaven. See *Hōbōgiri* 9. On page 41 of the *Hōbōgiri* the translation Asura 無酒 (sans alcool) and four other Chinese translations of the term are mentioned. In the *Tanjur* (Chomel *Mdo* vol DI page 196b) we find the following statement [the Asuras] are [a suras or] non gods (*lha ma yin*) on account of their numerous acts of deceit and treachery (*gyo-dan-spyus-spyod pa maṅ bas*). The title of the work in which this statement occurs is *Sam-paḥi-chos-pundarikāḥi-hgrel-pa*. See CORDIER, *Fonds tibétain* 3 372.

⁶ Both the *Fan-i Ming-i Chi* and the *Ta Fang Kuang Fo Hua yen Ching Su* (*Taishō Trip* 35 940A) regard 觀世音 (Avalokitalokasvara) as an exact equivalent of

the Sanskrit originals themselves two different names of the Bodhisattva occur. It is due to this difference in the Sanskrit originals that the Chinese translators of these same originals differ as to the names of the Bodhisattva " 7

Both Fa yun 法雲, the author of the *Fan-i Ming-i Chi* and Ch'eng-kuan 澄觀, the author of the *Ta Fang Kuang Fo Hua-yen Ching Su*, lived long after Hsuan-tsang 玄奘, who, in the third chapter of his *Hsi-yu Chi* 西域記 (*Taishō Trip* 51 883B), discusses the name of the Bodhisattva. The famous traveller affirms that the old Chinese forms of the name 光世音, 觀世音 [Avalokītalokasvara] and 觀世自在 [Avalokītalokesvara] are all wrong. The correct form of the name is according to Hsuan-tsang 觀自在 [Avalokiteśvara]. 光世音 is the only Chinese form of the name known to me in which the first element of the compound (Avalokita) is translated by a character (光) meaning "light, splendour, to illuminate" etc. It seems to me that the character 光 is as unsatisfactory as a rendering of avalokita in this connection as 觀 ("to see" etc.) and 闕,⁸ which means "to look" etc.

Most Indian and western interpreters agree with the majority of the Chinese translators in believing that *lok* plus *ava* can mean nothing but "to see, observe, etc." in this connection and they translate the name Avalokita accordingly. BURNOUR (*Introduction*², 201) reports that, according to the *Karandavyūha*, the Sanskrit text of which cannot be

Avalokitasvara, which is of course wrong. The character 世 (*loka*) is not represented in their transliterations, which transcribe merely the forms Avalokiteśvara and Avalokitasvara.

⁷ See the *Taishō Trip* 35 940A, where the following passage occurs 然梵本之中自有二種不同。故譯者隨異。

⁸ In the *Mahāvīrutpatti* (SAKAKI ed No 645) and in EITEL's *Handbook* (page 25) we even find the monstrous compound 觀世音自在 [Avalokītalokasvareśvara]. Eitel ignores 世 and translates this expression by "the sovereign who looks on or regards the sounds of prayers". 光世音 the same author renders as follows "the sound of the world of light". BEAL (*Catena*, p 383) quotes Sir J Davis, who translates Kuan shih yin by "she who hears the cries of men," and renders the same Chinese expression by "the universally manifested voice" on page 384. I am very much obliged to Professor Y. K. Tschen for drawing my attention to the passage of the *Hsi-yü Chi*, quoted above and for several other valuable indications.

⁹ In a translation of the *Vimalakīrtinīrdeśa* which is ascribed to Chih Ch'ien 支謙 (third century A D), the name of the Bodhisattva is represented by the characters 闕音. See the *Taishō Trip* 14 519B. In the corresponding passage of Kumārajīva's (about A D 400) translation of the *Vimalakīrtinīrdeśa* the Bodhisattva is referred to as Kuan shih yin. See the *Taishō Trip* 14 537B.

found in Peiping, Āśoka asks Upagupta for the reason "pour laquelle le Bodhisattva . se nomme Avalokitesvara" Upagupta answers this question as follows "c'est parce qu'il regarde avec compassion les êtres souffrant des maux de l'existence" To this passage Burnouf adds the following note On voit par là que les Buddhistes du Nord considèrent le nom d'Avalokitesvara comme formé de deux mots, un participe et un substantif, savoir, *īvara*, "le seigneur," et *avalokita*, "qui a regardé en bas" Il est évident qu'ils donnent au participe non le sens passif (regarde), mais le sens actif (qui a regardé) Je ne crois pas que cet emploi du participe en *ita*, lequel est positivement autorisé par Pāṇini, quand il s'agit d'une action commençante (I III, c IV, p 71 et 72), puisse être admis dans le sanscrit classique pour le radical *lok* Mais ce ne serait pas la première fois que la langue des livres buddhiques s'éloignerait de celle des compositions brāhmaniques Il n'est pas douteux que les peuples orientaux, qui ont connu le nom d'Avalokiteśvara et qui ont eu à le traduire dans leurs idiomes, n'aient assigné à la première des parties dont il se compose le sens actif que je signale ici Klaproth a, dans une dissertation spéciale, mis le fait hors de doute relativement aux Tibétains et aux Mongols (*Nouv Journ Asiat*, t VII, p 190), et M Rémusat l'a également établi plus d'une fois en ce qui touche les Chinois (*Foe koue* 1, p 56, 117 et 119)

Professor Grunwedel (*Mythol des Buddhismus* 128) says Das Sanskritwort [Avalokiteśvara] kann aber, wenn seine Form korrekt ist, nur übersetzt werden "der Herr, welcher angesehen wird oder wurde," und man konnte auf den Gedanken kommen, dass der über seinem Scheitel sitzende kleine Amitābha etwas mit der Bezeichnung, deren eigentlicher Sinn später nicht mehr verstanden worden wäre, zu thun haben konnte

In his article "Avalokiteśvara" (*ERE* 2) Professor de la Vallée Poussin states that "the meaning of the compound Avalokiteśvara is not at all clear Scholars do not agree as to its significance" Among the translations (suggested by various authorities) of Avalokita or Avalokiteśvara which Professor de la Vallée Poussin mentions in his article, we find the following the lord of what we see, i e of the present world, the lord of the view, le souverain qui voit tout, the beholding lord, the lord whom we see, the lord revealed, the master who is or was seen, the lord who looks, the lord who looks down from on high, the lord of compassionate glances, the lord of special mercies, the lord with compassionate glances, the lord of the view or of that which is seen, a person to whom good bye has been said, the lord who is seen, and the revealed god

In his excellent article entitled "Der Name Avalokiteśvara," which appeared in the first volume of the *Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik* (Leipzig, 1922), Professor Zimmer severely criticizes the explanations of the name Avalokiteśvara, which we find in comparatively recent Buddhist works. He is undoubtedly right in regarding the explanation quoted by Burnouf from the *Kārandavyūha* as unacceptable, and says (page 75) "Der wichtigste Begriff dieser Erklärung, der ihre Pointe ausmacht, 'mitleidsvoll' wohnt dem Bestandteil *avalokita* von Haus aus gar nicht inne, sein Begriff ist von keinerlei gefühlsmäßige gefärbt. Vielleicht darf man umgekehrt sagen, dass dem *avalokita* sich allmählich die Nuance des Mitleids angeheftet hat, weil Mitleid ein Hauptzug des Wesens Avalokiteśvara's ist, der auch Mahākaruṇa 'voll grossen Mitleids' heisst."

Professor Zimmer also objects to Professor de la Vallée Poussin's translation of the compound Avalokiteśvara "le seigneur qui regarde," and says (on page 77) "Überhaupt ist es nicht sehr wahrscheinlich, dass Avalokiteśvara ursprünglich nach der Tätigkeit des Schauens im allgemeinen Wertsinne benannt sein soll."

On pages 78-79 Professor Zimmer deals with the translation "the master who is or was seen" (der geopenbaarde Herr) and arrives at the conclusion that it does not do justice to the personality of the Bodhisattva. Denn sichtbar sind in irgend einer Weise alle Bodhisattvas, und wer Avalokiteśvara nach dieser Eigenschaft benannt haben will, lässt damit etwas an ihm für wesentlich gelten, was jedem Bodhisattva eigentümlich ist, keiner Hervorhebung bedarf und ungeeignet ist, einen gegenüber den anderen zu charakterisieren. Da aber Avalokiteśvara noch ein Bodhisattva ist, hat es keinen Sinn, Sichtbarkeit an ihm als bezeichnend hervorzuheben.

Professor Zimmer also disagrees with the translation "the lord of what we see" i. e. "of the present world" and points out that the Bodhisattva as such does not yet own a *Buddhakṣetra*. He thinks that, if in spite of that fact the Buddhists had wanted to designate him as "Herr der sichtbaren Welt" they would have chosen a less ambiguous expression.

While highly appreciating Professor Zimmer's treatment of these renderings of the Bodhisattva's name I cannot accept his own interpretation of it "der bodhi [avalokita] fähig [īśvara]" mainly because this explanation must fall to the ground as soon as we realize that Avalokita (not Avalokiteśvara) is the name to be explained.¹⁰

¹⁰ We have seen above (note 4) that the Bodhisattva was occasionally designated as Avalokitalokesvara in India in Tibet (Spyan ras gzigs byug rten dba'i phyug) and in China (觀世自在). This fact certainly militates against the translation of *īśvara* by fähig zu in this connection.

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Dr Har Dayal (*The Bodhisattva Doctrine*, London 1932, pp 47-48) mentions some of the translations of the name Avalokiteśvara given in Professor de la Vallée Poussin's article and, entirely ignoring Professor Zimmer's important paper, adds a few others to their number. Among these additions we find the following one: lord of wisdom. Of this interpretation Dr Dayal says that it "is neither better nor worse than those mentioned above, all of which are unsatisfactory" ¹¹

What is probably the oldest Indian explanation of the name Avalokita in existence forms part of the 24th chapter of the *Saddharmapundarika-sutra* (which I generally call "the Lotus sutra" for short). In the prose part of that chapter in addition to Abhayamdada, one of the less known appellations of Avalokita, the name Avalokita itself is explained. The logic of the explanation which the Lotus sutra gives for the name Abhayamdada (*bhītanam sattvanām abhayam dadatī anena karanena bhayamdada itī samjñāyata ita etc*) is flawless, and we must expect that the justification of the name Avalokita is equally free from absurdities. The following translation of the Sanskrit text of the Lotus sūtra passage, *Bibl Buddh* 10 438-439, which explains the name Avalokita, is almost entirely identical with Kern's English version (*S B E* 21 406-407). Thereafter the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Akṣayamatī rose from his seat, put his upper robe upon one shoulder, placed his right knee upon the earth, stretched his right knee upon the earth, stretched his joined hands towards the Bhagavat and said: For what reason, O Bhagavat is the Bodhisattva Mahasattva the Lord Avalokita called the Lord Avalokita? So he asked, and the Bhagavat answered to the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Akṣayamatī: All the hundred thousands of myriads of kotis of creatures, young man of good family, who in this world are suffering troubles will, if they hear the name of the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva the Lord Avalokita, be released from that mass of troubles. Those who shall keep the name of this Bodhisattva Mahasattva the Lord Avalokita, young man of good family, will, if they fall into a great mass of fire be delivered therefrom by virtue of the power of the Bodhisattva Mahasattva. In case, young

¹¹ In an incomplete commentary to the Lotus sūtra which forms part of the *Tanjur* (See CORDIER *Fonds tibétain* 3 372) and is said to have been translated from the Chinese we find the following passage: *byañ chub sems dpah spyen ras gzigs ni gzigs pa la mñah brñes pa / sems can la gzigs cñ adug beñal gyi sa nas hdon pa la mñah brñes pa ho* (see the *Choni Tanjur Mdo* vol DI pages 195a-196b). The Bodhisattva Avalokita is powerful in observing: he has the power of rescuing the living beings from misfortune after having observed [their distress]. *Sapientī satī*

man of good family, creatures, carried off by the current of rivers, should implore the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva the Lord Avalokita, all rivers will afford them a ford. In case, young man of good family, many hundred thousand myriads of kotis of creatures, sailing in a ship on the ocean, should see their bullion, gold, gems, pearls, lapis lazuli, conch shells, stones (?), corals, emeralds, Musaragalvas, red pearls (?), and other goods lost, and the ship by a vehement, untimely gale cast on the island of Giantesses, and if in that ship a single being implores the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva the Lord Avalokita, all will be saved from that island of Giantesses. For that reason, young man of good family, the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva is named the Lord Avalokita.

Unless we suppose that the word Avalokita means "saviour," this passage loses every claim to logic¹². Therefore I assume that its author attached the meaning "saviour" to the name Avalokita¹³.

In this connection I may be allowed to refer to the fact that the word *loka* means "freedom" in many Vedic passages. According to the large St Petersburg dictionary *lokavindu* and *lokasani* occur in the Veda meaning "Freiheit schaffend," *lohya* meaning "freie Stellung," and *lokakṛt* meaning "befreiend"¹⁴.

In the vol OM of the A D 1700 Kanjur (vol 1 according to SAKURABE's *Chibetto Daizokyo Kanjuru Kando Mokuroku* 西藏大藏經甘殊爾勘同目錄, Kyoto, 1930 1932) we find a *dharani* which contains (page 175b³) the following words *taraya man* (read *taraya mam*, "rescue me") *avalokaya*. Even if we had no knowledge of the passage of the Lotus sutra quoted above and of the statements of the St Peters

¹² The disagreement between the general meaning of the passage and the translation of Avalokita by 觀 (Kumārājīva adopts the compound Kuan shih yin as the Bodhisattva's name in his translation of this passage) has evidently not escaped Kumārājīva's attention. He adds a few words no equivalents of which are found in the Sanskrit text or in the older Chinese translation by Dharmarakṣa or in the Tibetan translation to his rendering of the passage in a rather vain attempt to make it appear plausible. See my article 'The Emperor Chien lung and the Larger Sūramgamasūtra' *HJAS* 1 141.

¹³ The 24th chapter of the Lotus sūtra explains the name Avalokita in two different passages. In this article I discuss only the explanation which we find in the prose part of the chapter. It is a well known fact that the verses found in the 24th chapter belong to a much later epoch. See NANJIO's catalogue column 45.

¹⁴ I am unfortunately not in a position to examine the passage mentioned in the sixth volume of the larger St Petersburg dictionary in connection with these statements because the books referred to cannot be found in Peking.

burg dictionary just mentioned we would be inclined to translate *avalokaya* by something like "save [me]" or "deliver [me]"²³

According to Cowell and Neil's index to their edition of the *Dīvyāvadāna*, *avalokayati* means "takes leave of (or gets leave to go)." But this statement is incomplete. The verb *avalokayati* occurs in the *Dīvyav* at least twice in the more general sense of "asking somebody for permission or freedom to do something." In the *Sudhanakumāravadāna* the story of the young Nāga Janmacitra who was under obligation to a certain hunter is told. In order to show his gratitude to the benefactor Janmacitra de-

²³ It is a well known fact that in the *dhāraṇīs* the imperatives addressed to the divinity are often repeated or followed by imperatives containing approximately the same request. Cf., e.g., the series of imperatives, which we find on page 39a, line 8 of the vol. OM *hana hana* [for *jahi*] *daha daha ghātaya ghātaya*. In the *dhāraṇī* quoted above the imperative *taraya* (read *tāraya*) is not repeated but followed by the imperative *avalokaya*. The compound *sarvabuddhāvalokita* which we find almost as often in the *dhāraṇīs* as the compound *sarvabuddhādhiṣṭhita* (blessed by all the Buddhas) should also be mentioned in this connection. I do not agree with Amoghavajra's translation of *sarvabuddhāvalokita* by "perceived by all the Buddhas" (一切佛所觀察, *Taisho Trip* 19 523A), but I think that he is right in regarding the word *avalokita* when it forms part of the compound, as a true *participium perfecti* passive. The name *Avalokita*, on the other hand, I consider a substitute for correct *Avalokitr* (nominative *Avalokitā*). The nominative *Avalokitah* (from *avalokati*), instead of correct *Avalokitā* finds an analogy in the well known Buddhist Sanskrit name *Jeta* (*Jeta* from *jayati*) in stead of correct *Jeta* (*Jetr*) the victor. Skt *śalyakartṛ* becomes Pālī *sallakatta* (nominative *sallakatto*). See GEIGER's *Pālī Literatur und Sprache*, Strassburg 1910, page 86. I believe that Professor Wogihara too regards *Avalokitah* as a substitute for *Avalokitā*. I have not succeeded in obtaining a copy of Professor Wogihara's (荻原雲來) article, entitled *Sejizai to Kanzeon* 世自在王と觀世音, which appeared in the first number of the first volume of the *Bukkyōgaku zasshi* 佛教學雜誌. In connection with the compound *sarvabuddhāvalokita* the following phrase which occurs in the *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa* (16, 65, quoted after the larger St Petersburg dictionary) may be considered *dhanyāsmi anugrhitāsmi devaiś copy avalokitā*. Böhtlingk and Roth translate *devaiś* *avalokita* by "von den Götten (gnädig) angeblickt." I do not consider this translation very convincing. We should expect something more definite than a word meaning "angeblickt" after *dhanyā* (fortunate) and *anugrhitā* (favoured). "Blessed or saved by the gods" would certainly better suit the context. The *nomen proprium* *Avalokita*, which, according to MOYER WILLIAMS' dictionary, occurs as the name of a woman in the *Mālatīmādhava*, may be a counterpart to the Latin name *Beata* (p.p.p. of *beare*, to bless). A word meaning "die Angeblickte" would hardly be chosen by any parents as a name for their daughter. The *Mārkaṇḍeya purāṇa* and the *Mālatīmādhava* are, as far as I know the only non-Buddhist works in which words possibly belonging to *avalok* I are found.

cides to present the hunter with a miraculous noose (*amoghapāśa*) after having obtained his parents' permission to do so *mamānena bahupakṣtam matapitarav avalokya dadamīti/tena mātupitarav avalokya sa pāśo dattah* (*Dīvyav* 439)

Cowell and Neil translate the word *avalokanaka*, which also occurs in the *Dīvyāvadāna*, as follows in their index "with a fine view" They add a question mark to their rendering of the word, but I think that *avalokanaka* is certainly connected with the second group of *avalok*-forms The *Dīvyāvadāna*, the *Mahāvīyutpatti*, the *Avadānasataka* and the *Daśabhumikasūtra* show that the *avalok* forms found in Buddhist Sanskrit literature fall into two distinct groups (*avalok* I and *avalok* II) *Avalok* I is undoubtedly connected with "granting freedom etc" and *avalok* II with "to see etc"¹⁶ In Pali *apalok* generally corresponds to Buddh Skt *avalok* I, and *olok* generally corresponds to Buddh Skt *avalok* II According to CHILDERS' dictionary Pali *apaloketi* means to give notice of, to obtain consent or permission [i.e. freedom of action], and is derived from *apa* plus *lok* According to the same dictionary Pali *oloketi*, *olokati* and *avaloketi* mean to look, see etc, and are all derived from *avalok*

The fact that there are two distinct groups of *avalok* forms in Buddhist Sanskrit and that *avalok* I generally corresponds to Pali *apalok* has evidently escaped the attention of Professor Zimmer If he had considered these facts he would probably have compared Buddh Skt *avalokītam* with Pali *apalokītam* Both terms are used as epitheta or even as synonyma of words undoubtedly designating the great event of Buddhagaya (*samyaksambodhi* or *nibbana*) After analyzing two works which are both designated as *avalokītam nama sūtram* by the *Mahāvastu*, Professor Zimmer (*op cit* 81-84) arrives at the conclusion that the *Mahāvastu* uses the Buddh Skt word *avalokīta[m]* as an equivalent of *samyaksambodhi* According to the Pali Dictionary published by the Royal Danish Academy (PDDA), the adjective *apalokītagāmi(n)* means leading to *nibbana*¹⁷

¹⁶ The words *anavalokya* (*Mahāvīyutp* ed SAKAKI No 8595) and *avalokaya* (*Avadānasataka* 2-4) belong to *avalok* I The word *anavalokyaṃ* (*Daśabhumika sūtra* ed RAHDER page 4) belongs to *avalok* II

¹⁷ The PDDA quotes the words *apalokītagāminca maggam* from the *Samyutta Nikāya* ed FÉEÉ vol 4 page 370 The *PTS Pāli English Dictionary* states that *apalokīta[m]* is an epitheton of the *nibbāna[m]* In the *Nitti Pakarana* ed HARDY page 55, we find the following epitheta of the *nibbānam* *ajajjaram dhuvam apalokītan ca* One of the names of the *nibbānam* (*imehi pana nāmehi nibbānan tu lathiyati*) is according to the *Abhidhammavaiṭṭara apalokītaṃ* See

What the Buddha experienced under the Bodhi tree (*samyaksambodhi* or *nibbāna*) can evidently be described as the supreme liberation. The fact that the term *apalokitam* *avalokitam* (cf. *apavarga*, "salvation")

the PTS ed of *Buddhadatta's Manuals*, London 1915, page 82. The PDDA seems to derive the word *apalokita* (*apalokina*) when it appears in this connection from *palujjati* (to crumble, to fall down) plus alpha privativum, while it derives *apalokita* meaning "asked for leave" from *apaloketi*. In CHILDERS' dict we find the following entry: *Apalokitam*, the Unseen Nirvāṇa. The compiler of this dictionary had evidently the root *lok*, to see, plus *pa* (*pra*) and alpha privativum in mind. Neither *Palokati* nor *pralokati* can be found in the dictionaries. This fact makes the derivation of *apalokitam*, which we find in Childers' dictionary, extremely improbable. The ancient commentators, who must be responsible for the explanations which we find in the dictionaries, evidently thought that the word *apalokitam*, when applied to the *nibbānam*, had to be regarded as implying a negation (*a pralokitam* > *a ppalokitam* > *a palokitam*). Consequently they differentiated *apalokitam*, when applied to the *nibbānam*, from all the other Pāli *apalok* forms, which are analyzed as follows: *apa lok*. The fact that the two derivations mentioned above (from *palujjati* plus alpha privativum and from the non-existing *palokati* > *pralokati* plus alpha privativum) exclude one another does not add to the plausibility of the differentiation. See the PDDA 280 and CHILDERS dict page 47. The *Abhidhanappadipika* quoted by Childers is not obtainable in Peiping. The Buddh Skt word *avalokitam* (meaning *samyaksambodhi*) can hardly be derived from *a-calokitam*. Professor WINDISCH (*Māra and Buddha* 333) explains *avalokita[m]* as follows: *avalokita[m]* ist "das Erschaute", gemeint ist die höchste Erkenntnis (*samyaksambodhi*), die der Bodhisattva unter dem Bodhibaume erschaut hat. Professors Windisch and Zimmer agree in regarding *avalokita[m]* as a designation of the great event of Buddha Gaya. Those who realize that *apalokitam* (not *olokitam*) is the corresponding Pāli term will feel inclined to connect Buddh Skt. *atalokitam* with *avalok I* rather than with *avalok II*. They may also remember that both Pāli *apalokitam* and Skt. *apavarga* are synonyma of *nirvāṇam* (*nibbānam*). According to the larger St Petersburg dict. *apavarga* means die letzte Befreiung der Seele. According to CHILDERS' dict., *apavaggo* [*apavarga*] means final deliverance, Nirvāṇa. Many Pāli words beginning with *apa* correspond to words beginning with *ava* in Buddh. Skt. The best known word of this group is Pāli *apadāna*, which generally appears as *avādāna* in Buddh Skt. Those who accept Dr. SPEYER'S (prel' to his ed' of the *Avasthāśāstra* page iv) explanation of the term *apadāna-avādāna* (something cut off), will have to admit, that *apadāna* is the older form of the word. *Apa* certainly meant "off" long before *ava* did. According to Dr. Speyer's index Buddh Skt *arāṇiya* (*Avadāna* I, 315) has found its way into the text owing to a "wrong sanskritization," and *arāṇiya* would be correct. Dr. Speyer's index explains *avardda* (II 59, 1), instead of correct *aparadda*, in a similar way. It seems to me that *apalokitam* (= *nibbānam*) and *avalokitam* (= *samyaksambodhi*) are but two slightly different forms of the same term. The PDDA translates this term by "not liable to decay,"

is applied to that liberation considerably strengthens the position of the ancient Indian author¹⁸ who believed that the name Avalokita signified "the Saviour."

Childers by "the unseen," THOMAS (*History of Buddhist Thought*, London 1933, 189) by "survey" and Windisch by "das Erschaute" *Loka* certainly means "freedom" in many Vedic passages and *apaloketi* as well as *avalokayati* undoubtedly means "to get permission or freedom of action" In view of these facts and considering a number of other circumstances mentioned in this article, I suggest that *apalokitam-avalokitam* originally meant "deliverance" This interpretation and the translation of Avalokita (= Avalokitr) by "saviour" evidently support one another

¹⁸ The author of the Lotus sūtra passage translated in this article must have lived before A D 317 Cf NANJIO's catalogue No 138, according to which a still existing translation of the Lotus sūtra was made by Dharmarakṣa of the Western Chin dynasty (A D 285 316)

We do not know under what circumstances the physician Avalokita, mentioned at the beginning of this article, received his name but the possibility that he was first called Avalokita by a patient whom he had saved, is not to be excluded "The Saviour" would certainly be a most appropriate name for a successful physician

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- No III *Wu lin ts'ang-shu lu* 武林藏書錄, 4 ts'e, 4 chuan (preface dated 1885 by author, Ting Shên 丁申)
2 copies one, East Asiatic Collections, Columbia University Library, title page dated 1900 武林掌故叢稿本, contains 題辭 by 俞樾, 1821-1906, one, Harvard University, undated, contains postscriptum by 丁立中 dated 1900, apparently a separate edition from the same blocks
- No IV *Chung kuo ts'ang shu chia k'ao lueh* 中國藏書家攷略 9 + 152 double pages, 1 ts'e, Hang-chou, 1929 A brief collection of very short sketches of owners of private libraries, compiled by Yang La-ch'eng and Chin Pu ying, 楊立誠, 金步瀛 Texts of the seven bibliophiles are practically verbatim excerpts from Nos I-III above, without any indication of the sources used Useful for ready reference by index to 741 names
- No V *Hang chou fu chih* 杭州府志, preface dated 1922, 校勘記, dated 丙寅 [1926?], 81 ts'e main text in 173 chuan, supplement in 5 chuan, "corrected errors" in 1 chuan, introductory material in 8 chuan, maps in 1 chuan, 1 ts'e, no 5, maps of the fu, Chien tang hsien, and Jên ho hsien
- No VI *Shan-pên shu shih ts'ang shu chih* 善本書室藏書志, 16 ts'e, 40 chuan plus supplement of 9 double pages, Chien t'ang 1901 The catalogue in which are treated works of Hang-chou authors holdings of the Ting family, 丁氏, library, see TAAM, pp 41, 66 67, cf Harvard Yenching Index, No 17, p xiii

The books of the Ting family library are as a whole preserved in the provincial library of Kiangsu 江蘇省立國學圖書館, known now as the "Sinological Library," Nanking, see Index, No 17, p xiii

- No VII *Ssü k'u ch'uan shu tsung mu* 四庫全書總目, the Imperial Ch'ien lung catalogue, 1772 1782+, 200 *chuan*, for which 10,761 titles are indexed in the *Title Index to the Ssü k'u ch'uan shu*, compiled by 于炳耀 under the supervision of I V Gillis, Peiping, 1934. Different figures are found elsewhere. The *Ta tung* 大東 Book Company's edition of 1930, Shanghai, vol 10, 四庫全書書目表, 凡例, "rules for compilation," by Li Tzū lung, 李滋恭, dated 1911, states that of the works copied into the *Ssü k'u ch'uan shu* the entries number 3,462, while 6,734 entries are of works not copied, but of which brief descriptions, 存目, only were made for the catalogue.
- No VIII *Kuo ch'ao ch'ü hsien lei ch'ung ch'u pien* 國朝名獻類微初編; 294 *ts'ê*, 484 *chuan*, title page reverse dated 1884, 述古, dated 1880; privately published by the compiler, Li Huan 李栢.
- No IX *Pei chuan chi* 碑傳集; title page dated 1893, compiler's preface dated 1826, 100 + 2 *chuan*, 60 *ts'ê* 江蘇書局本; compiled by CH'EN I-chi, 錢儀吉, 1783 1850.
- No X *Pei chuan chi pu* 碑傳集補, preface dated 1923, 60 + 1 *chuan*, 24 *ts'ê*, errata, Yenching University Departmental publication, Peiping, 1932, compiled by Min Erh ch'ang 閔爾昌.
- No XI *Ch'ing shih lich chuan* 清史列傳, 80 *ts'ê*, 80 *chuan*, index by number of strokes to names, compiled and published by 上海中華書局, Shanghai, 1928.
- No XII *Ch'ing tai ts'ang shu chia k'ao* 清代藏書家考, published in a series of articles by Hung Yu feng, 洪有豐, in the *Chinese Library Science Quarterly*, Peking (Peiping). Material used found in Nos I IV above, except notation on printing activity.
- No XIII *Ssu k'u ch'uan shu ta-wên* 四庫全書答問, 1 volume, 32 + 334 single pages, 全國各大書局本, 1928, compiled by Jên Chi shan 任啓珊. The material used may also be found in the *Ssu k'u ta tsu tien* 四庫大辭典, 2 vols, without continuous pagination, 中國圖書大辭典編輯館本; Nanking 1932, compiled and published by Yang Chia lo 楊家駱.
- No XIV *Li tai ming jên shêng tsu nien piao* 歷代名人生卒年表; 1 vol, Commercial Press 1933, or *I nien lu hui pien* 疑年錄彙編; 8 *ts'ê* 1925 (see Pelliot's review *T'oung pao*, XXV, 1925 pp 65 81), was used for dates when given therein.

GENERAL REFERENCE

- Chung kuo jen ming ta tsu tien* 中國人名大辭典, Commercial Press, 1925, includes six of the seven bibliophiles Wang Jih kuei being the exception.
- Tz'u-yüan* 辭源, Commercial Press 1921, includes only one (Pao) of the seven by name and one (Wang Hsien) under the name of the library.
- Harvard Yenching Institute Sinological Index Series* Nos 9 24, indexes to Ching and Ming dynasty Biographies, Peiping 1932 1935, references to sources for material may be found in the case of six of the seven Wang Jih kuei being the exception, of the Ching period and for Chi Ch'eng yeh 祁承燾 of the Ming period.

Index No 17, *Preface* by the compiler was helpful in the case of Chao I-ch'ing's "Water Classic," 趙氏水經汪釋, 刻誤。

WESTERN WORKS

No attempt has been made to check possible references to the seven owners of the libraries of this group in western sources. None of them, however, are included in Giles' (*A Chinese Biographical Dictionary*) convenient handbook.

Wylie (*Notes on Chinese Literature*, pp 74, 137, 141) includes Pao, Sun, and Wang Ch'í shu.

Tan Cho yüan (*The Development of Chinese Libraries under the Ch'ing Dynasty*, 1644-1911, by Cheuk woon Taam, Shanghai, 1935, see review by L. C. Goodrich, *Pacific Affairs*, IX, I, March, 1936, pp 116-118) has gathered into a small volume (ix + 107 pages) the most complete statement in English available at this time on the library movement in China. It should be used with discretion, but it offers many helpful suggestions, in spite of its lack of an index. It has a bibliography that is comprehensive in scope. In the annotations in this article it is referred to under the author's transliteration of his surname, TAAM.

Seven owners of large private libraries located within the metropolitan area of Hang-chou, the provincial capital of Chekiang, were listed as close associates in their library activities by a younger contemporary of the group as a whole, Chu Wên-tsao 朱文藻 (hao 朗齋), 1735-1806. Ting Shen¹ 丁申 in his *Wu lin ts'ang-shu lu* 武林藏書錄 (original preface dated 1885) cites the passage containing these names from Chu's postscriptum written for an incomplete copy of a Sung edition of the *Han Shu* 漢書殘本. The treatment of the Han text in the catalogue of the Ting family library, *Shan pên shu shih ts'ang-shu chih* 善本書室藏書志 (1901), includes the name of Chu Wên tsao in the list of contributors to the introductory and supplementary material incorporated in the work when it came into the possession of the Ting library from that of the Pai chung T'ang 拜經堂, founded by Wu Ch'ien 吳騫, 1733-1813. The

¹No III/下/23b, citation from 吳壽暘 (son of Wu Ch'ien) 拜經樓藏書題跋記 (printed by 蔣光弼).

No IV/p 129b (1813-1800) found in No I/5/2a, No II/5/13a.

On the Han text, see No VI/6/3a, the copy is preserved in the "Sinological Library" in Nanking, 江蘇省立國學圖書館圖書總目, chuan 9/3b.

For Chu Wên tsao, see No V/145/43a, No XI/72/7a b, for Wu Ch'ien, see No XI/72/7b, No IV/p 31.

The study for this article was done in the East Asiatic Section, Columbia University Library. Acknowledgment is here made of the courteous assistance given to the author who wishes to express appreciation for the co-operative help of the Librarian for Chinese Books 1935-1936 Mr Peter L. M. Yoh 岳良木 (Yo Liang mu). Bibliography, Nos. I, II, III, were put at the disposal of Dr Swann by the Library of Congress and the Chinese-Japanese Library Harvard University.

closing remark in the passage from Chu's postscriptum indicates that the work about which he was writing belonged to the library Hsi t'o shan Fang 欣託山房 founded by the seventh bibliophile on the list, Wang Shih, but no positive evidence of this has been noted in the references studied in this connection Ting Shen, however, cited the passage in his treatment of that library

Chu wrote "Mr Wang of Wu lin had a Chen ch'i T'ang as his library. He interchanged visits with the private library owners of the same district, such as Mr Chao of the Hsiao shan T'ang, Mr Wang of the Fei hung T'ang, Mr Pao of the Chih pu tsu Chai, Mr Wu of the Ping hua Chai, Mr Sun of the Shou sung T'ang, and Mr Wang of the Hsi t'o shan Fang." 武林汪氏有振綺堂爲藏書之所。與同郡藏書家。若小山堂趙氏、飛鴻堂汪氏、知不足齋鮑氏、瓶花齋吳氏、壽松堂孫氏、欣託山房汪氏、皆相往來。

Within reasonably short distances of each other these seven bibliophiles were contemporaneously building up their private libraries. Without any known formal organization they were carrying on a private practice of inter library loan. They were discussing methods of preservation of their books from the ravages of insects and under existing atmospheric conditions. They were vying one with another in poetical compositions as well as in scholarly research. They were borrowing from each other rare books, whether in manuscript or in print which they as individuals did not possess. They had the privilege of exchanging their textual criticisms as well as copying for their own libraries such of these rare books as they desired to add to their holdings. Some of them edited and published in their libraries not only their own compositions, studies, and researches but also reprints of rare texts which otherwise would probably not have been made accessible to scholars of their own and perhaps later generations. A brief account of some known facts in their lives and works is here set forth.

If the group ever did gather as a whole in regular or called meetings, the convener apparently was Wang Hsien² 汪憲, 1721-1770. His library, Chen-ch'i T'ang, seems to have been a center for this particular group. Although he was given an official post within the Department of Punish

²No. I/5/18a 10b; No. II/5/20b²2a No. III/7/15a 16a No. IV/p 43; No. VI/72/6b²a; see also No. I/5/2a b; No. II/5/12a b; No. III/7/101 23b; No. V/146/97

He is called 汪西亭 No. I/5/32a No. II/5/40a; No. III/7/2²b; and 汪化甫 No. III/7/101; three works in No. VII of No. VII/2/1 edict of Chien lung 39th year 5th moon 14th day p. 8a

ments with headquarters at Peking, he began seriously to collect his books not long after receiving his *chin shih* 進士 in A D 1645. It is possible that he did not serve actively in his official position very long. He returned home on the plea that he must care for his aged parents, and apparently he never resumed his governmental duties.

His trend of interest was inexorably fixed upon the accumulation of books. "When he was besought by a bookseller, he did not begrudge money to buy the rare work at a large price." He spent his days in collating texts, punctuating them, and writing commendatory marks and annotations alongside choice phrases. "The whole day through he did not grow weary."

Of his library, Chên-ch'í T'ang, a fellow townsman of the following generation, Kung Tzū-chen 龔自珍, 1792-1841, wrote an encomium in a seven character four phrase poetic form. In this poem he proclaimed that in the contemporary period (Ch'ien lung and Chia ch'ing, A D 1736-1820), "who had one to equal it!" Some credence may be given to this triumphant expression, probably due largely to local pride, because the author, himself a learned man and the son of a scholar, had for his mother the daughter of the erudite scholar, Tuan Yu ts'ai 段王裁, 1735-1815, and was at the age of twelve a chosen disciple of that famous grandfather.

One of the seven character phrases of the poem definitely reveals something of the intimate human relationship which existed within this group of library owners, and sets the reader's imagination at work to reproduce the activities in the Wang Hsien library, the possible center for an inter-library informal association. Their friend "grasps hand" 握手 with friend,

* No I/5/19b No II/5/2^aa No XI/73/38b-39b, No X/49/13a 17a

* *Wo shou* 握手 cf No I/5/18a No II/5/2^aa This is the very intimate friendly informal greeting wherein the guest extends the one hand which is eagerly clasped between the two hands by the host or hostess when immediately the guest lays his or her other hand if free over the upper one of the host or hostess. There is no up and down movement of the hands or arms as in the hand shake of the west. Such a greeting may have been preceded by a *pushou* 拱手 which in old China was regulated by ceremonious usage to be formal in character the right hand clasped within the left one and then the two swung to the left or the right respectively on occasions for felicitations or for condolence or whether or not the individual was man or woman.

There were other modes of formal greeting to be performed by girls and women 驗粧 and 請安 of the Manchu period. On informal occasions all such greetings of both men and women can be made as demonstrative as in the formal bow or the handshake of the west.

Worms are the scourge of books in central and southern China.

there each "inquires" of the other about "worms" in his books. All of the group interchanged visits, made inter library loans, borrowed manuscripts, and shared collated texts. Some such picturesque concept inspired the opening phrase of the eulogistic poem dedicated to Wang Hsien, his sons, and his grandson by Yeh Ch'ang shih 葉昌熾, 1847-1917, in his compilation *Ts'ang shu chi shih shih* 藏書紀事詩 (original edition, 1897)

In so far as relative ages of the bibliophiles are revealed in the texts studied, the "elder brothers" 大哥 of the group were Wu Ch'uo⁵ 吳焯 (died A D 1733) and Chao Yu 趙昱 (1689-1747). The exact date for birth of Wu is lacking but since he was fifty eight sui 歲 at his death, he was born in A D 1676. In A D 1705 he was one to welcome the then reigning emperor upon the occasion of an imperial southern tour, so he must have been much older than Chao who was sixteen years old at that date. Wu's eldest son was born circa A D 1703. In Yeh Ch'ang-shih's compilation of original poems dedicated to owners of private libraries he apparently meant to arrange the poems in the chronological order of the period of the bibliophiles to whom they are dedicated. In his original edition, 1897, he had the Chao precede the Wu poem, but in his re edited and enlarged edition, 1910, he reversed this order, giving Wu Ch'uo the place of the oldest member of the group of seven owners of private libraries associated together by Chu Wen tsao more than a hundred years earlier. Ting Shen did not follow a strictly chronological order in the arrangement of his material.

Wu Ch'uo⁶ was only a *chu sheng* 諸生 in scholarly rank. He never held an official post. His only work included in the *Ssü h'u ch'uan shu* is a collection of one hundred poems incorporated in a compilation, 南宋雜事詩, in which in A D 1729 he collaborated with Chao Yu, Chao's brother, Hsin 信, and four other friends. In the treatment of this work in the *Ch'ien lung Imperial Catalogue*, the chronological arrangement of the seven authors again indicates that Wu was older than Chao Yu. Wu was much interested in classical studies, well versed in writing both in prose and poetical styles, and especially proficient in composing the *ts'ü* 詞 forms of poetry. His greatest pleasure, however, was in the accumulation of books. He hungered and thirsted for them as for food and drink.

⁵No I/4/66a 67b 70b No II/5/4b 8a 10a No III/7/10b 16a 18b No V/45/10b-13b, No V/145/23b 26b, No IV/pp 20b 30a 32b No VII/II/1 Dec 1927/pp 93 94 No VII/intro/edict Ch'ien lung 39/5/14 p 8a

⁶No VII/190/38a b.

All Sung (960 1279) and Yuan (1280 1368) printed editions together with old rare volumes from private homes that were brought to him for purchase he "needs must obtain, and have for his own" Consequently, the name of his library, P'ing hua Chai, attained a wide reputation in his generation. He compiled an account of his rare works in a text of eight *chüan* entitled *Hsun hsi Lu* 薰習錄, but he did neither printing nor reprinting in his library.

In his home there was an old wisteria vine growing over a pavilion and arbor. When the vine was in flower the tender clusters hung down like jewelled pendants. Upon occasions at that season he gave most successful entertainments, setting out wine for his guests while they vied with one another in verse making. The murmur of voices rose and fell unceasingly, and the pleasure of those present did not abate. His delight in his flowers and bamboo was such that "his foot passed not beyond his thresh hold," while "carts filled the roads to his gate" as friends came and went.

He and Chao Yu were very intimate in their scholarly researches. Every time one of them acquired an unusual text or edition or old manuscript, the other as a matter of course had the privilege of copying it for his holdings. They exchanged collations, they prepared introductory and bibliographical material for books. In some of Wu's books were the seal of what may have been Chao Yu's library, Hsiao-shan T'ang 小山書堂印. Wu's collection of books eventually went en masse to the library founded by his contemporary, Ma Yueh kuan 馬曰琬, 1688 1755.

After Wu Ch'uo's death, his eldest son, Wu Ch'eng 吳城, circa 1703 1773, upon the occasion of a visit to Peking recovered a valuable copy of poems by Hsu Hun of the T'ang period 許渾丁卯集,* that had disappeared from his father's library more than twenty years earlier. It is told that the book was brought to Wu Ch'eng for purchase. He recognized his father's handwriting in the work, and found in it the seals of his library, fresh and clear. Upon his return home with the work, friends

* No III/下/10b, No IV/p 30a, No XII/II/I, Dec 1927/p 94. Hsiao-shan is also given as a designation for Wang Jih kuei. Except for the context of the text translated the reference might be to him rather than to Chao Yu. Later books from the P'ing-hua Chai were on the market at Kuang-tung where they were bought by Hsu Tsung-ven 許宗彥 1768 1818. No III/永/5b, cf for Hsu No I/6/1a b No II/6/8a 9a No IV/pp 91b-92a.

For the identification of Mr Ma of Kuang ling 廣陵馬氏 see No V/430/18.

* No XII/151/16a. The recovery of this book and the joy of Wu and his friends in the gatherings under the wisteria vine were the inspiration for the poem dedicated to Wu Ch'uo and his sons by Yeh Chang-shih No I/4/67b, No II/3/4b.

of his father and he himself were inspired to write commemorative verses and poems. From those assembled by Yeh Ch'ang-shuh as well as Ting Shên, it can be established that at that time the father had been dead ten years. The date of the death, A. D. 1733, is confirmed by both the *Pei chuan-chi pu* 碑傳集補 and the Hang-chou-fu gazetteer, so the son journeyed to the capital in A. D. 1743, and the beloved book had disappeared *circa* A. D. 1723.

Before and after the trip to Peking Wu Ch'êng had spent the years, months, and days adding to, and working on the books in his father's library, punctuating them, correcting errors, collating texts. In A. D. 1772 (or 1773) when the imperial call for rare works was sent throughout the land, he selected and prepared books for the *Ssü-k'u* commission in answer to the call. Before imperial recognition could be made for the presentations, he died at the age of seventy one *sui*, and his younger brother, Wu Yu ch'ih 吳玉埏, a *chu jen* of A. D. 1770, was credited with all presentations sent from the P'ing hua Chai. Three hundred and five works were accepted, and he was awarded a copy of the original edition of the *P'ei-wên yun-fu*, the concordance compiled under the personal supervision of the emperor K'ang-hsi, A. D. 1711.

Chao Yu,⁹ 1689-1747, was not only one whose age would entitle him to hold a place of honor among the seven bibliophiles, but also the one whose literary heritage through his mother would give him library prestige. She (of the Chu family, 朱氏) was a great granddaughter¹⁰ of

⁹ No I/4/65b 67b, No II/5/7b 9b, No III/下/8a 10b, No IV/pp 121b 122a; No VIII/434/8a 12b, No XI/71/59b 60b, No VII/190/38a b, *Ch'un ts'ao yüan hsiao chi* 春草園小記 by Chao Yu (丁氏武林掌故叢編本, preface A. D. 1893, 8th chü, 集, 1881 1882), pp 1a, 11b 17a 18a.

Chao Yu was called Chao Wu yao 趙勿藥 (No I/5/2a, No II/5/13a, No III/下/23a) fifty years after the period of his library activities with Wu Ch'uo.

¹⁰ In the above references (with one exception), it is usually said that Chao Yu's mother was a granddaughter of Chu Hsieh yüan 朱燮元, 1566 1639. One text at least (No VIII/434/8b) reads 曾孫女 "a great granddaughter." Since the texts examined emphasize her relationship to the Ch'ü family (see pages of text, 9a b), the data is insufficient to trace her son's relationship to Chu Hsieh yüan and double relationship to Ch'ü Ch'êng yeh. It seems most likely that she was a great granddaughter of Chu Hsieh yüan as well as of Ch'ü Ch'êng yeh who was a younger contemporary of the former.

All references agree that his grandmother by adoption, 朱德榮 (清代閩閩許人徵略 [施淑儀 明好師範講習所本, 4 ts'ü, 10 + 1 chüan 1922] 1/5a) was the wife of Ch'ü Pan sun, who was often called Ch'ü Ch'êng yeh's sixth son, but who was really the second son of Ch'ü Piao kuei 祁彪佳, 隆忠節公, 1602 1643. No I/3/35b 第二子也 is corrected in No II/3/50a to read 第二子也.

Ch'í Ch'êng-yeh ¹¹ 祁承燾, owner of one of the few great private libraries created in the late years of the Ming period

A fire destroyed the Ch'í family library in A. D. 1597, but in a few years another collection was begun, being named Tan-shêng T'ang 澹生堂. In A. D. 1604 Ch'í Ch'êng-yeh received his degree of *chin-shih*, and about A. D. 1625 a catalogue of his holdings was completed. Pelliot suggested A. D. 1620 for the probable date by which his accessions were fairly complete. Ch'í wrote a sort of agreement for his children to observe, and to it he attached for the guidance of his descendants a short treatise on library economies, instructing them on the (I) study; (II) collection; (III) acquisition; and (IV) discrimination of books. While this little work in library science was superseded by a larger treatment ¹² in the latter part of the eighteenth century, it was the pioneer manual in the field.

Although Chao's mother was born outside the Ch'í home, in A. D. 1662-1663 she was adopted as the daughter of Ch'í Pan-sun 祁班孫, grandson of the eminent owner of the library, second son of his eldest son, to comfort Chu Tê-jung 朱德蓉 the young wife in distress at the departure of her husband for an indefinite period. For political reasons he was at that time being banished to far away Liao-yang 遼陽 (Manchuria), and when he returned after a brief exile he became a Buddhist priest. His sister had married into the Chu family, and it was her daughter who was adopted to console and serve Chu Tê-jung. The adopted daughter (by consanguinity a great granddaughter of Ch'í Ch'êng-yeh) became the mother of Chao Yu. Her nuptial ceremonies were observed in the study of the famous library built by her illustrious great grandfather. At the

¹¹ No. I/3/55b-57b, 4/60a b, No. II/3/50a 51b, 4/8a b, No. III/下/8b-10b, No. IV/pp. 55a b, 121b, *Yüan Tung li* 袁同禮, "On the Private Book Collectors of the Ming Dynasty," and Wang Yin, 汪閔, "Short Biographies of Book Collectors of the Ming and Ch'ing Dynasties," *Library Science Quarterly* 2 (Dec., 1927) 67, 7 (March, 1933) 43, cf. *Pa-ch'ien-ch'uan lou shu mu* 八千卷樓書目, postscriptum dated 1923, first preface, p. 1a, Paul PELLIOU, *TP* 23 193, 207, 213 214, and 30 244. He has one work in No. VII. See below, n. 13.

Tan-shêng t'ang ts'ung shu yao 澹生堂叢書約, a manual on library science (TAAM, p. 54, n. 3, p. 81), included in Pao's *Ch'ia pu tsau-chai ts'ung-shu* (see below, n. 26).

Tan-shêng t'ang chi 澹生堂集, his collected literary works, is included in the "Index Expurgatorius," *Chin shu tsung lu* 禁書總錄, 1/55a, for utter condemnation and complete annihilation probably A. D. 1773 et seq.

¹² *Ta ang-shu chi yao* 1811, 1 ts'ü by Siu Tsung-t'ien 孫從添, *殿書紀要*, see TAAM, pp. 54 59, No. IV/p. 65b.

time of the wedding the bridegroom had "his thoughts turned towards obtaining the collection of books, but the dream was never realised." Forty years later their eldest son journeyed across the Ch'ien t'ang River to visit the ruins of his great great grandfather's old home, long after the books had been sold.¹³ When Chao Yu arrived at the old site, there was nothing of the library left, except the name-board of the pavilion,

¹³ From data in hand for this article the evidence for establishing a date for the dispersion of the library is insufficient. The books en masse were according to CHUAN Tsu wang (全祖望, 鮚埼亭集外編, 17/6 7a, 14b 15b, 18/20a 21a) purchased by Huang Tsung hsi 黃宗羲, 1610 1695/6, and his student, Lu Liu liang 呂留良, 1629 1683, with funds largely furnished by Wu Chih-chên 吳之振 1640 1717. The choice of titles was the privilege of Huang the best part of the rest of the collection went to Lu while the residue fell to the lot of Wu who let Lü have the greater part of the money used for the purchase. The Chao family library had some books brought into the home by Chao Yü's mother, and odd books thrown on the market were bought by the Chao brothers.

Ch'üan also stated that the books secured by Lü were completely lost to later generations. He made no reference to those allotted to Wu. Such of the selected titles chosen by Huang as survived the misfortunes of fire and water passed to Huang's student, Ch'eng Hsing 鄭性, 1660 1743, owner of the famous library, *Erh lao ko* 二老閣. Where these titles went at the disappearance of this library, and what became of those owned by the Chao family are not known at this writing.

According to the biography of Huang Tsung hsi (黃宗羲, 黃梨洲年譜, 中, 13a Library of Congress' copy) Huang made his selections in A D 1666, which would point to that year for the date of the dispersion of the books of the *Tan sheng Tang*. Ch'üan, however, stated that at the wedding of Chao Yü's parents the library was extant. Forty years later, Chao Yü, 1689 1747, visited the site of the former library. The birth year of Chao Hsin is given as A D 1701. If the dispersion of the library came as early as A D 1666, the wedding could then be no later than that year, and more than twenty years elapsed before the birth of Chao Yü and thirty before that of Chao Hsin. Furthermore, Chao Yü would have been only eighteen *sui* when he made his pilgrimage to the mother's girlhood home. In view of these events no definite date for the dispersion of the famous library is fixed in this article.

Tung Chi-ch'ang was the celebrated calligraphist whose disciples followed the style of writing which he developed.

Chi Piao kuei 1602 1615, as a lad (No I/3/56a, No II/3/50b) watched his father have laid out the garden 琴園 with its pavilion 琴亭 and study 琴室 and library 琴生堂. Before his death the property had depreciated, and in the turmoil of the closing years of the Ming dynasty the books were placed for safety in a monastery where apparently they remained until their dispersion. It was at the monastery in A D 1666, according to his biography, that Huang Tsung hsi spent three days and nights making his selection of about ten bundles of *ku*.

K'uang T'ing 曠亭 ("Pavilion for Solitude"), the characters for which had been written by the celebrated calligraphist, Tung Ch'í ch'ang 董其昌, 1555-1636. This board he carried back with him to his library. Since he had in his home many rare old volumes from his great great grandfather's collection he then had constructed a rather small but separate building, located in the midst of a bamboo grove on the north shore of a lake in the garden of his estate. To this building he gave the name K'uang T'ing in memory¹⁴ of his journey to the home of his mother's girlhood. These books were thus carefully kept in special quarters, distinct from those in his main library, the Hsiao-shan T'ang. They were as dear to the heart of his mother as was the jade insignia to the feudal lord. Every time he added a work, it was his great joy to show it first to her.

The size and the importance of the Chao library is exhibited in all the texts examined for this article. With one exception it is referred to as a living working organism, still in existence at the time indicated in the writings. In an imperial decree under date of April 28, 1773¹⁵ the Hsiao-shan T'ang was mentioned among the half-dozen private libraries of the southwest that were very rich, even though it had just been dispersed at the time of the establishment of the Ssu k'ü commission. The preface to the *Index to the Shui ching chu* No. 17 in the *Harvard-Yenching Institute Sinological Index Series*, makes the statement that a publication was made in Hsiao-shan T'ang in A. D. 1794, thus causing the reader to feel that the library was intact at that time. Ting Shên did not give an exact date for the dispersion. The establishment of the Ssu k'ü commission occurred in A. D. 1773. Just prior to the establishment the books in the Hsiao-shan T'ang were scattered.

Chao Yu devoted some thirty years of his life to the assemblage of the library. He was only a *chu sheng* in scholarly rank, held no official position and like his older friend, Wu Ch'uo, his only work included in

¹⁴ The term *Wei yang* 望陽 used in the citation and repeated by Yeh Chang-shih in his poem dedicated to Chao Yu his younger brother and his son is that by which the Chinese know an ode from the *Book of Poetry* "the north bank of the river Wei" (LEGER, IV Oxford ed. p. 203). The poem is supposed to have been composed by Duke Kang of Chin in memory of having escorted his cousin the famous Duke Wen of Chin (635-628 B. C.) when the latter with the help of Duke Kang's father the reigning duke of Chin undertook an expedition to secure the throne in his native land. At the time Duke Kang was heir apparent in Chin and his mother was an aunt of the young exile at his father's court.

¹⁵ No. III/ E/26a1 下/41

brother of Wang Jih chang 汪日章 (died circa 1799), a biographical sketch of whom is included in the Hang chou gazetteer, 名臣四. There were ten brothers in the family, and the five known bore personal names wherein the *jih* occurred. Thus Ting concluded that I chih was Wang's fancy name. The earliest source citing information about Wang is an excerpt from Hang Shih chun's 杭世駿 (*chin shih* A D 1724, died A D 1771 at the age of seventy *sui*) *Tao ku tang wen chi* 道古堂文集, wherein he quoted a commentary written fifty years after the time of Wang himself in *Hsin to chai ts'ang shu chi* 欣託齋藏書記. There it is said that Wang was very intimate with both Wu Ch'uo and Chao Wu. Whenever one of them obtained a rare work Wang was able to taste the privilege of an early view of it.

This citation places Wang Jih kuei then with the two elder members of the group of seven. The chronological arrangement of the dedicatory poems by Yeh Ch'ang shih in his revised compilation likewise bears out this inference. The primary purpose of Yeh's work was the publication of his collection of original seven character four phrase poems eulogizing in each instance a selected owner of a private library. Fortunately, the poems are followed by biographical excerpts concerning the bibliophiles to whom the poems are dedicated. In not a few instances one poem is dedicated to two or more scholars who have no relationship by consanguinity. This is true in the case of Wang Jih kuei, who is the second of two scholars, the first being Hang Shih chun, who died in A D 1771 at the age of seventy *sui*. The two are entered just prior to the bibliophile Shen Ting fang 沈廷芳, 1702 1772 and posterior to Chao Yu, 1689 1747, Ma Yueh kuan, 1688 1755, and Wang Te-p'u 王德溥, whose granddaughter's husband was Chao I ch'ing's nephew. This arrangement places Wang's life span probably within the period 1700 1770.

He took delight in nothing other than that centered in his collection of books. By natural inclination he was indefatigable in accumulating them, endeavoring to add holdings to old texts that he had inherited. He secured editions that had disappeared from circulation and, in some cases, were thought to be lost. He spent his time in his library, studying and correcting errors and mistakes in texts. His interest in the study of books began in his thirteenth year, and he developed an extraordinary judgment in criticism of texts. Chu Wen tsao was most impressed that he owned

For Wang Wen sheng of the Ming period see 明史 108/10 90 清初錢謙益家
table see 卷 VIII pp 74 79 repeated by the later compiler vol 2 表計, 概
2 12/13

a copy of the Sung edition of the 儀禮要義²⁰ by the famous scholar Wei Tzū wêng 魏子翁, A. D. 1178-1237, which the scholarly world had thought lost. His gardens and groves of trees were unexcelled; his library was set in the midst of lovely hills and lakes, he was so rich in books that his volumes contained as many as two hundred thousand chapters (*chüan*).

Two modern Chinese studies of the *Ssü k'u ch'uan shu* both tabulate by owner and name the private libraries of the early Ch'ing period, 清初藏書家一覽表. Apparently the later of the two publications copied the table from the earlier one, or the two, Jên Ch'í shan 任啓珊 (1928) and Yang Chia-lo 楊家駱 (1931-1932), used a common source not yet located for this article. In both cases the owner of the library, Hsi t'o-shan Fang, is given the name of Wang Wên-shêng 汪文盛. Unless Wên-shêng be a fancy name for Wang Jih-kuei, its use as the name of the owner of a library with the same name as that one belonging to Wang Jih-kuei is strange. It is apparently in a citation from Wang Jih-kuei that there occurs the name of Wang Wên shêng (*chün shih*, A. D. 1511). Of a man in the Ch'ing period with this name no trace has been found. Neither Tung Shên nor Yeh Ch'ang shih include any material pointing to the ownership of the library Hsi-t'o shan Fang (or Hsi-t'o Chai) by other than Wang Jih-kuei.

The library of Sun Tsung-hien²¹ 孫宗濂, who became a *chü-jên* in A. D. 1744, was a possible second center for the same small select group of book lovers. He qualified for an official position, but receiving no permanent appointment returned to his native hamlet in Jên-ho Hsien

²⁰ No VII/20/9a. Credit for the presentation of the copy used by the *Ssü k'u* commission is made to Wu yü-ch'ih, so if this copy was that of the Wang library, it is very probable that the collection had been dispersed by A. D. 1772. Because of the inter library activities the copy may have been a ms., but if so, the imperial cataloguers do not make this clear.

Lü t'ing chih-chien ch'uan pên shu mu 2/9a relates that Yen yüan-chao 嚴元照, 1773-1817 (No IV/p. 143a), bought for 260,000 cash the copy of 杭州汪氏, which lacked the last double page, cf. No IV/p. 145a, for a Sung work from the Wang family collection he paid 五百金.

If this copy secured by Yen was the Wang Jih-kuei copy it may indicate the date of the dispersion (1) either of the Wu collection, or (2) of the Wang collection whose copy was not that treated in the Imperial Catalogue. Evidence so far would point to the first conclusion.

²¹ No I/3/29b 30b, No II/3/19b-20b, No III/下/18b 19a, No VIII/454/51a 53a, No IV/pp. 67a b, No VII/intro edict/p. 8a, No V/143/4b 5a. The six or seven friends may refer to those he befriended rather than the bibliophiles.

the *Ssü k'u ch'uan-shu* is a collection of one hundred poems which he contributed to the joint compilation. He was associated with Ch'uan Tsu-wang 全祖望, 1705-1755, in the latter's well-known activities as a teacher and scholar.

Chao Hsin (born A.D. 1701), the younger brother, was also well-known for his love of books, and like the elder brother undoubtedly was a frequent visitor in the libraries of the group of local bibliophiles. The books of the two brothers were accessible to Chao Yu's eldest son, I-ch'ing 一清, who was himself a collector of books. Of the son, it was said, "every time that he heard about a rare book, then with mind set to his purpose he flew into action, and until he reached his goal, he never stopped. The books he accumulated completely lined the walls of several rooms." Bookshops took care that no book was left over night with him, for they had learned that he would not return a rare work.

In the material examined for this article exact dates¹⁶ for the birth^c and death of Chao I-ch'ing are lacking. His father died in A.D. 1747. His own celebrated work on the "Water Classic," 水經注釋, 刻誤, was finished in A.D. 1754, when he dated and signed a preface for it. Acknowledgment for the copy of it treated in the Imperial Catalogue¹⁷ is made to the governor of the province as donor. Just prior to

¹⁶ See *Harvard Yen-ching Institute Index*, No. 17, *Index to the Water Classic and Commentary*, Peiping 1934, 2 vols., preface pp. xii-xiv. The compiler corrects the erroneous reference to an A.D. 1754 printed edition of Chao's work, made in *Lu-t'ing chih-chien ch'uan pen shu mu* 邵亭知見傳本書目 (preface 癸酉 [1873] 5/201). He states that the A.D. 1786 printed edition is the original one.

The compilers of No. IV (p. 121b sketch of Chao Yu) stated that after the death of Chao Yu his books en masse passed into the hands of another family (廣陵馬氏 see below, n. 18). No corroborative evidence for this statement has been found at this writing. The library remained in the possession of the Chao family apparently through and beyond the life time of his eldest son. The table of contents and perhaps the prefaces of the original manuscript copy of the "Water Classic," dated A.D. 1754, were written on stationery of the library, *Hsiao shan T'ang* (No. VI/12/1b).

The A.D. 1786 edition of Chao's "Water Classic" was, but neither the A.D. 1794 nor that of Wang Hsien-chien 王先謙, 1842-1918, were available for use in this study, although the author has previously had access to both editions. It is puzzling that there should have been both an A.D. 1786 and an A.D. 1794 edition for which the one son and the four sons respectively seem to have been responsible.

¹⁷ No. VII/09/4b. This copy may, however, have been secured from the Chao family, and yet have recognition given to the governor of the province for its presentation.

Harvard Yen-ching Index, No. 17, pp. xiii-xv. The statement (p. xiv) 其後小

D 1773 the Chao family library was dispersed. Chao's study of the "Yater Classic" was, so far as now is known, first printed in A D 1786, under the patronage of the distinguished official and notable scholar, Pi nan 畢沅, 1729-1797. It was re-published in 1794 by his own sons in the name known to the scholarly world as that of the famous library, Hsiao-shan T'ang.

It seems most likely that Chao I-ch'ing died in the period A D 1754-1772. According to the terminology used with reference to him in the Yuan preface A D 1786, he may have been living when it was composed and dated. He was not, however, living in A D 1794. It is most probable that it was immediately after his death that the books of the family library were put on the market for sale.¹⁸

The seventh member of the group of bibliophiles listed by Chu Wen was associated in time and common interest with Wu Ch'uo and Chao Yu, but apparently he was both somewhat younger in years and less experienced in efforts to collect books. Of him there seems much less definite information generally known about the man than in the case of his associates. The number of his holdings shows that he owned the largest collection in the group in so far as numerical data is given, and among his books was at least one very old work. Ting Shen was of the opinion that Wang Shih's personal name was Jih kuei 日桂, and not I-chih 一之, as he is called in sources cited both by Ting and Yeh Ch'ang-shih.¹⁹ According to the former of these two authorities, he was a younger

山堂有翻印本 gives the impression that at the time of publication the Chao family library had not been disposed of as was brought out by Ting Shên see below. No VI/12/1b date A D 1794 agrees with *Index* on that point.

¹⁸ No reference other than No IV (p. 121b) has been found to show that the Chao library passed en bloc into the Ma library. See above n. 16.

Yeh Chang-shih (No I/5/33b No II/3/40a cf No III/下/27a) for information about Yu Li 郁禮 (life span circa 1708-1800) cited a passage saying that at the time of Yu's activities in collecting books those of the Hsiao-shan T'ang had already been dispersed but odd copies of rare works that were still on the market he bought at any cost.

¹⁹ No I/5/1b-2b No II/3/10b-13b No III/下/21a-23b cf No V/106/15b-16b.

For Hang Shih-chün, see No I/3/1a-b No II/3/12a-b No III/下/12-21, No IV/p. 54. 清代學者象傳 portrait and sketch ts. 6 no. 2.

The "fifty" years may be a very general term as used here since he seems to have been born sometime after the birth-date of Chao Yu A.D. 1689 and Wu Ch'uo was more than ten years older than Chao.

Tao-lu t'ang ch'i 49 chuan according to Pa-chien-chuan lou shu-mu ch. 17/25b. Chao I-ching's nephew 汪興穀 see No I/4/70a No II/5/11b.

仁和縣。 There he built himself a hall to house his many thousands of books, pillowing himself upon them for his pleasure²² and reputation. He let no day slip by without being with his books. He had six or seven intimate friends, all of whom took great pleasure in frequently joining him there. No names of these friends are inserted in the text, but the size of the group indicates those listed with him by Chu Wên-tsao. He called his library Shou sung T'ang. In A D 1758 he secured the A D 1504 edition of *Tung-ching mêng hua lu*²³ 東京夢華錄 and other books from the library of Chiang Shêng-ying 蔣升瀛 of Su chow (Soochow) on the market for sale at the time. The name of the Chiang library was Shou-sung T'ang, and Sun adopted the name for his collection.

This may explain the existence—if a mistake has not crept into written accounts—of a second contemporary library, located in Jên ho, also owned by a man with the same surname, the classical scholar Sun Chih-tsu²⁴ 孫志祖, 1737-1801. In middle life he returned from his censorship in the province of Kiangnan, and pushing in "the bolt of the lock on his door" collated texts. He became the author of more than ten works, and their titles show to some extent the scope of his scholarly attainments. He was sought by all of those in the community studying the classics and history.

For five generations his family had owned a copy of the Sung edition (A D 1165-1189) of Wang Pi's (A D 226-249) commentary on the Book of Changes, 王弼周易註. After his death this priceless old book was secured for the Ting library, the catalogue of which treats the copy in detail as its first entry. The treatment closes with a personal note of exultation that this work "for more than one hundred years" had not left the local community "one pace"! This is, the commentator added, "an excellent record for our city's libraries."

Within the limited scope of the texts used for this article, there has been found no reference to any connection between these two men of the

²² No I/5/20b and No II/5/19b, 爲樂, No III/下/18b 爲榮

²³ No VII/70/32b. For citation used see No I/5/30a, No II/5/20a, its source in *Shih li-chü ts'ang shu t'ü po chü* 黃丕烈, 1763-1826, 士禮居藏書題跋記, 4 chuan preface 1882 ch 3/48b where fortunately the date is given. Yeh Ch'ang-shih dedicated the one poem to the two bibliophiles, Sun and Chiang. For Chiang see also No. IV/p 129a.

²⁴ No VI/68/38b No V/138/23b-24b, No VIII/137/14a 15b, No IV/p 67b, No VI/1/1a b cf No VII/1/9a b. *Harvard Chün-ching Index* No 9 p 274.

In a letter under date of July 18 1936 from *The Provincial Library of Chekiang* it is stated without any reference that 'Sung Yang ts'êng is the son of Sun Tsung-lien and the cousin of Sun Chih-tsu.'

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²³ No VII/70/32b For citation used see No I/5/30a, No II/5/20a, its source in *Shih li chu ts'ang shu t'ü po chi* 黃丕烈, 1763 1826, 士禮居藏書題跋記, 4 chüan, preface 1882, ch 3/48b, where fortunately the date is given

Yeh Ch'ang shih dedicated the one poem to the two bibliophiles, Sun and Chiang. For Chiang see also No IV/p 120a

²⁴ No XI/69/38b, No V/139/23b 24b, No VIII/137/14a 15b, No IV/p 67b; No VI/1/1a b, cf No VII/1/9a b, *Harvard Yenching Index*, No 9 p 274

In a letter under date of July 18 1936 from *The Provincial Library of Chekiang* it is stated without any reference that 'Sung Yang ts'eng is the son of Sun Tsung lien, and the cousin of Sun Chih tsu'

same surname, living in the same native place, and owners of large libraries with the same name. The biographical material available, according to the *Harvard Yenching Index*, No 9, for the younger, Sun Ssu tsu, *chin shih* A D 1766 (one courtesy, or fancy, name I ku 頤谷), is in six sources to the one source for the older man, Sun Tsung lien, *chu jen* A D 1744 (one courtesy name Yin ku 隱谷). In the one common text of these sources for the two there is no cross reference from one to the other. Neither Ting Shen nor Yeh Ch'ang shih included a treatment of the younger man in their compilations. It is, nevertheless in the Ting family library catalogue that Sun Ssu tsu is identified as *Shou sung Tang* Sun Shih. In the Hang-chou gazetteer the younger man is included among the classical scholars 儒林, while the older man may be found among those noted for their good deeds, 義行. The data in hand raises the question whether or not the so-called two libraries were not one family library.

Exact dates for birth and death of Sun Tsung lien are lacking. He died at the age of forty three sui. His place in Yeh Ch'ang shih's original compilation of *Ts'ang shu chi shih shih* was just ahead of Pao Ting po who was born in A D 1728, but in the revised 1910 edition he is changed to be just ahead of Wang Hsien who was born in A D 1721 and the second entry after Yu Yuan fu 魚元傅, 1704-1768. Obtaining his *chu jen* in A D 1744, his life-span probably lay within the years A D 1715-1760. His son, Sun Yang tseng 孫仰曾, presented books from the *Shou sung Tang* to the *Ssu k'u* commission. No data in the material studied has been found by which to date either the life-span of the son, or the dispersion of the library.

Of the seven bibliophiles of this group under consideration one only was not born within or near the walled in section of the metropolitan area of Hang-chou. In the case of Wang Ch'ang-shu 汪啓淑, as an

* No I/5/10b-13b No II/3/36a-37a No III/下/10a-20b No IV/p 45b No VII/1/IV Dec. 1906/650 No VII/ed ct/7b-8a No V/45/21b-22a provincial gazetteer of Anhui 徽州府, 文苑四 卷 15 8 rev ed ed p 9

The gazetteer gives his *t'u* as 慎儀 and official position as in the Ministry of War. He was promoted from his post in the salt monopoly to the department of public works in the section on rivers and canals and later advanced to a post under the Board of War. Apparently he remained in Hang-chou.

Ting Shen treated his library under the name *K'as-uan Lou*.

In case of the one book see No VII/51/25a and in the case of the other 許崇 建康實錄 see No VII/50/8b where recognition as donor is given to the governor of Kiangsu Province for the work treated in the Imperial Catalogue.

official in the gabelle, he made his home in Ch'ien t'ang 錢塘 At that time a member of the group who, though he himself had been born in Hang chou, and reared in the province of Chekiang, was in the Chinese interpretation of the term a native of the same district, 徽州歙縣, from which Wang came, because the family of his grandfather had their home in the district Now, it has long been the custom in China for residents in both national and provincial capitals whose native homes in the Chinese meaning of the term were outside these capitals to have membership in an association known by the name of the province or the district from which its members came So it may have happened that Wang had come to know Pao T'ing po 鮑廷博 personally in the social hall to which as natives of the same district in the province of An hui they had gone Pao T'ing po, being already acquainted with Wang, or at least well known by reputation, would likely lead Wang into the intimate group

Wang was notable for his ability to compose poems in the traditional *shih* 詩 forms, and his daughter later gained a somewhat wide reputation for writing in the same style of composition He had a concubine who was noted for her poetry in this style, as well as for her drawings of orchids and of bamboo, and for her skill in music He was "devoted to acquiring ancient learning for which he had an extraordinary fondness" In his home in Hang chou he gave the name Fei hung T'ang 斐鴻堂 to his audience hall He had a "hundred" closed in cases in his 開萬樓, distinct from his audience hall in which to store his books

In A D 1772, when the emperor Ch'ien lung called for copies of early literary works, Wang Ch'ü shu was one of the four men in the empire to present from five to seven hundred items For two of them he received special mention, and in the case of one, 劉一清, 錢塘遺事, his name appears as donor in the text of the Imperial Catalogue He also was rewarded by the gift of a set of the *Tu shu chi ch'eng* 圖書集成, the great imperial cyclopedia of the K'ang hsi period, completed A D 1726 He was recipient of imperial favor again four years later, and also in A D 1787 None of his own works, however, are included in the imperial catalogue, and he like Wu Ch'uo did neither printing nor reprinting in his library

For the daughter and concubine see 汪玉英 胡似蘭 in *Ch'ing tai kwei lo shih jen cheng lueh* ch 6/21a 33a

For Li 2 see No V/145/29b; No IV/p 126b No VII/434/35a-41b cf No. I/5/33b 34a; No II/5/40a b; No III/T/2^a b

For Huang P'ei lich see above note 23

Exact dates for the birth and the death of Wang are lacking. In his revised edition Yeh Ch'ang shih listed him but one entry prior to Pao T'ing po, 1728 1814, which is fourteen entries after that of Wang Hsien, 1721 1770. In his original edition, however, Wang Ch'i shu follows immediately after Yu Yuan fu, 1704 1768, practically the position given Sun Tsung lien in the revised edition. By the arrangement in Yeh's original edition, for a chronological order within the intimate group under consideration Wang Ch'i shu, not Sun Tsung lien should follow the three older members, Wu Ch'uo, Chao Yu, and Wang Jih kuei, and precede Wang Hsien, 1721 1770. Wang Ch'i-shu himself was quoted by Ting Shên to have named Chao's *Hsiao shan Tang*, Ma Yueh kuan's library, and Wu's *P'ing hua Chai* with his own *K'ai wan Lou* as the great private libraries of his period. Li Ê 厲鶚, 1692 1752, was specified by Ting as an intimate friend of Wang, but Wang was also a close associate of Pao T'ing po, and certainly lived long years after the death of Wu, Chao, and Ma.

An approximate date for Wang's death can be established. Pao undertook to pass judgment upon Wang for the latter's refusal to lend a rare work to Pao's friend who desired to use it in a study made in the period A D 1772 1806. This latter date probably indicates also the period of Wang's death. In A D 1808 his books were placed for sale in one of the largest bookshops in Hang chow. Huang P'ei lieh 黃丕烈, 1763 1826, bought a Ming manuscript from his family in the autumn of A D 1801. Thus his life span was circa A D 1705 or 1728 to A D 1800.

In the case of Pao T'ing po²⁶ 1728 1814, the collecting of books for

²⁶ No I/5/31a 32b No II/5/38a-40a No III/未/3b-5a No IV/p 138b No VIII/441/32a 36a No XI/72/31b 32a 嘉興府志 Map I ch 1/20 青鎮, 市鎮 ch 4/46a 桐鄉流寓 ch 61/80b (ed. 1879) No work in No VII, cf No VII/edict/7b 8a. He is called 鮑夕陽 No VIII/441/34b.

Chien lung's foreword is reproduced in the first *ts'ü* of the *tsung shu* (undated reprint in Columbia University Library).

The activities of owners of private libraries in the field of publication (see T'AM for a very brief consideration pp 72-84) is a subject that calls for thorough investigation. The result of these activities is a very large volume of secondary literary collections that is a virgin field for research in spite of the comparatively low standard of literature in some cases as well as the preservation of erudite writings of earlier scholars that otherwise might have been lost.

The two added names are CHENG Hsiang's *Erh lao Ko* and CHIN Tê-yü's *T'ung-hua Kuan* No IV/pp 131 56-57 see above note 13 金【德興】氏捐華館. Neither of these bibliophiles were Hang-chow men; the latter was a native of T'ung hsiang.

the love of them was also a primary purpose. Having collected the major portion of his library, however, he then found his greatest pleasure in reprinting selected works (*ts'ung shu* 叢書) unaccessible to scholars of his generation. "By natural inclination he sought out the deep things of life. Should he happen upon a book that he had never seen before, he needs must, if necessary, pawn his clothes to purchase it. He took an extraordinary delight in seeking out volumes that had either disappeared from circulation or been thought to be lost." To the poor among his friends as well as to the learned ones he presented complete editions of each *ts'ung* that he published in his library.

His home was rich in books. He belonged by birth to a merchant family, his grandfather having moved into the province of Chekiang from that of An hui. While his father was forced to spend most of his time away from their home on business trips, the son was trained by the grandfather. The boy was studying seriously at nine *sui*, and in preparation for advanced study became at twenty three a *hsiang sheng* 庠生 in the native district of his family, Shê hsien in An hui. Upon trial for provincial examination, however, he failed to pass. Thereafter, he turned to private studies, and the collecting of books. At the time of constructing a building to house his books, he selected from a text of the Book of Rites 戴記 the phrase "Learning (brings one) thereafter never to have enough knowledge" 學然後知不足. From this six character phrase, he chose the latter half for the name of his library, *Chih pu tsu Char* ("Never to know enough Library").

When the imperial call for books was issued, Pao not only sent up more than six hundred works, for which he was awarded a set of the *T'u shu chi ch'eng*, but upon his publication of several hundred rare unavailable works of earlier generations in his *Chih pu tsu char ts'ung shu*, he presented a copy of that in turn to the emperor Ch'ien lung for his personal inspection. In response, the emperor with his own hand graciously inscribed a commendatory foreword in fifty six characters dated A D 1774, for the compilation. The opening sentence brushed in imperial red ink reads "The Never to know enough Library, why not enough? Thirst for books and writings, how excellent!" Pao shelved the imperial cyclopedia in four big cabinets, carefully marked as an award from the Throne. In A D 1813, the year before Pao's death at eighty seven *sui*, when he again presented books to the reigning emperor, he was granted an honorary degree of *chu jen*. The imperial favors bestowed upon Pao became the inspiration for the poem dedicated to him by Yeh

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Ch'ang shih In so far as the texts studied reveal, Pao was the last one in the group of seven private library owners to die

It was customary among the many bibliophiles with private libraries in Chekiang to share their accessions one with another Both Ting Shên and Yeh Ch'ang shih cited a passage wherein there is a record, however, of an exception¹ to this general practice Pao was evidently so irritated by the incident that he undertook to make it a reasonable cause for the tragedy which later befell the household of the offending bibliophile, to whom Pao referred under the term "a certain gentleman" 某公 Since Ting and Yeh both included the citation in their biographical material about Wang Ch'ang shu, they imply that he was the cause of Pao's vexation

Pao had a young friend, Yu Li 郁禮, also the owner of a private library He was working on a research problem circa A D 1772 1806, when he had cause for the use of an inaccessible text of which Wang owned a copy Pao being on intimate terms with Wang, he accompanied his younger friend Yu to ask Wang for the use of the text by Yu Wang refused Now when Wang died, his family disposed of his library, and Pao expressed it to have been his opinion that the dispersion of the books of the Fei hung Tang was judgment sent for the failure of Wang to share his treasures with the scholars of the time

Within this group of seven libraries the owners exchanged items for copying When one of them came upon texts of earlier scholars which had been preserved by descendants, finding them "soaked with the moisture of the hands that had handled them," and discovering that about them much had been erroneously written, then they were "wildly happy" It was as if they held grasped in their hands a priceless jewel "It did not matter who owned it, they would cherish it, letting months and even years slip by before giving it up" From a preface for Pao's *ts'ung shu* by Chu Wen tsao, 1735 1806, Ting Shên quoted a list of seven intimate library owners who were friends with Pao The first five on the list (Wang Jih kuei being omitted) with Pao were members of the group also named by Chu Wen tsao that was chosen for consideration in this article

Of this group Pao was the ranking specialist for discriminating between editions When he read books, "with each passing of his eye from column to column, he was able to record the erroneous characters, citing

¹ No I/5/12b-13a, No II/5/36b-37a, No. XII/1/IV, Dec. 1926/630; cf 蘇氏
 氏之藏書目録 11 po ch' ch 3/28b For 30 Li see No. I/5/33b-34b, No.
 II/5/40a-41a

the opening of the *Ssü-k'ü* commission, circa 1772-1773. Sun Tsung-lien died prior to A. D. 1774, and his place in the group was taken by his son Yang-ts'êng. Of the fate of the library of Wang Jih-kuei (probably with in A. D. 1700 1770) no date for its dispersion has been found at this writing.

In these years Wang Hsien, 1721-1770, also died, but his two sons in succession would become host to the group in his library. It is known that the *Chên-ch'î T'ang* was one of the few great local private libraries of the eighteenth century to continue on through four generations. Wang Ch'î-shu's library was placed on sale (A. D. 1808) at the turn of the century. Pao T'ing-po himself lived past the period of the inter-library activities with the chosen select group. He carried on, however, with other intimate bibliophiles up to the time of his death. How long his library was kept intact after his death has not been revealed in the texts examined. His elder son and three grandsons are said to have shared in the local literary activities of their generations. Pao could not have joined in the group activities until circa A. D. 1750 when he turned definitely to the collection of books. Wang Ch'î-shu apparently came even later than Pao into informal resident membership, reduced by circa A. D. 1772 to six, and probably, five, from seven private libraries.

Of the nine private donors to the *Ssü-k'ü* commission whose presentations were accepted to the number of one hundred and upwards, five (Pao and Wang Ch'î-shu, Wu, Sun, and Wang Hsien) family libraries were of those left in this intimate inter-library loan group in Greater Hang chou. From Wu's library three hundred and five books were accepted, and from Sun's library two hundred and thirty-one. Two hundred and nineteen items were admitted from the Wang Hsien family library,²⁰ and two of them received especial imperial mention, being

²⁰ No VIII/441/24b; No V/146/4b, 27b

汪汝璥 was the eldest son, No IV/p 44b

汪璐 Wang Lu, 1746 1813, was the second son, No IV/p 43b, and the library passed to his son Wang Hsien 汪誠, No IV/p 43a. He prepared a catalogue for the collection then numbering 65 000 *ch'üan*, *ch'ü jen* A D 1794

汪遠孫 Wang Yuan-sun, No IV/p 45b, was the son of 汪誠, he continued the work on the cataloguing, carried on printing activities see No V/146/28; *ch'ü jen* A D 1816, 屠鵠東坡雜記跋, dated A D 1820

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credited to Wang Ju su as donor in the Imperial Catalogue. Of the four of the nine donors leading in number those of the whole empire, two (Pao and Wang Ch'í-shu) family libraries of the group had presentations accepted to the numbers 626 and 524 respectively. Awards of the *P'ei-wên yün-fu* were made to the former three, while for the glorification of the libraries in the eyes of the local literati, bestowals of the *T'u shu ch'í ch'êng* were the good fortune of the latter two. What excitement these arrivals must have created in the local community!

Of only two of this group of seven private libraries is it known at this writing that owners undertook neither printing nor reprinting. This important phase of library activity was quite generally assumed in the larger private libraries of both the late Ming and the Ch'ing periods. Wu Ch'uo and Wang Ch'í shu, however, are²¹ said to have "carved no blocks" in their libraries. They must have supervised the publication of their own compositions and compilations in shops of the local neighborhood. The texts used in this study failed to make a point of giving information on this phase of library activity. Others of the group also may not have "earved blocks" in their libraries. The rather detailed account of the printing done by Pao T'ing po is probably due in part to the recognition of his achievements by the emperors Ch'ien lung and Chia-ch'ing. When the Hang-chou reprint of the *Wu-ying-tien ch'ü chên-pan ts'ung-shu* 武英殿聚珍板叢書 was carved, A. D. 1795-1796, it was financed by the gentry of Chekiang Province, and the name of Pao's elder son, Pao Shih-kung,²² was at the head of the list of patrons.

No statement has been yet located through which to determine whether or not Wang Jih kuei published his writings or any collected works. One of the books from the library of Sun Tsung-lien included in the *Ssü-l'ü ch'üan-shu* was the work 書畫跋跋²³ by his ancestor, Sun Kung 孫鑰, of the late Ming period. The compilation in manuscript was secured for

1880-81, four or five years earlier than the date (A. D. 1885) of Ting's preface to his compilation.

The two books (1) 陳思, 書苑菁華, *Shu yüan ch'ing hua*, by Ch'ên Ssü of the thirteenth century (No. VII/112/32h, see also *Chinese Calligraphy*, Chicago, 1933, by Lucy Driscoll and Kenji Tomi, reviewed by SWAN, *JAOS* 55: 473-476) (2) 朱弁, 曲洧舊聞, *Ch'ü wên chiu-wên*, by Chu Pien, of the twelfth century (No. VII/121/1a), work completed A. D. 1134. Chu Pien was an uncle of the renowned Chu Hsi, 1130-1200.

²¹ No XII/1, IV, Dec. 1926/650, same, II, I, Dec. 1927/24.

²² An unprinted essay by 王 文 珣, entitled *Ssu l'ü ch'üan shu*, "The Four Treasuries Library," etcetera, June, 1932. M. A. Thesis, Columbia University Library, p. 60. He fails to give a direct reference to a source for this statement.

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³¹ No XII/I IV Dec 1926/650 same II I Dec 1927/91

³² An unprinted essay by 汪文 汪文 entitled *Ssu-k'u ch'uan shu* "The Four Treasuries Library etcetera June 1937 M. A. Thesis Columbia University Library p. 60. He fails to give a direct reference to a source for this statement.

³³ No VII/113/20

their location in chapter (*chuan*) and on page. Should some one holding a book in his hands arrive to ask for information, it was unnecessary for him to turn over the leaves and examine the book. Taking one look at the *pan k'ou* 板口,²⁸ the outer edge of the book showing the running title, subject headings, pagination, etcetera, he would immediately say: "This is from a certain man's blocks, in its *chuan* are carved so many erroneous characters." Time after time, and he never made a mistake.

In the years at the end of the Ch'ien-lung period (A.D. 1736-1795) and the beginning of the Chia-ch'ing (A.D. 1796-1820), from near and far, visitors having old manuscripts or rare printed volumes en route to sell them in the provincial capital made it a custom first to call at his gate. Or, at times, if for some owners the journey was too long, they sent their books by postillion to his library.

When owners of large private libraries were requested to forward books to Peking, Pao T'ing-po (1728-1814) was just in the prime of his life. Yet, after selecting the items from his library, he ordered his elder son, Pao Shih-kung 鮑士恭, to make the presentations in the son's name through the authorities of Jên-ho Hsien, the native district of Pao T'ing-po's mother. Because of this situation there has been an indiscriminate use in later unofficial Chinese texts of the names of father and son both as donors of books to the *Ssü k'u* commission and as recipients of awards from the Throne.

In a discussion of book-collectors of the Ch'ing dynasty up to his contemporary period, the scholar Hung Liang-chi²⁹ 洪亮吉, 1746-1809, of An hui Province, who was only eighteen years junior to Pao T'ing-po, arbitrarily classified them under five categories. For notable examples mentioned under two of the five categories, he included the names of Wu Ch'uo and Pao T'ing-po in those numbered three and four respectively. While the categories overlap, the qualities by which he characterised them may be applied to many, if not all the members of the Greater Hang chow group, and very interestingly to the two members whose names he cited. Wu Ch'uo did not collect books merely to hoard them (category number three), he was something of a research student (category number one), he worked with Chao Yu as a textual critic (category number two), he

²⁸ *Pan k'ou* is the space left in the center of the block between the texts of the double page down which the fold is made for the page in a Chinese stitched volume (*ts'ê pên*), and in which may be found the running title, sub-heads, chapter (*chüan*) series, pagination and often other bibliographical data.

²⁹ *Pei-chiang shih hua* 北江詩話, 4 + 2 *chüan*, 跋 1851, 粵雅堂叢書, preface 1853, 6th *chü*, 集 3/1, cf. TAAAM, pp. 48-53, 106.

the *Hsiao-shan T'ang*, but in A. D. 1740 the Chao family let the Sun family have the copy. The two families were so intimately connected that Chao Hsin's wife was from the Sun family. When they secured the manuscript two Sun brothers "carved blocks" for it, and put it into general circulation. In the name of Chao's library in A. D. 1794, forty years after his eldest son's completion of the study on the "Water Classic," it was published where the preface had been dated and signed, whether or not blocks had been carved in the *Hsiao-shan T'ang* prior to the dispersion of its books circa A. D. 1772. Printing was a great activity in the *Chên-ch'î T'ang*, especially by the heirs of the founder.

Although one member of the group, Wang Ch'î shu, established his dwelling in Hang chow when advanced in years of manhood, the other six were probably all born in that part of the metropolitan area which was enclosed within or near to the outer great wall of the city. While Pao T'ing po's grandfather had settled in T'ung-hsiang Hsien in the neighboring prefecture, his father established a home in Hang-chou, marrying after the loss of his first wife, a native of Jên-ho Hsien, whose son was T'ing-po. Apparently he spent much of his early boyhood with his grandfather who at death was taken back for burial in his native district in An hui. Pao then lived with his parents in Hang chow until their death in rapid succession when he too was advanced in years of manhood. He buried them not far from Ch'ing chên in T'ung-hsiang Hsien (湖州烏程縣), and soon afterwards himself moved to the location, if not the actual home site, of his grandfather. Apparently he left his home and library in Hang-chou in charge of his son. His dwelling in T'ung-hsiang 桐鄉縣之烏青戍 was under the jurisdiction of the market town 青鎮, celebrated as the place where the learned crown prince of the Liang dynasty, 梁昭明太子蕭統 (A. D. 501-531) had the schooling that fitted him for the inauguration of that great class of Chinese literature the "general collection" 總集, in his now extant *Wên Hsuan* 文選, circa A. D. 530.

The other five members of the group as natives of the provincial capital were reared most likely in that part of the metropolitan area which was enclosed within or near to the outer great wall of the city. Three of the five belonged within the old district of Jên-ho, first set up as an independent administrative unit in the Wu tai period, A. D. 907-923. Adjoining this district, and at times in history incorporating it, there was the ancient Ch'ien-t'ang Hsien, originally established as a district (*hsien*) by the Ch'in dynasty, 246-207 B. C. To this latter district belonged the other two members of the five native born of the group.

From the maps ³³ in the local gazetteer of the prefecture of Hang-chou, it is clear that the three major administrative units (Hang chou's prefectural city, Jên-ho's district city, and Ch'ien-t'ang's district city) of the metropolitan area of the provincial capital were surrounded by a common great city wall. Outlying territory under the respective administrative control of each was located partly within but mostly outside the wall. The administrative centers may in each case, however, have been enclosed by secondary walls of less magnitude than the outer great wall, but if so, the maps consulted do not make this clear.

While the biographical texts of this study do give some geographical data, there is enough information for definite location by exact street addresses of only six of the seven libraries ³⁴ Wang Hsien, who may be thought of as the convener of the inter library group, lived east of the city, the site of the palace property of the southern Sung period, within his native Ch'ien-t'ang. Wu Ch'uo's address was at the entrance of the "Nine-turned Lane" 九曲巷口, said in the texts to be under the jurisdiction of Hang chou. His library was near enough to Wang Hsien's dwelling for the one to be seen from the other, and by birth he too belonged to the district of Ch'ien t'ang. With the administrative units of Greater Hang chou so intricately connected, even though his home was "under the jurisdiction" of the prefectural city, it was "across the way," 相對, from a dwelling in his native locality of Ch'ien t'ang.

For the three Jên-ho men, there are street addresses for two in the texts examined, but in the case of one it is clear that the library was not located within his native district, but in the neighboring Ch'ien t'ang. Wang Jih-kuei lived in the lane called the "Well of Right Principle" 義井巷, conveniently near to the libraries of Wang Hsien and Wu Ch'uo. The Chao family dwelt in that part of Jên ho's hsien city called P'ing an Fang 平安坊. It was in the southern section of the hsien at Chu-lin Tien 竹林店, and wholly or partly on the ancient thoroughfare formerly called Ch'ung hua Chieh 瓊花街. Chao I ch'ing used this address when

³³ No V/ts'ê no 5 (1 chuan)

³⁴ While the term *ch'êng tung*, "east of the city" may possibly be interpreted here literally, and the city be his native Chien tang, it is much more likely to be either an historical allusion to the locality in which he lived as being in general that of the site of the imperial palace of the southern Sung period or a term then in use to indicate the community built at that time on the actual land reserved for imperial purpose by the Sung palace authorities, see No V/5/3a 城池, and 29/1b 古蹟宋禁城. In this locality lived Li Ê, 1692-1752 in the treatment of whose *Tung ch'êng tsa chü* (author's preface dated A D 1728) the *Ssu-k'u* commentators (No VII/10/53a) wrote 杭城東地曰東園者宋故園也。其名見於宋史。

he signed his preface³⁵ in A. D. 1754 to his "Water Classic." Of Sun Tsung-lien who also belonged to Jên-ho, it is said that he returned to his native hamlet, which lies nearer to the native Ch'ien-t'ang men's homes than does *Hsiao shan T'ang* of the Chao family.

Of the two An-hui men in the group, Wang Ch'í-shu lived in a section called *Hsiao-fên Ch'ang* 小粉場, which was in the Ch'ien-t'ang *hsien*, and not far from the other libraries of the group. At times Pao lived in the city, and since he ordered his son to send his presentations to the *Ssü l'ü* commission through Jên-ho, his mother's native *hsien*, his library may have been in that district. After he moved out of Hang-chou to dwell in Ch'ing-chên he was himself perhaps as much as a day's journey away from the library activities of the group. His address there, if that of his grandfather, was on "Aspen Tree Creek" 青鎮之楊樹澗.

It has thus been possible with data available at this writing to establish the fact that six of these seven great private libraries were located within the limited space defined as the south-western portion of the walled-in section of the metropolitan area of the old historic city of Hang-chou, provincial capital of the province of Chekiang. It can be said that this intimate inter-library loan group dwelt within Greater Hang chou. They were accessible one to the other, and they were for all practical purposes a library association. The situation sets a reader's imagination at work, placing these bibliophiles in their libraries, with their books, and their gardens, and their friendships. The background to this setting is the Greater Hang-chou of the *Ch'ien-lung* period, with its lakes, and hills, and bamboo groves.

Upon the occasion of the death of Chao Yu, his associate and the instructor of his eldest son, the erudite scholar, Ch'uan Tsu wang, 1705-1755, in a eulogy of him wrote³⁶ the couplet 有子不死。有文不朽, "Those who have sons, do not die, Those who compose literature, do not decay." Whether or not these seven bibliophiles gained immortality is a question outside the scope of a historical discussion. In and through their libraries, however, they have made an everlasting contribution to the library movement of the Orient, and they and their descendants of the spirit, if not of the flesh, stand ready to allow the western world a share in the riches of the past hidden, at least in part, in the books of China.

³⁵No V/5/22b 23a Ping an Fang one of the eight named No VI/12/1b, *Ch'ün tsao yuan hsiao-chi* la, 9b 18b

³⁶No VIII/434/9b The citation may have been phrased originally by Ch'uan Tsu wang, but it epitomises a line of thinking in the Chinese Way of Life, see *Pan Chao* (pp 126, notes 48-49, 128, note 68) by the author of this article

REVIEWS

VICTOR SEGALEN, Gilbert DE VOISINS, et Jean LARTIGUE, *Mission Archéologique en Chine* (1914) *L'art funéraire à l'époque des Han*, pp 304, Paul Geuthner, Paris, 1935 *Atlas*, tome 1, *La sculpture et les monuments funéraires* (Provinces du Chànsi et du Sseu-tch'ouan), planches I à LXVIII, Paris, 1923) *Atlas*, tome 2, *Monuments funéraires* (Région de Nankin), *Monuments bouddhiques* (Province du Sseu-tch'ouan), planches LXXIX à CXLIV, Paris, 1924

It was only last year that was put on sale the explanatory text to the two beautiful albums in *folio* which were published in 1923 and 1924. This archaeological expedition to Shensi and Ssü-ch'uan provinces was planned in 1913 and was strongly backed by the renowned sinologist Edouard Charavannes who died in 1918. On February 1, 1914, the three French archaeologists started from Peking on their trip to Ssü-ch'uan by way of Shensi, and at the outbreak of the European war their program of work was almost completed. All three then returned to France and were mobilized. In 1916 Segalen and Lartigue had the opportunity to compile an outline of their expedition which was published in the *Journal Asiatique* 5, No 3, 467-486 (May-June 1915), 6 No 2, 281-310 (September-October 1915), 7, No 3, 369-424 (May-June 1916). In 1919 Segalen died and Lartigue received all his friend's notes for the preparation of the publication.

The recently published volume, which he has been writing for many years, is an excellent work, it provides detailed explanations for the beautiful illustrations of the two albums. There are few people familiar with the archaeological monuments of the very remote province of Ssü-ch'uan and the pictures will give them a good idea of the powerful style of the Han sculptures which still can be found in the western part of China. The two albums with their exquisite reproductions are a valuable contribution to the history of Chinese sculpture, which, except for Buddhist statuary, is not very rich in ancient monuments.

The manuscript of the explanatory volume was revised by Professor Pelliot who has added some valuable notes. In his introductory chapter M. Lartigue describes how the expedition was prepared. All

archaeological information was gathered first from the *Chin Shih Yuan* 金石苑 (published in 1818) as well as from the *Ssü ch'uan* local history, *Ssü ch'uan Tung chih* 四川通志, but even with the indications given in the local history, it was difficult to locate a monument because this information is vague, and very often the scholar describing the monument never saw it, he is merely taking his information from another book. The expedition's contribution to Chinese archaeology was as follows: there was found a fragment of a statue of the first Han dynasty, to be dated 117 B C, in *Ssü chuan* many examples of sculptural decoration in *haut relief* and in *ronde bosse*, as well as cliff tombs with coffins decorated with sculpture, were discovered.

The first part of the volume describes in detail with maps the various imperial tombs of the first Han period in the Wei 渭 valley. The author describes the tomb of Ch'in Shih Huang ti. A chapter is devoted to the well known statue of the horse trampling a "barbarian" found at the foot of the tomb of Huo Ch'u ping 霍去病. M. Segalen's first report on this much discussed sculpture was published in *JA*, 5, No 3, 467-486 (May-June 1915). Lartigue quotes the *Shen si Tung chih* 陝西通志 and also reproduces from it the picture (p. 41) of this tomb. If we compare this picture with the actual arrangement of the tomb, we obtain material proof of the inaccuracy of some reports in the local gazetteers. It is very probable that the compiler of the *Shen si Tung chih* never went to the place itself.

The second part treats the monuments of the second Han dynasty preserved in *Ssü ch'uan*. The author begins with a detailed description of the decorated pillars which are so important for their architectural and sculptural motives and when these are mentioned in the *Ssü ch'uan Tung chih* he gives the exact quotation. In his iconographical description he points out, for instance, that the red bird 朱鳥, the symbol of the south, must be distinguished from the phoenix which is a bird of good omen. He remarks that, as a rule, when a monument had no inscription the Chinese archaeologist, being an epigraphist, paid no attention to it.

In the following chapter on statues Lartigue notes that many statues of animals and human beings which had been placed near the tumuli have disappeared and that the Chinese archaeologists paid practically no attention to them because they had no inscriptions. For the most part, there are only fragments of statues very often in bad condition.

Only two whole steles of the Han dynasty were found in *Ssü ch'uan*, the third was a fragment.

The last two chapters of this section are devoted to the cliff tombs, the sepulchral vaults in brick work, and the coffins. Lartigue quotes the article of Th. TORRANCE, "Burial customs in Sze-chuan," *JACHRAS* 1910, where it has been demonstrated that the cliff tombs were Chinese sepulchres and not habitations of Man tzü as previously assumed. Lartigue's plans and descriptions are very precise and furnish some interesting details concerning the interior decoration of the tombs. The authors also found many small, clay, funerary statuettes of the Han dynasty, proof that these sepulchral vaults belong to the same period.

The last section treats the Chinese sepulchres of the Han dynasty, describing the surroundings of the tomb, the tumulus, the hypogeum, the iconography, the inscriptions, the ideas concerning burial, the architecture, and the sculpture. It is a very interesting section for all students of the religious system of China. The author does not repeat what has already been said by de Groot and Berthold Laufer in their important publications. He tries to indicate the material elements found in the different localities. In one of his notes (page 179) he remarks that de Groot speaks of the tombs in detail, but does not mention the pillars. Although in the text which de Groot quoted the word *ch'ueh* 闕 is mentioned several times, he did not realize what object was designated by this term. Interesting remarks are found on page 185 concerning the orientation of the sepulchre and the construction of the tumulus. Treating the problems of iconography Lartigue divides the motives into realistic, historical and legendary, mythological, symbolic, and purely decorative. The volume ends with four appendices: one on the inscriptions of the Feng 馮 family, another on the stele describing the repairs to the Shen 沈 pillars, the third contains translations of the texts concerning the steles of Kao I 高頤 and Fan Min 樊敏, and the last gives the exact itinerary of the expedition.

This volume of 304 pages is a valuable contribution to Chinese archaeology. It has the merit of being based on what was seen in China itself and what was found about the monuments in Chinese texts and western sinological works. If the number of such solid works dealing with other regions of China increases, we shall understand Chinese civilization much better.

Showa Junen no Kokushi Gakkai 昭和十年の國史學界 (The Academic World of Japanese History during 1935) Compiled by the Yoyogikai 代代木會 and published by the Tsukuba kenkyu bu 筑波研究部, Tokyo, 1936, annual edition vol 7, 83 + 53 pages

In 1929 the Tsukuba Kenkyūkai began the publication of a valuable bibliography of books and articles on Japanese history¹ Volume seven, listing the publications of 1935, has just appeared It is divided into two parts the first gives lists (A) of articles in different periodicals, (B) of articles in different collections or anthologies, and (C) of books The whole material is divided into sixteen groups 1, general history, 2, imperial court and national dieties, 3, political history, 4, social history, 5, jurisprudence, 6, economics, 7, religion and philosophy, 8, science and education, 9, literature, 10, fine arts, 11, historical geography and local histories, 12, foreign relations, 13, biographies, 14, historical documents, 15, archaeology, 16, ethnology At the end of this part is an index of authors names for the whole volume

The second part (53 pages) consists of short critical articles by scholars who are members of the Yoyogikai on the sixteen fields just listed, archaeology alone being excepted The compiler of the first article, on general history, points out the important publications of different authors in the series called *Iwanami Kōza Nihon Rekishi* 岩波講座日本歴史 which is now completed after being in process of publication for three years Each volume of the work contains several articles by outstanding Japanese scholars on different problems in Japanese history This series is published by the well known Iwanami Publishing House in Tokyo The word *kōza*, which means a chair, is a translation of the German word *Lehrstuhl* and is now commonly used in Japan for a series of pamphlets grouped in volumes Each pamphlet is devoted to a single problem of history The same publishing house is editing the *Iwanami Kōza Tōyō shicho* 岩波講座東洋思想 (Currents of Eastern Thought) which includes many valuable articles on China, Indochina, India and Japan written by such outstanding Japanese scholars as HAMADA Kōzoku 濱田耕作, HAMADA Toru 羽田亨 and others The Research Society for Education in History (*Rekishi Kyōiku Kenkyūkai* 歴史教育研究會) has published a series of volumes under the title of *Rekishi Kyōiku Kōza* 歴史教育講座 (Lectures on Education in History) Each volume corresponds to a historical period ancient period, Asuka and Nara

¹ I reviewed the first volume in the *J* 44 7 54 and the fourth volume in *J* 44 8 196

Heian, Kamakura, Yoshino, Muromachi, Azuchi Momoyama, Edo, Meiji Restoration and modern times. Specialists have been chosen to write on the different subjects for each of these periods, each period being treated under the general direction of an editor-in-chief e. g., the chapters on fine arts were written by Shiota Ryohei 鹽田良平 and Morimoto Harukichi 森本治吉, the chapters on foreign relations by Akiyama Kenzō 秋山謙藏, etc. The Japanese reviewer points out that, as one may expect in such team work, the articles are not all of the same academic value.

Also to be mentioned are such publications as *Gendai Rekishigaku Shicho* 現代歴史學思潮 (Currents of Thought in Modern Historiography) by ŌRUI Noburu 大類伸, *Shina Shigaku Hattenshi* 支那史學發展史 (History of the Development of Chinese Historiography) by NAKAYAMA Kyūshirō 中山久四郎, *Kokogaku* 考古學 (Archeology) by MORIMOTO Rokuji 森本六爾, and *Shinashi* 支那史 (History of China) by SHIDA Fudomaro 志田不動磨 which are also good reference books for those who are interested in Japanese history. The Heibonsha 平凡社 Publishing House completed in its *World History Series* (*Sekai Reishi Taikei* 世界歴史大系) a *History of Japan* (*Nihonshi* 日本史) in three volumes (1600 pages), which were written by a team of younger scholars under the editorship of five well known historians. The Shinchosha 新光社 Publishing House has published in its *Sekai Bunkashi Taikei* 世界文化史大系 (History of World Civilization) two volumes, *Min no Kobo to Seiryoku tōsen* 明の興亡と西力東漸 (Rise and Fall of the Ming and the Eastward Expansion of the Western Powers), and the *Sogen no Ryutai* 宋元の隆替 (The Rise and Changing from the Sung Dynasty to the Mongol Dynasty). In these two works on Chinese history a small part is devoted to the Sino-Japanese relations of the periods in question. The voluminous *Modern National History of Japan* (*Kinsei Nihon Kokumin Shi* 近世日本國民史) under the editorship of TOKUTOMI Ichiro 徳富猪一郎 continues to appear. The publication of the *Corrected and Augmented Edition of Japanese Historical Documents* (*Shincho Zoho Kokushi Taikei* 新訂増補國史大系) as well as of *Documents concerning Temples and Shrines* (*Daijōinsha zatsu jiki* 大乗院寺社雜事記) continues.

The next article is devoted to the history of the Imperial Court and National Deities, "Kyutei oyobi Jingi" 宮廷及神祇. Among several important works mentioned by the Japanese reviewer we notice the article of SONE Kenzo 曾根研三 on "The Essence of the Belief in Shinto Shrines in its Historical Development," *Shijō yori mitaru Jinja*

Shinko no Honshitsu 史上あり見たる神社信仰の本質 which was published in the periodical *Jinja kyokai Zasshi* 神社協會雜誌, vol 34, No 10 In the ninth fascicule of the same volume of this same periodical was published an important article by UMEDA Yoshihiko 梅田義彦 on the Shinto gods and Buddhist music, "Jingi to Hogaku" 神祇と法樂 We know that very soon after its introduction Buddhism amalgamated with the Japanese national dieties and that Buddhist music was used during Shinto ceremonies Y Umeda shows how the use of Buddhist music penetrated gradually into the Shinto religious service He utilizes many important historical sources from the Muromachi and Edo periods presenting new materials on the poetry which was sung in the shrines

Among other articles the Japanese reviewer mentions one by HASHIGUCHI Choichi 橋口長一 about a protective deity, "Saenokami no Kenkyu" 塞神の研究, which appeared in the *Kokugakuin Zasshi* 國學院雜誌, Vol 41, No 7 The author shows how the belief in this diety, which protected Kyoto from evils, was modified by the ideas which penetrated Japan along with Chinese civilization and how this diety was confused with the diety which protects the roads, Dosojin 道祖神, as well as with the diety of epidemics, Ekishin 疫神.

The reviewer of the section on the political history of Japan begins by saying that although the number of books and articles published in various periodicals is large there are no outstanding contributions Reading through the six pages of articles, however, we find that some of the publications are worthy of mention INOBE Shigeo 井野邊茂雄 has published a volume on the history of the period preceding the Restoration of 1868, *Ishin Zenshi no Kenkyu* 維新前史の研究, in which he deals with the policy of the last Shōguns who insisted upon keeping Japan closed, the foreign relations, the aggressive attitude of the Russian government, the changes in popular opinion, the visit of Rezanoff to Nagasaki, the arrest of Captain Golovin, the visits of Commander Perry to Uraga and of Count Putiatin to Nagasaki, finally, how the shōgun government was forced to enter into relations with foreign powers and decided to open the country In volume 16 of the *Iwanami Kōza Nihon Rekishi*, KURITA Mototsugu 栗田元次 has published a work on the politics of the Edo government, "Edo Bakufu Seiji" 江戸幕府政治 in which he gives a good picture of the whole period, explaining the political and economic situation of the shōgun government, its policy, and its difficulties in rural economics In the same volume is published the work of SAKAMOTO Tarō 坂本太郎 on the Taika reform, "Taika kaishin" 大化改新, which occurred in 645 A D when the Nara im-

perial government, under the influence of Chinese political ideas, tried to modify the political and social structure of Japan by putting complete control over the land into the hands of the State, and finally promulgated the well known code *Taihōritsuryō* 大賀律令. This publication gives a good general account of this important reform. In the same series, volume 18, is published the work of OGINO Nakasaburo 荻野仲三郎 on the politics of the Nara period and their relation to Buddhism, "Narajidai no Seiji to Bukkyō" 奈良時代の政治と佛教. The author explains clearly how about the middle of the seventh century A D Buddhism was involved in politics and how later the Buddhist priests became at the same time influential state-men organizing at Nara a religious state. In the same volume is published a work on the Imperial Restoration, "Meiji Ishin" 明治維新, by HANİ Gorō 羽仁五郎.

It would be too long to mention the articles published in periodicals. All of them are indicated in the bibliography.

In the three pages given to a review of the publications on social problems the following books are to be mentioned *History of the Rural Movements in Modern Japan* (*Kinsei Nihon Nomin Undo Shi* 近世日本農民運動史) by KIMURA Yasuji 木村靖二 and the *History of the Japanese Farmers* (*Nihon Nōmin Shi* 日本農民史) by TAMAGAWA Haruzō 玉川治三. The latter publication of 500 pages is divided into three parts: the first deals with the ancient period when the land was controlled by the central government, the second is devoted to the period of manors *shoen* 莊園, and the last describes the administration of the land by the feudal lords. The author ends his work with pre-Meiji Japan.

NAKAMURA Naokatsu 中村直勝 has published as volume 16 in the series *Iwanami Kōza Nihon Rekishi* a work on the life of the common people during the Muromachi period (1394-1572), *Muromachi jidai no Shomin Seikatsu* 室町時代の庶民生活. The author describes the economic situation of the people during this century when Japan was passing from its rice payment system to a money economy, he describes also the spiritual life of the common people, giving examples of the different popular beliefs. The reviewer mentions also several other publications dealing with the farmer riots in different regions² and terminates his report with a review of the most important articles which have appeared in different periodicals.

The next review is devoted to publications on the history of legislation *hosei* 法制. The most important volume is the *History of Feudalism in*

² Cf. J. RAHDER, Record of the Kurume Uprising AO 14 S1 108.

Japan (*Nihon Hokenseido Seiritsushi* 日本封建制度成立史) by MAKI Kenji 牧健二 (537 pages) In this important work the author deals not only with the general problems of Japanese feudalism especially for the Kamakura period (1186-1336), but devotes several chapters to special topics such as "constables" *shugo* 守護 and "stewards" *jito* 地頭, and to the different forms of land tenure. The same author has published an introduction to the history of legislation in Japan, *Nihon Hoseishi Gairon* 日本法制史概論 (438 pages). The volume gives a good general idea of the different legal institutions and clearly presents the legal conceptions of each period. To the same subject is devoted the first volume of HOSOKAWA Kameichi 細川龜市, *An Outline of the History of Japanese Legislation, Nihon Hoseishi Daimo* 日本法制史大綱. This work deals with the ancient and medieval periods and ends with the legislation of the 16th century. The reviewer quotes also the work of KUMAZAKI Wataru 隈崎渡 *Nihon Hoseishi* 日本法制史 (History of Japanese legislation), which gives the history of the question as far as the end of the Tokugawa military government, but he points out that the author committed some errors in his interpretation of primary sources.

Among the large number of periodical articles the reviewer mentions the one by TAKAYANAGI Shinzo 高柳昌三 which was published in the second volume of the review *Bunka* 文化 under the title 'Sosoryo no Fukukishin to Bukukirei no Shinrui' 喪葬令の服紀親と服忌令の親類. In this article on mourning regulations and the places in the procession occupied by the parents and relatives the author shows that the first law promulgated during the Yoro period 養老 717-723 A.D. was founded on the family system and that the corresponding Tokugawa regulations, the *Bukukirei* (1736 A.D.), were based on the previous Yoro law.

In the field of economics the *Nihon Keizaishi Kenkyujo* 日本經濟史研究所 has continued the publication of its series on economic history and 5 volumes have already appeared. The last one is written by HONJŌ Eiya 本庄榮治郎 on the new policy at the end of the Tokugawa period, *Bakumatsu no Shinseisaku* 幕末の新政策. In the same series, volume 6 is published under the title *A Study of the History of Economics at the End of the Tokugawa Period Bakumatsu Keizaishi Kenkyu* 幕末經濟史研究. It contains eleven articles by different specialists which had been published previously in scientific periodicals. SUGANO Watarō 菅野和太郎 has published a very important work on the economic history of Ōsaka *Ōsaka Keizaishi Kenkyu* 大阪經濟史研究. The interest in problems of economic history is very great among Japanese historians and in the bibliographical section 120 articles are enumerated.

WATSUJI Tetsuro 和辻哲郎 has published a new volume on the religious history of Japan, *Zoku Nihon Seishinshi Kenkyu* 續日本精神史研究, which includes six of his articles published previously in different periodicals: the spirit of Japan, the transplantation of Buddhist ideas to Japan, Japanese art and Buddhist concepts, the forms of oriental art, modern Japan and the mercenary spirit, and the Japanese language and philosophical problems.

Now that the publication of the great tripitaka, *Taisho Taizokyo*, is completed, a group of scholars, to celebrate Professor Takakusu's scientific contributions to Buddhism, has begun to publish the Tripitaka of the Southern tradition, *Nanden Daizokyo* 南傳大藏經, which will contain translations of the Pali texts.

HANAYAMA Nobukatsu 花山信勝 has published an interesting article on the origins of Japanese Buddhism, "Nihon Bukkyo no Engen" 日本佛教の淵源, in the volume entitled *Bukkyogaku no Shomondai* 佛教學の諸問題 (Various Problems in the Study of Buddhism). Hanayama points out that Prince Shotoku in his commentaries on the *Saddharmapundarika* disagreed with the outstanding Chinese authorities of his time and had his personal view, insisting that Buddhism as a religion must serve the state and the people.

In the field of education the work of OTOTAKE Iwazo, 乙竹岩造 *Nihon Kyoikushi no Kenkyu* 日本教育史の研究 (Studies in the History of Japanese Education), 570 pages, has to be mentioned. In this volume are gathered the different articles which Ototake had published previously in periodicals. One chapter of this volume deals with the transition period (1872-1875) when the *terakoya* 寺子屋, the old regime schools, were being displaced by the new governmental grammar schools, *shogakko* 小學校, or sometimes became private grammar schools.

HARUYAMA Sakuju 春山作樹, who died recently and was a well known scholar in the field of education, has published a volume on Education during the Edo Period (1600-1868), *Edo-jidai no Kyoiku* 江戸時代の教育. Two other volumes on Japanese education have been published: one by Tasuke Sukeshige 田制佐重 *Nihon Kyoiku Shicho Gaisetsu* 日本教育思潮概説, 440 pages, (Outline of Currents in Japanese Education), and *Nihon Kyoikushi* 日本教育史 (History of Japanese Education), 571 pages, by the Dai Nihon Gakujutsu Kyokwai 大日本學術協會 (The Learned Society of Japan).

The number of publications in the field of the history of Japanese literature was very large and some works are quite important. The well known poet and scholar SASAKI Nobutsuna 佐佐木信綱 has published a

volume of his articles under the title *Kokubungaku no Bunkengakuteki Kenkyu* 國文學の文獻學的研究 (Textual Studies in Japanese Literature), 444 pages. The volume is divided into six parts: the first is consecrated to studies on the *Manyōshū*, the next to poets and anthologies, the others to studies on poetry, studies on diaries, investigations of legends, while the last chapter is called an appendix.

HISAMATSU Senichi 久松潜一, who had published previously a volume on the *Manyōshū* under the title of *Manyōshū no Shinkenryū* 萬葉集の新研究, has published this year a volume, which may be considered the continuation of his studies on the same well known anthology, under the name *Manyōshū Kosetsu* 萬葉集考説. In this work he studies the problem of the compilation of the ninth volume of this ancient anthology, paying particular attention to the geographical names.

TAKANO Tatsuyuki 高野辰之 has published the first volume of a History of Literature of the Edo period, *Edobungakushi* 江戸文學史, 560 pages. The work will be completed in three volumes. This first volume treats the literature of the Kan'ei period 寛永 1631-1643 and of the Genroku 元禄 period 1688-1703.

NOMURA Hachiro 野村八郎, *Kinkojidai Setsuwabungakuron* 近古時代説話文學論 (Discussion of Legendary Literature of the Ancient Period), begins with the mythological stories in the *Kojiki*, *Nihonshoki*, *Fudoki*, and *Manyōshū*. From these the author passes to the ancient novels such as *Yamato Monogatari*, *Konjaku Monogatari*, and some others. His discussion of the literary works and their authors offers some new points of view. For example, he insists that the *Ujishū monogatari* 宇治拾遺物語, since there are many interpolations, is not a work written by one person, and he rejects the date 1216 which was fixed by Professor Sato. Further, the author indicates that the *Hosshinshū* 發心集 must be a work written before 1215 A. D.

Among many articles published in different periodicals we have to mention the two articles of YOSHIDA Koichi 吉田幸一. One has been published in the *Bungaku* 文學, Vol. 3, No. 1, Yusenkutsu to Nihon bungaku 遊仙窟と日本文學, and the other, in the *Kokugo to Kokubungaku* 國語と國文學, Vol. 12, No. 7-8, Yusenkutsuden Honko 遊仙窟傳本考. Both articles deal with the Chinese work *Yu hsien lu* 遊仙窟, a Tang novel, which was known in Japan already in the Nara period (645-781) and is mentioned in many works of succeeding periods. It is an interesting problem in comparative literature, a Chinese legend penetrates into Japanese literature and survives under different forms until the nineteenth century.

The next article is devoted to the fine arts. The reviewer points out that the Institute for Research in Fine Arts has received an official charter and become an official Institute supported by the government and consecrated to research work in the ancient art of Japan. The director of the Institute is Professor Y. Yashiro, who lectured two years ago at Harvard. In a bibliographical note we need not recall the different important activities of the Institute and the numerous art exhibitions which have been arranged by its staff. It is sufficient to mention here the periodical *Biijutsu Kenkyu* 美術研究 (Studies in Fine Arts)* which is published monthly by the Institute. The volume for 1935 contains Nos. 37-48. The articles are in Japanese, but there are short abstracts and a table of contents in English. This volume also contains classified bibliographies of works (both occidental and oriental) on East Asiatic art for the year 1934.

The reviewer mentions that the previous feudal lord of Owari, Y. Tokugawa 徳川義親, has given all the treasures of his family to a specially established corporation which has built a museum which opened in November, 1935.

The well known monthly the *Kokka* 國華 continues to be published with short abstracts in English. The volume for 1935 contains Nos. 530-541. The periodical *Houn* 寶雲† which is subsidized by Count Higashi Fushimi has transferred its publication office to Kyoto. The Ministry of Education has published a volume on the fine art objects which are classified as national treasures. The title of this book is *Kokuho Ryakusetsu* 國寶略説.

HEMMI Baien 逸見梅榮 has published a very important work on Buddhist sculpture, *Indo ni okeru Haireibutsu no Keishiki Kenkyu* 印度に於ける禮拜像の形式研究 (Study of the Forms of Images for Worship in India), which gives many hints for the better understanding of Japanese sculpture.

The reviewer mentions several articles in different Japanese periodicals, pointing out the important article of YASHIRO Yukio 矢代幸雄, *Hokkedo Kompon Mandara* 法華堂根本曼陀羅, which is published in Vol. 4, No. 1 of the *Biijutsu Kenkyu*. It is a detailed study of the Lotus Mandala which is in the Fine Arts Museum of Boston. Mr. Yashiro says that it is one of the most important paintings illustrating this art.

* The first volume which appeared in 1932 was reviewed by me in the *RAA* 8 (1934) 126-128.

† Cf. Jean BUNOT *RAA* 8 199.

for the Tempyō period. In the same periodical, No 9, WAKIMOTO Jukurō 脇本十九郎 has published a very interesting article on the literary and artistic importance of the Haseo scroll, *Bungaku oyobi Emaki to shite no Haseo soshū Kōsatsu* 文學及び繪卷としての長谷雄雙紙考察. The author begins with a résumé of the story of *The Demon and Haseo*, and indicates that there are some similarities with the well-known story of the voyage of Kibi to China, *Kibi Nyuto Ekotoba* 吉備入唐繪詞. He says also that the theme of a demon made woman becoming a stream of water was very common during the Heian period and is mentioned in the well known work *Senshusho* 撰集抄. He indicates also the places where the illustrations in the scroll do not fit with the descriptive text, but he says that the painting is executed in typical Yamato e 木和繪 style, and is a good example of the artistic production of that time. At the end of the article on the fine arts the reviewer lists publications on architecture and sculpture.

The eleventh article treats of the publications on historical geography and historical monuments. The reviewer mentions the important historical map of Japan, *Nihon Dokushi Chizu* 日本讀史地圖, which was compiled by the late YOSHIDA Togo 吉田東伍 and edited with additions by ASHIDA Korehito 蘆田伊人. Among studies on local histories has to be mentioned the first volume of the *History of the Aichi prefecture*, *Aichiken Shi* 愛知縣史. In the already mentioned series of *Iwanuma Koza Nihon Rekishi* there has appeared an article on Japanese primitive civilization, "Nihon Genshū Bunka" 日本原始文化, and another on the archaic remains and their civilization, "Jodai no Ibutsuiseki to sono Bunka" 上代の遺物遺跡とその文化. The reviewer then outlines the different excavations done in Japan. At the end the author mentions that the Tokyo Imperial University has published the ninth fascicule of the archeological collection of the archeological institute of the college of literature, *Bungakubu Kokogaku Kenkyūshitsu Shushu Kokozuhen* 文學部考古學研究室蒐集考古圖編, and that the Kyōto Imperial University has published a supplement to the archeological catalogues of the University Museum, *Kyōto Teikokudagaku Bungakubu Chinretsukan Kokozuhen* 京都帝國大學文學部陳列館考古圖錄續編.

An article on the foreign relations of Japan by the well known scholar KITA Teikichi 喜田貞吉, *Kodai gaikōjō ni okeru Waga Kokka no Taimenmondai* 古代外交上に於ける我が國家の體面問題, has been published in the first two numbers of volume 65 of the *Rekishichiri* 歴史地理. The author treats the most ancient relations of Japan with the Wu state 吳國 and with the Sui and T'ang courts. Professor Kita sets forth the

new opinion that *Ye ma ta'i* 耶馬臺, which is mentioned in the *Hou Han Shu* 後漢書 means the Yamato court 大和朝廷, and is fundamentally different from the *Yeh ma t'ai kuo* 耶馬臺國 mentioned in the *Wei Chih* 魏志, which corresponds to the Yamato Agata 山門縣 mentioned in the *Nihongi* 日本紀, the chapter on Jingokogo 神功皇后, and which is situated in Waifu 隈府 which is in the northern part of Kikuchi district 菊池郡 in Higo 肥後 province. He writes also that when the Japanese texts mention the Wu country 吳 they do not mean the old Wu country of the period of the Three Kingdoms, for sometimes even during the Sui dynasty or during the T'ang the Japanese called China the Wu country. The article insists upon the care which the Japanese exercised to maintain their national prestige in their relations with China.

MORI Katsumi 森克己 in the periodical *Rekushichiri* 66, Nos 1 2 has published an important article on the development of trade between Japan and Sung China, and on the origin of customs duties, *Nissōboeki no tenkai to kanzeitekiseishitsu no hassei* 日宋貿易の展開と關稅的性質の發生, He also has another article in *SZ* 46, No 6, on trade between Japan and T'ang China 日唐貿易の形態. AKIYAMA Kenzo 秋山謙藏 has published in the *Rekushikyoku* 歴史教育 an article on the origin of the peacock in the Far East, *Kujaku Denraiko* 孔雀傳來考. He has also published in the *Shakaikenzai Shigaku* 社會經濟史學, Vol 5, Nos 5 6 an important article on the maritime trade between the different oriental countries before and after the coming of European vessels, *Ohakurai kozengo ni okeru Toyoshokoku no Kanjoboeki* 歐舶來航前後に於ける東洋諸國の海上貿易. For this article he utilized the recently discovered book on the Loochoo islands, *Ryūkyū Rekida Hoan* 琉球歷代寶案. We mention here only the articles which seem to us the most important, the bibliographical section lists thirty-one. Among the separate volumes the reviewer mentions the book of SHINOBU Seizaburo 信夫清三郎, *Mutsu Gaiko* 陸奥外交, which deals with the diplomatic history of the Sino-Japanese war. SHIMMURA Izuru 新村出 has published a collection of his own articles under the title *Ensei Sokō* 遠西叢考 and Akiyama Kenzō a volume on the history of the relations of China and Japan, *Nisshi Koshō Shwa* 日支交渉史話.

The next article treats of biographies and diaries. This year the number of biographies and diaries which were published was greater than the previous year because many important publishing houses have brought out complete works of different writers, thus necessitating the publication of their biographies. In the periodicals many articles are consecrated to the activities of different Japanese famous in history as well as to

松村武雄 has published a very interesting article on beliefs in the magical powers of a comb, "Jodai Bunka to Kushi" 上代文化と櫛. A supplement has been published to the Japanese Ethnological Dictionary, *Nihon Minzokugaku Jiten* 日本民俗學辭典 by NAKAYAMA Tarō 中山太郎. KODERA Yukichi 小寺融吉 has published a new dictionary of folk songs, *Nihon Minyo Jiten* 日本民謡辭典, containing a list of folk dances and several indexes which makes this reference work a very valuable tool.

The reviewer mentions further that many volumes of fairy tales and folk legends of certain places or regions have been published.

The periodical *Minzokugaku* 民俗學 has been discontinued and with the help of SHIBUSAWA Keizo 澀澤敬三 and under the editorship of Professor SHIRATORI 白鳥博士 a new periodical, *Minzokugaku Kenkyu* 民俗學研究 (Ethnological Studies) has been begun. The reviewer mentions several important articles for instance the article of MATSUMOTO Shigehiko 松本重彦, "Taiko ni okeru Kando Kankei no Densetsu" 太古に於ける韓土關係の傳説 in which the author makes a critical study of the Korean legends mentioned in the *Kojiki*, *Nihonshoki*, and other ancient texts.

Several articles on the sorceress in Korea, in Manchuria, and in Japan were published by different scholars during 1935 as well as articles on the ethnology of Formosa.

In terminating this condensed review of the *Kokushigakka* we cannot over estimate the importance of this bibliographical publication. It is most useful for all who are interested in Japanese studies.

S E

BIBLIOGRAPHY

YENCHING JOURNAL OF CHINESE STUDIES 17 AND 18

VOL 17, JUNE 1935

138 two plates Baron A von STAEL-HOLSTEIN, On Two Recent Reconstructions of a Sanskrit Hymn Transliterated with Chinese Characters in the Tenth Century A D

By means of the Tibetan translation (*Narthang Tanjur*, Rgyud 8 157a 157b) S H makes a comparative study of the *Fo Shuo Sheng Kuan tsu tsai pu sa Fan Tsan* 佛說聖觀自在菩薩梵讚 (*Taisho* 20, 71) transliterated from Sanskrit into Chinese probably by (1) Fa t'ien 法天 (who in 982 changed his name to Fa hsien 法賢) and by (2) Ch'ien lung's commissioners in *Fu chih Man Han Meng lu Hsi fan Ho pi Ta tsang Chuan Chou* 7, 8 61 69 御製滿漢蒙古西番合璧大藏全咒 The original Sanskrit is reconstructed and translated (10 11) A tabulation (11 17) gives the phonetic value of the characters used by Fa t'ien

39 57 CH IEN Pao ts ung Han Jen Yueh hsing Yen-chiu 錢寶琮, 漢人月行研究 (On the Motion of the Moon as understood by the People of the Han Dynasty)

Only in the first century A D did the Chinese independently arrive at a knowledge of the moon's movements approximately that of Hipparchus (2nd cent B C) The synodic month was reckoned as follows

San tung 三統 calendar (~ B C) 29 53086 days

Ssu fen 四分 calendar (85 A D) 29 53085 days

Ch'ien hs ang 乾象 calendar (1~3 183 A D) 29 53051 days

59 87 Wu Han Kuan yü Tung pei Shih shang i wei K'uai-chieh ti Hsin Shih liao 吳晗, 關於東北史上一位怪傑的新史料 (New Historical Material on a Strange Hero in the History of Manchuria)

Material chiefly from the *Li Chao Shih lu* 李朝實錄 (30 photographic copies made and distributed by the Government General of Chosen in 1931/2) regarding Li Man-chu 李滿住, native of Chien-chou 建州 the modern Tun hua 敦化 in southern Kirin His grandfather was

some foreigners who played an important part in Japanese civilization. Among this latter group we have to mention an article in the periodical *Shiseki to Kobijutsu* 史蹟と古美術, Vol 15, No. 2 by AWANO Shūsui 粟野秀穂 who writes about the well-known American E. F. Fenollosa (1853-1908). He was profoundly interested in Japanese art, was one of the promoters of the Japanese National Committee to preserve the treasures of Japanese ancient art, and by his lectures and books provoked among Americans a real interest and appreciation of Far Eastern Fine Arts. The title of Awano's article is Fenollosa's Services for Fine Arts, "Fuenorosashi no Bijutsujo no Kōseki" フェノロサ氏の美術上の功蹟. In the *Kokugo to Kokubungaku* 國語と國文學, Vol 12, No. 4 SASAKI Nobutsuna 佐佐木信綱 has published an article on the late Professor B. H. Chamberlain (1850-1935), who was an outstanding japanologist, "Chenbarensai no Omoide" チェンバレン氏の思出. In *Keizaiishi Kenkyū* 經濟史研究, Vol 13, No. 1 HONJŌ Eiuro 本庄榮治郎 has published an article on the influence which the French diplomat Léon Roches exercised on the political reforms of the Tokugawa government during the years 1864-1868, "Reon Roshu to Bakumatsu no Shosokai-kaku" レオンロノユと幕末の庶政改革.

In the article on bibliographies and re-editions of some texts is mentioned that the Iwasaki-Library has published an important catalogue of Chinese and Japanese books, *Iwasakibunkō Wakanshō Mokuroku* 岩崎文庫和漢書目録. After several years of investigation Professor Kuroita 黒板勝美 has published the catalogue of the rare books preserved in the Shimpuku temple, *Shimpukujō Zenbon Mokuroku* 眞福寺善本目録. The Kanazawa Library has published its catalogue, *Kanazawabunkōbon Zuroku* 金澤文庫本岡録, in which are included also the photostatic editions of some other rare books of which the originals are not in the Kanazawabunkō. For the exhibition of works on Philipp-Franz von Siebold (1796-1866) a catalogue was compiled, *Shiboruto Shiryō Tenrankai Shuppin Mokuroku* シボルト資料展覧會出品目録.

The reviewer enumerates also the ancient manuscripts as well as ancient books which have been re-edited and published during the year 1935. These publications are mostly important historical materials preserved in private collections or in temple archives.

The last article treats of the publications on ethnology. YAMADA Kunio 山田國男, who has done so much for ethnological studies in Japan, has published a new volume on methods for the study of rural life, *Kyōdōseisaku no Kenkyū Hōhō* 郷土生活の研究方々 which is a good introductory work and is provided with an index and a bibliography.

The same author has published as volume 17 in the series *Iwanami Kozon Shon Rekushi* a volume on Japanese history and ethnology, *Kokushi to Minzokugaku* 國史と民俗學, in which he discusses the importance of studying popular traditions for the comprehension of the changes which can be observed in the life of a people as well as for the understanding of the evolution of moral principles. He began last year to publish a small monthly periodical devoted to fairy tales, *Mukashibanashi Kenkyū* 昔話研究. Among several important articles which K. Yanagida has published during the last year the one appearing in the *Tabi to Densetsu* 旅と傳説, Vol 8 No 6 under the title "Monomora no Hanashi" モノモラヒの話 is a very interesting contribution to the study of the word *Monomora* which means a sty in one's eye. The author explains the different local customs and superstitions which are related to this disease. A group of young scholars under the leadership of Professor Yanagida have long been interested in the ethnological study of remote villages, and it is only now after ten years work that several reports on different items are being published in a volume *Sanson Seikatsu Chōsa Danrakai Hokokusho* 山村生活調査第一回報告書 (First Reports on the Investigation of Life in Mountain Villages). The same group arranged a meeting to celebrate the sixtieth birthday of Professor Yanagida, and published in a volume of 596 pages the lectures which were read during this meeting. The title is *Ahon Minzokugaku Kenkyū* 日本民俗學研究 (Studies in Japanese Ethnology). In this volume KINDAICHI Kyosuke 金田一京助 has published an article on the grammar of the Ainu language where he describes his visits to Ainu villages to collect material. It is interesting to read that he found a knowledge of Ainu folklore helpful in his linguistic work. The title of the article is "Ainu Buraku Saiho Dan" アイヌ部落探訪談. In the same volume IFA FUYU 伊波普猷 has published an article on the ceremonies and songs during the rice planting in the Loochoo island, "Nanto Inetsukuri Gyoji Saishiroku" 南嶋稻作行事採集録. In the bibliographical section are enumerated all twelve articles of this important volume. The same group of scholars has also begun to publish a new monthly *Minlan Denshō* 民間傳承 which gives good bibliographical information. The Japanese Ethnological Society began last year to publish a new periodical *Ahon Minoku* 日本民俗. The Tokyo Anthropological Society, which celebrated in 1934 its fiftieth anniversary published last year a volume of articles by different scholars. The title of this volume is *Ahon Minoku* 日本民俗 and the articles are on different ethnological and prehistorical subjects. In the periodical *Honan* 南天, Vol 13 MATSUMURA Takeo

A-ha-ch'ü 阿哈出 (the Ming called him Li Ssü-ch'êng 李思誠), his father, Shih chia nu (called Li Hsien-chung 李顯忠). His dates are ca. 1403-1467.

89-124 SUN Hai-po, Pu-tz'ü Li fa Hsiao-chi 孫海波, 卜辭歷法小記 (Notes on the Calendrical System in the Oracle Inscriptions).

The available inscriptions would seem to point to the following possibilities: (1) No words are found for the four seasons. (2) A thirteenth month is not an intercalary month. (3) The Yin used periods of ten days, there being three such periods to a month. There was no division into "big" and "small" months. This giving but 360 days to the year, (4) the difference was adjusted by adding ten or twenty days to a month.

125-171, 18 plates. JUNG Kêng, Ch'in Shih Huang K'o-shih K'ao 容庚, 秦始皇刻石攷 (A study of Ch'in Shih Huang-ti's Stone Inscriptions).

A complete account of the inscriptions; photographs of their rubbings, edition of their texts; and large bibliography (pp 164-171).

173-178, 9 plates JUNG Kêng, Niao-shu K'ao Pu Chêng 鳥書考補正 (Supplement and Corrections to A Study of the 'Bird Script').

This is a supplement to the article which Professor Jung published in *YCHP* 16 (1934), 195-203 and 20 plates, where he listed and studied the implements bearing this peculiar script. According to Professor Jung the styles of this writing are as follows: (1) one or two birds are added to the original character for ornament; (2) the birds and the normal character are intermingled, (3) the strokes sketch a bird roughly as decoration. The Han and Chou styles of this writing differ, and that used by the monk Mêng-ying 夢英 of the Sung is quite peculiar.

179-194 WALTER LIPPMAN, The Version of the Vimśatikā 唯識二十論 by I-chung 寂淨 and its Relation to that by Hsuan-tsang 玄奘.

The author concludes that I-chung knew and utilized Hsuan-tsang's translation even to following his errors. Hsuan-tsang may have known Dharmapāla's commentary (later translated by I-chung), but he seems to have relied more particularly upon the *śāstra* itself.

195-230 JUNG Yuan 容媛, Notes and News in the Field of Chinese Studies in China [Dec. 1934 May 1935].

An invaluable summary of events and publications, which Miss Jung, the sister of Professor Jung Kêng, has been preparing for this periodical since vol 9 (1931). Pp 196-199 give an account of a find of Shang-

陝省考古會 were continued at Tou chi T'ai 門鷄台, Pao chi Hsien 寶鷄 (W central Shensi, N of the Wei) Pottery and bronze have been found At Hsi an 西安 itself a Six Dynasties grave has been discovered containing pottery and coins This whole area is very rich in archaeological material

The archival documents 檔案 of the Ming and Ch'ing dynasties fall into four categories Privy Council 內閣, Council of State 軍機處, Imperial Household 內務府, and Palace 宮 The first category is now divided up among the Peking National University, the Academia Sinica at Nanking, and the Wen hsien Kuan of the Imperial Palace 故宮文獻館, chiefly the last The last three categories are entirely within the Wên hsien Kuan The Privy Council material in the Wên hsien Kuan is divided as follows (1) the Reds 紅本 reports etc from officials throughout the empire and the various departments which were marked with red ink in an upper corner after they had been discussed by the Council and the emperor's will had been made known (there are 3500 bundles including the periods Ch'ien lung to Kuang hsu), (2) the Histories record the facts and the decrees pertaining to the Reds classifying them by ministries according to the month (there are 24,000 volumes including the periods Shun chih to Kuang hsu), (3) the Yellows 黃冊 financial reports arranged by ministries and departments, about 5000 volumes (plus some material at the Peking National University), (4) a small quantity of decrees, memorials, and reports In addition there are (5) 720 volumes of Manchu documents, sets of the *Shih lu* in Chinese, Manchu, and Mongolian, decrees on government 聖訓, two sets of both Chinese and Manchu, the imperial doings 起居注, from K'ang hsi to Kuang hsu, 4500 volumes The material from the Council of State is much bulkier and more important than that which belonged to the Privy Council There are 8000 volumes of records of business 檔冊 arranged by classes such as foreign affairs, military affairs etc, and 800,000 copies of memorials 奏摺 The material in the hands of the Social Research Council 社會調查所 would raise the last figure to over one million The material belonging to the Imperial Household and the Palace has not yet been calculated Since 1932, 3773 cases of this material have been shipped to Shanghai, and at the writing of this report efforts are being made to examine and classify all this material with a view to ultimate publication

The following books have appeared Ku Chieh kang *Ku shih Pien* vol 5 顧頡剛, 古史辨 (A Symposium on Ancient History vol 5), Méo Sên, *Ming yuan Ch'ing hsi Tung chi* 孟森, 明元清系通紀 (Com

prehensive Account of the Manchus during the Ming Dynasty), MÉNG Sen, *Ch'ing sh'ü San Ta I-an Kao-shih* 清初三大疑案考實 (An Examination into the Facts of Three Important Questions during the Early Manchu Dynasty), *Shih hsueh Lun Tsung* by a group at the Peking National University 史學論叢 (Historical Essays), *Shih Ts'ing Hui Lun wen Chai yao Yueh l'an* by a group at the Ta hua University 大夏 at Shanghai 史地社會論文摘要月刊 (The Monthly of Abstracts of Articles in the Fields of History, Geography, and Sociology), Ku T'ing lung Wu *Ch'ia-chai Hsien sheng Yien pu* 顧廷龍, 吳雲齋先生年譜 (An Annalistic Biography of Wu Ta-ch'eng 大澂), Liu T'ü-chih, *Shan-chai Chi-chin Lu* 劉體智, 善齋吉金錄 (A Register of Bronzes belonging to the Shan-chai), Juang Keng, *Ku Shih l'ö Ling Shih* 容庚, 古石刻零拾 (A Collection of Old Inscriptions on Stone), Lau Chieh, *Ch'u Ch'ü T'u Shih* 劉節, 楚器圖釋 (Illustrations and Explanations of the Articles found in Anhui), Juang Keng, *Hai wai Chi-chin T'u Lu* 容庚, 海外吉金圖錄 (A Register of Illustrations of Bronzes Abroad), Su Hsi po, *Ku wen Sheng hsi* 孫海波, 古文聲平 (The Phonological System of the Ancient Characters), Ling Shun-shen, *Sung hua Chiang Hsia yü ti Ho-che Tsu* 凌純聲, 松花江下游的莽古族 (The Golds along the Lower Course of the Sungari), Liu Hsiu yeh, *Kuo-hsueh Lun wen So-yin* 劉修業, 國學論文索引 (An Index to Chinese Sinological Articles vol 3), Hsu I, *K'an ru Yin te* 侯毅, 刊誤引得 (An Index to the *K'an ru*, dating from end of T'ang dynasty), *T'ai ping Yu lan Yin te* 太平御覽引得 (Index to the *T'ai ping Yu lan*), Teng Ssu yü *Fen-ching Ta-hsueh T'u-shu kuan Mu lu Ch'u Lao* 鄧嗣禹, 燕京大學圖書館目錄初稿 (First Draft of a Catalogue to the Yenching University Library), Li Chi, *Ch'eng tzu Yai* 李濟, 梭子崖 (A Report on the Archaeological Work at Ch'eng tzu Yai which is NE of Lung-shan Chen 龍山鎮 in the vicinity of Chi nan in Shantung)

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153 and 20 plate. Hsu Ts'ü-shan *Ta-chung Ch'ing K'o-wen Shih tai Kuan-chien*, 許地山, 大中磬刻文時代管見 (An Opinion on the Date of the Inscription on a *Ch'ing* of the Period Ta-chung (847-860))

This is a bronze *ch'ing*, or bell with an inscription dating it 851 A. D. Carved on the exterior surface is the *Prajñāparamitāhrdayasūtra* (TANJIO 20, Taiho 8, no 251) and a *Vijayadharani* (cf. TANJIO 348, 349, 350, Taiho 19, nos 967, 968-971). The latter text raises problems (cf. F

Max MULLER and B. NANJIO, *Anecdota Oxoniensia* 1, part 3). Professor Hsu gives a tabulated edition of the various editions, and concludes that the inscription could not have been engraved on the *ch'ing* before 1403-1619.

55-57. JUNG Kêng, T'ang Ta chung T'ung Ch'ing Liu-ch'uan K'ao 容庚, 唐大中銅磬流傳考 (On the Transmission of the Bronze Ch'ing of the Period Ta-chung).

It was first listed in CH'EN Ta-hsin (1727-1804) *Ch'ien-yen-t'ang Chin Shih Wen Pa-wei* 9 19 錢大昕, 潛研堂金石文跋尾, but despite his assertion its provenience is unknown. The bell itself has passed thru many hands, and a rubbing of the inscription has been published in Lo Chên-yu, *Chin Ni Shih Hsieh* 羅振玉, 金泥石屑. It would seem to be in the possession of Professor Jung.

59-71. KU Li-ya, Shih T'ien 釋天 (H. G. CREEL, An Explanation of the Character T'ien).

Both *t'ien* 天 and *ta* 大 originate in a symbol depicting a man (front view). The semantic development, therefore, was probably as follows: the word meaning "great" was also used by the Shang in the special sense of the "great, important" persons of the social group; this epithet was then transferred to the dead ruler who is still powerful over his former community. The Chou received the symbol in this special sense, and to distinguish this usage a dot was added at the top. Since the abode of these dead ancestors, as the inscriptions show, was on high, the symbol with the dot then came to designate the sky. In its developed sense of sky as divinity this symbol does not appear in the bone inscriptions. All the occurrences here are best explained as place names or as equivalents of the modern *ta* 大. In the bone inscriptions it is only the equivalent of the modern *ti* 帝 or *shang ti* 上帝 that appears in the sense of divinity. After the Chou conquest, however, *t'ien* 天 (the divinity) and *ti* became identified, and *t'ien* becomes the more usual word for the divinity as shown by the texts and the bronze inscriptions.

This article was translated from English into Chinese by Mr. Lau Chieh 劉節.

73 95 JUNG Chao-tsu, Chi Chêng-tê Pên Chu Tzū Shih-chi ping Shuo Chu Tzū Nien-p'ü ti Pên-tzū 容肇祖, 記正德本朱子實紀並說朱子年譜的本子 (Notes on the Chêng tê (1506-1520) edition of the *Chu Tzū Shih-chi* and Remarks on the editions of the *Chu Tzū Nien-p'ü*).

This article discusses the sources and editions of these two books, in-

dispensable for the study of the development of Chu Hsi's thought. There are five principal nien p'u: (1) a Li Tzu-fang's 李子方, *chin shih* of 1214, (2) Li Mo's 李默 of 1552, (3) Hung Ch'u-wu's 洪去蕪 of 1700, (4) a Fukien edition (閩本), and (5) Wang Mou-hung's 王懋竑 published in 1751, ten years after his death. Of these only the last seems easily procurable.

The *Shih chi* (in 12 ch.) by Li Hsien 李銑, published in 1513, is the particular subject of Mr. Jung's article. (1) The colophon to the *Shih chi* by Li Hsien's nephew, Wang Yu 汪愈, fixes Li Hsien's death in 1508. (2) This *Shih chi* is completely independent of Wang Shou-yan's *Chu Tzu Wan nien Ting Lun* 王守仁, 朱子晚年定論 which is prefaced 1515. (3) The *Nien p'u* in the *Shih chi* is based indirectly upon Li Tzu-fang's *Tzu yang Nien-p'u* 紫陽年譜 (an ed. of 1426-1435). The article continues with a comparison of Li Hsien's text with CH'EN Chien's *Hsueh pu Tung pien* 陳建, 學部通辨. With the exception of one small section on some remarks in the *Shih chi* which should have caused it to be relegated to the prohibited books under the Ch'ing dynasty, the rest of the article is devoted to the study of various editions of the *Nien p'u*.

97-105 JUNG Chao-tsu, Yueh ling ti Lai yuan K'ao 月令的來源考 (On the Origin of the *Yueh ling*)

This treatise, now forming chs. 14-17 of the *Li Chi* 禮記, the beginnings of the twelve *chi* 紀 in the *Lu Shih Ch'un ch'u* 呂氏春秋, and the *Shih Tse Hsun* 時則訓 in the *Huai nan Tzu* 淮南子 [Cf. PELLIOU, *TP* 27-82-86] would seem to have originated with Tsou Yen 騶衍 in the fourth century B. C.

107-146 CHOU I-liang Wei Shou-chih Shih-hsueh 周一良, 魏收之史學 (Wei Shou's Historiography)

A thorough study of the composition of the *Wei Shu* 魏書. The article gives more detail than Li Cheng-fen's "Wei Shu Yuan-liu K'ao" 李正奮, 魏書源流考 (published in *Kuo-hsueh Chi-k'an* 國學季刊 2: 363-381, Dec. 1929) and the abstracter's own article in *JAOS* 52: 35-45, Mar. 1932.

147-152 WANG Wei-cheng *Ssu shih erh chang Ching* Tao-an Ching lu Chueh Tsai-chih Yuan-yin 王維誠, 四十二章經道安經錄闕載之原因 (The Reason for the Omission of the *Ssu shih-erh chang Ching* from Tao-an's Catalog)

This omission is probably due to an effort on the part of Tao-an to maintain the integrity of both his historical exactitude and of his ortho-

doxy, for this sūtra was closely associated with the legend of Ming-ti's mission in which Tao an could not believe

153-188 SHIH Chao-yuan, Yuan Tsa chi-li-ti Pa Hsien Ku-shih yu Yuan Tsa-chi T'i-l 石兆原, 元雜劇裡的八仙故事與元雜劇體例 (The Legends of the Eight Immortals in Yuan Drama and the Style of Yuan Drama).

Mr Shih shows that the list of eight varies and that, in all, ten different names are given: 1, Chung-li Ch'uan 鍾離權 who seems to be best known as Han 漢 Chung-li, although it is not clear that this name is not understood as Han Chung-li, the Han being felt as a surname rather than a designation of period, 2, T'ieh kuaí Lì 鐵拐李, whose name seems to be usual in this form, 3, Lan Ts'ai-ho 藍采和, 4, Chang Kuo-lao 張國老, 5, Hsu Shên-wêng 徐神翁; 6, Han Hsiang-tzū 韓湘子, 7, Ts'ao Kuo-chiu 曹國舅, 8, Lu Shun-yang or Tung-pin 呂純陽, 洞賓, 9, Ho Hsien ku 何仙姑; 10, Chang Ssü lang 張四郎. In giving his list Mr. Shih quotes from the plays to describe their individual characteristics.

The article also includes an outline description of the theatre as given in a Yuan play, the *Lan Ts'ai ho*, which exists today in a unique copy at the Peiping National Library.

189-198 and 8 pp. illustrations MA Chien and CHOU I-liang, Shan-hsi Shih Fo K'ao-ch'a Chi 馬鑑, 周一良, 山西石佛考查記 (Notes on an Examination of the Stone Buddhas in Shansi).

The authors visited a locality named Tzū hung 子洪 or 紫紅 30 li SE of Ch'i-hsien 祁縣 in central Shansi, where they examined the five caves (two up the mountain and three at the foot) in the E slope of a mountain before which flows S to N the river Ch'ang-yuan 昌源 or 長源. In addition there are four niches of Buddha figures. The northern one of the upper caves contains sitting Buddha figures reminiscent of Yun-kang. The southern upper cave contains three Confucian statues with long beards, while the exterior of the cave contains many small Buddha images. This may be the cave that was built in 1556-1557.

The entrances to the three lower caves are all blocked with stone bars so that, unless the light is very good, it is difficult to see the Buddha statues within.

They also examined the 70 or 80 stone Buddha heads found at the Wên Miao 文廟, now the Middle School, in Ch'i-hsien.

The authors then show that the Buddha heads found in June, 1935,

in the grounds of the Middle School are the remains of a Shan-yin Ssü 善音寺 which became the Wên Miao in 1523. The mutilated inscriptions found in the debris show dates ranging between 550-618 A. D.

199-233 JUNG Yuan 容媛, Notes and News in the Field of Chinese Studies in China, 1935, May to November.

In August, 1935, excavations were undertaken at Shan-piao Chên 山彪鎮 in Chi-hsien 汲 in N Honan and articles of bronze and stone were found bells, mirrors, cups, chariot fittings and a halberd and what is probably an ornament for a bow.

During September and October, 1935, Professors Hsu Ping-ch'ang 徐炳昶 and Ku Chieh-lang 顧頌剛 visited two Buddhist temples, the Nan Hsiang-t'ang Ssü 南響堂寺 and the Pei Hsiang t'ang Ssü 北, on Ku Shan 鼓山, N of P'êng-ch'êng Chên 彭城鎮 in S Hopei. The two temples are 20 to 30 li distant one from the other, so that the northern one is situated in Honan. At both places there are stone statues and carvings of texts (presumably Buddhist) belonging to 550-577 A. D. A book will be published on this temple.

In August, 1935, a grave lined with Han engraved stones, of poorer workmanship than those of the Wu Liang Tz'ü 武梁祠, was discovered at T'ing-tz'ü Ts'un 亭子村, Lun 1 Hsien 臨沂縣, in S Shantung. The stones have been brought in part to the provincial library in Chi nan 濟南.

The rest of the article is given to a bibliography where the following works are discussed. SHANG Ch'êng tsê, *Shih êrh Chia Chi-chin T'u Lu* 商承祚, 十二家吉金圖錄 (An Illustrated Account of Sacrificial Bronzes belonging to Twelve Collectors), JUNG Kêng, *Chin Wên Hsü pien* 容庚, 金文續編 (Inscriptions on Bronze, Supplement), WANG Chên to, *Han-tai K'uang chuan Chi Lu* 王振鐸, 漢代壙輓集錄 (An Account and a Collection of Han Dynasty Grave-tiles), K'o Ch'ang chi, *Chin Wên Fên yu Pien* 柯昌濟, 金文分域編 (A Compilation on the Geographical Distribution of Inscriptions on Bronze), Peking National University, *Fêng ni Ts'un chen* 封泥存真 (Genuine Articles of Impressed Clay), K'o Shao min *Hsien-shêng I chu San Chung* (1) *Ch'un chiu Ku hang Chuan Chiu*, (2) *Hsin Yuan Shih K'ao-cheng*, and (3) *I Shih Fu* 柯劭忞先生遺著三種: 春秋穀梁傳注, 新元史考證, 譯史補 (Three Works Left by Mr K'o Shao min. Notes on the Ku hang Commentary to the Ch'un-ch'iu, Textual Notes on the New History of the Mongol Dynasty, A Supplement to the Translated Histories [Occidental materials bearing on the Mongols]), CHANG Ping lin, *Chang shih Ts'ung shu Hsu pien* 章炳麟, 章氏叢書續編 (A Supplementary Compilation to the Collected

Works of Mr Chang); CHUANG T'ing-lung, *Ming Shih Ch'ao Lueh* 莊廷鑑, 明史鈔略 (A Resumé of Documents for the History of the Ming Dynasty), CHAO I-ch'ing, *San Kuo Chih Chu Pu* and *Pu I* 趙一清, 三國志注補, 補遺 (Two Supplements to the Commentary on the History of the Three Kingdoms); CHIN Chao-fêng, *Ch'ing Shih Ta-kang* 金兆豐, 清史大綱 (An Outline of the History of the Manchu Dynasty), CHU Shih-chia, *Chung kuo Ti fang chih Tsung-lu* 朱士嘉, 中國地方志綜錄 (A Union List of Chinese Gazetteers), CHANG Hsiang wên, *Nan-yuan Ts'ung-kao* 張相文, 南國叢稿 (Collected Works of Mr Chang, a geographer), HUANG K'an, *Jih Chih Lu Chiao Chi* 黃侃, 日知錄校記 (Collation Notes on the *Jih Chih lu*, a miscellany of notes), JUNG Chao tsu, *Chung kuo Wên hsueh Shih Ta-kang* 容肇祖, 中國文學史大綱 (An Outline of the History of Chinese Literature), CHENG Chên-to, *Ch'ing jên Tsa-chi Erh Chi* 鄭振鐸, 清人雜劇二集 (Ch'ing Dynasty Drama, Collection Two), WEI Chien kung, *Ku Yin Hsi Yen-chiu* 魏建功, 古音系研究 (Research into the System of Ancient Pronunciation of Chinese Characters), T'IEH Chi-tsung, *Pa-shih chiu Chung Ming-tai Chuan chi Tsung ho Yin-tê* 田繼梓, 八十九種明代傳記綜合引得 (A Union Index to Eighty-nine Ming Dynasty Biographical Collections); WENG Tu chien, *Tao-tsang Tzû mu Yin tê* 翁獨健, 道藏子目引得 (A Table of Contents and an Index to the Taoist Canon), Wên-hsuan, *Chu Yin Shu Yin-tê* 文選注引書引得 (An Index to the Books quoted in the Commentary to the Wên-hsuan), CHOU I Yin-tê 周易引得 (An Index to the Book of Changes), Ku-wu Pao-luan Wei yuan Hui Kung-tso Hui-pao 古物保管委員會工作彙報 (A Classified Report on the Activities of the Society for the Protection of Antiquities in China), CHENG Tê k'un, *Chung kuo Ming ch'i T'u P'u* 鄭德坤, 中國明器圖譜 (An Illustrated Repertory of Chinese Funerary Objects).

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YENCHING JOURNAL OF CHINESE STUDIES

MONOGRAPH SERIES, VOL 10

KU T'ing-lung, *Wu K'o chai Hsien-shêng Nien-p'u* 顧廷龍, 吳容齋先生年譜 (A Chronological Sketch of the Life of Wu Ta-ch'ing 大猷), pp 3 + 2 + 2 + 303 + 5 + 118 plates Price Mex \$6

It would be impossible to give an adequate idea of the contents of this work in a few words Wu Ta-ch'ing (cf. GILES 2317, where the dates should read 1835 1902) is an excellent representative of the statesman-

soldier literatus type of man who has been for centuries the ideal Chinese gentleman. The 18 pages illustrating his scrolls, paintings, tea pots, ink, publications on bronzes, and memorials well exemplify the traditional activities of a *chun-tzū*.

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JOURNAL ASIATIQUE, 1935

VOL 226

67-115, 1 map HAGUENAUER, C, *Encore la question des Gores*

To the three attempts at identification of the Gores already existing, Mr S MAEJIMA adds a fourth in his articles "Goresu kō" 前嶋信次, ゴーレス致, SZ 43 (1932), March 93 111, and April, 65 87, and "Goresu-ko Hosei" 楠正, *loc cit*, May, 114 118, Mr Maejima would identify the name with Go-tō 五島, name of a group of islands W of Kyushū. Professor Haguenauer, insisting upon the Mohammedan sources, would identify the Gores with the Ryukyu Islands. The name Gores itself he would derive from the Chinese name for Korea Kao li. Its application to the Ryūkyu Islands would be the result of confusion after direct communication between Korea and Malacca had been broken.

158-176 MASPERO, H, *Reviews of the following books*

UMEHARA Sueji, *Étude sur la poterie blanche fouillée dans la ruine de l'ancienne capitale de Yin* 梅原末治, 殷虛出土白色器の研究, *Memoirs of the Tohō-bunka Gakuin* 東方學院, Kyōto Kenkyusho 京都研究所 vol 1, Kyōto, 1932

UMEHARA Sueji, *Étude archeologique sur le Pien-chin, ou serie de bronzes avec une table pour l'usage rituel dans la Chine antique* 梅原の考古學的名察, *loc cit*, vol 2, Kyoto, 1933

CHŌSEN SŌTOKU FU, *Shōwa Shichi nendo Koseki Chōsa Hōrō* 朝鮮總督府, 昭和七年度古蹟調査報告, vol 1, Keijō, 1933 (reports excavation of a fourth century A D tomb within the confines of the railroad station at Haiyō)

GOVERNMENT GENERAL MUSEUM OF CHŌSEN, *Museum Exhibits Illustrated* 博物館陳列品圖案, vol 5, Keijo, 1933

CONRADT, August, "Yih king Studien," herausgegeben von Eduard Erkes, AM 7 402-468

WALEY, Arthur, "The Book of Changes," BMFFA 5,

GALE, Erson M., *Discourses on Salt and Iron* 鹽鐵論, A Debate on

State Control of Commerce and Industry in Ancient China, Chap 1-19, translated from the Chinese of Huan K'uan with Introduction and Notes, Leiden, 1931.

313 348 The following works are reviewed

WARE J R, "The Wei Shu and the Sui Shu on Taoism," *JAOS* 53 215 250, and 54 290 294

Harvard Yenching Institute Sinological Index Series, Nos 1 7, Peiping, 1931 1932

SUZUKI Ryuichi, *Kokugo Sakun* 鈴木隆一, 國語索引, Kyōto, 1934

ACADEMY OF SCIENCES OF U S S R, *Recueil d'articles publiés à l'occasion du cinquantième anniversaire d'activité scientifique et publique de S F Oldenburg* Сергею Федоровичу Ольденбургу, к пятидесятилетию научно-общественной деятельности, 1882-1932, сборник статей, Leningrad, 1934

EVANS WENTZ, W Y, *Le livre des morts tibétain ou Les expériences d'après la mort dans le plan du Bardo, suivant la version anglaise du Lama Kazi Dawa Samdup* (translated from English by Marguerite La Fuente), Paris 1933

YAZDANI, G, *Ajanta The Colour and Monochrome Reproduction of the Ajanta Frescoes Based on Photography, part 2, (?) Hyderabad, 1933*

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(received March and September, 1936)

83 100 LIN Li kuang, Punyodaya (Na t'i), un propagateur du Tantrisme en Chine et au Cambodge à l'époque de Huan tsang

On pp 86 90 Mr Lin translates P's biography from the *Hsu Kao Seng Chuan*. The rest of the article discusses the three works which P translated into Chinese 1, *The Eight fold Mandala* 八曼荼羅 or 師子莊嚴王菩薩請問經, (NANJŌ No 462, Taishō No 486), 2, *The Method for Worshipping Buddhas* 禮佛法 or 離垢慧菩薩所問禮佛法經 (NANJŌ No 521, Taishō No 487), and 3, the *Aṭṭandīya* 阿吒那智 which now remains only in Pali (*Dīghānikāya* 32) and Tibetan (*Ōtani* No 749)

161-172 The following works are reviewed

RAY, H C, *The Dynastic History of Northern India (Early Medieval Period)*, Calcutta, 1931

PIILGF\BERG, LAMSE, *Die Kosmographische Episode in Mahābhārata und Padmapurāṇa, textgeschichtlich dargestellt* (Bonner Orientalistische Studien, Heft 4), Stuttgart, 1934

KITAYAMA, Junyu, *Metaphysik des Buddhismus* (Veröffentlichungen des orientalischen Seminars der Univ Tübingen, Abh zur orient Philologie u zur allg Religionsgeschichte, Heft 7), Stuttgart, 1934

TOUSSAINT, G C, *Le Dict de Padma, Padma thang yig, ms de Lthang, traduit* (Bibliothèque de l'Institut des Hautes Etudes Chinoises, vol 3), Paris, 1933

DAINELLI, Giotto, *La Esplorazione della regione fra l'Himalaya Occidentale et il Caracorum* (Spedizione Italiana de Filippi Relazioni Scientifiche, Ser 2, vol 1), Bologna, 1934

CLAEYS, Jean Yves, *Introduction a l etude de l Annam et du Champa*, Hanoi, 1934

314-320 STEIN, R, Review of MORGAN, Evan, *Tao, The Great Luminant Essays from Huai-nan Tzū, with introductory articles, notes, analyses*, Shanghai, 1934 [Morgan has translated chaps. 1, 2, 7, 8, 12, 13, 15, and 19]

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ASIA MAJOR 10

PARTS 1 AND 2

1-32, 183 220 POPPE, N, Über die Sprache der Daguren

A Manchu *Dagur* glossary obtained in the village of Melberte near Hailar is here published with a description of the phonetic peculiarities As an example of the Hailar dialect of this language—which P insists is Mongolian—there is also published, with a German translation, a traveler's song Errata on p 368

33 58 ALEXEEV, B A., Der Schauspieler als Held in der Geschichte Chinas

This article would seem to be a German version of the article which A. has published in Russia and which is described *supra*, p 261

59 93 HAENISCH, Erich, Die Abteufung "Jagd" im funfsprachigen Wörterspiegel

This article edits and translates from what is probably a *Wu-t'ü Ch'ing Wen Chien* 五體清文鑑 (Professor Haensch is not specific), in manuscript at the British Museum, the section on hunting This five language dictionary is in Manchu, Chinese, Mongolian, Tibetan, and Turki.

94 122 FUCHS, Walter, *Fruhmandjurische Furstengraber bei Liao yang*

This is a fundamental study, based upon texts and a personal visit, of the Tung chung Ling 東京陵, graves of early Manchus, northeast of Liao yang 遼陽. There are twelve photographs illustrating these tombs. On pp 113 119 Dr Fuchs gives a genealogy of the families of Giyocangga (Chinese 覺昌阿 or 教場 or 叫場) and Taksı (Chinese 塔古世 or 他失 or 塔失). On pp 119 122 Nurhachi's headquarters between 1619 and 1621 are discussed and enumerated.

125-128 TRAUTZ, F M, *Zur Bibliographie, Druckkunst und Epigraphik des Koyasan*

This short article gives the bibliography of Mizuhara Gyoeri 水原堯榮, abbot of the Shinnoin 親王院.

129 139 AYSCOUGH, Florence, *Tu Fu's Longest Poem*

This is an English translation of Tu Fu's *Ch'u jih K'uei fu Yung Hui* 杜甫, 秋日夔府詠懷, to be found towards the end of ch 19 of his collected poems.

140 141 HAENISCH, E, *Mongolisch Horohhu 'wegschnappen' 'mit etwas im Munde davon laufen'*

It is suggested that the Chinese translation of the Mongolian word *holoh* (written 豁囉) in the *Yuan ch'ao Pi shih* 元朝秘史 should be 叨出去 instead of 刀出去. The meaning would still be 'save'.

142 144 POPPE, N, a review of HAENISCH, Erich, *Altan gerel, Die westmongolische Fassung des Goldglanzsutra nach einer Handschrift der Kgl. Bibliothek in Kopenhagen, Leipzig*

221 228 WELLER, Friedrich, *Bemerkungen zum soghdischen Dirghana-khasutra*

This article consists of scattered notes on Gauthiot's edition and translation in *MSL* 17 357 367.

229 246 ERKES, Eduard, *Das Chinesische Theater vor der T'ang Zeit von Wang Kuo-wei übersetzt und mit Anmerkungen versehen*

This is an annotated translation of the first part of the first chapter of WANG Kuo-wei, *Sung Yuan Hsi ch'u Shih* 宋元戲曲史 (A History of Sung and Yuan Drama). This portion of Wang Kuo-wei's book sketches Chinese drama from high antiquity down to the beginning of the Sung dynasty.

247 250 HALOUN, Gustav, Einige Berichtigungen und Nachtrage zum T1 ts1 ts1 弟子職 und zum Fu ts1 傅子

These are corrections to Haloun's earlier articles in *Asia Major* Früh konfuzianische Fragmente I, AM 8 437 509, II, AM 9 467 502

251-261 SCHINDLER, Bruno, Über einige altchinesische Hilswörter

This article consists of notes on the particle *chueh* 厥 in the classics, particularly the *Shu Ching* and *Shih Ching*

262 313 HAENISCH, E, Die Eroberung des Goldstromlandes in Ost Tibet, als Beitrag zur chinesischen Kolonialgeschichte des 18 Jahr hunderts, übersetzt aus Wei Yuan's *Sheng wu ki* 魏源, 聖武記 und erläutert aus den Akten

This is an account of the wars waged by the Manchus for the control of southeastern Tibet from 1746 to about 1776 By "den Akten" the author refers to the *P'ing ting Chin ch'uan Fang lueh* 平定金川方略 (1749) in 26 *chuan* and the *P'ing ting Liang Chin ch'uan Fang lueh* 平定兩金川方略 (1781) in 152 *chuan*

314 364 WELLER, F, Bemerkungen zum soghdischen *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa-sūtra*

These are notes on the Sogdian text edited by H REICHELT in his *Die soghdischen Handschriftenreste des Britischen Museums*, vol 1 Weller bases his remarks upon a study of the Chinese original from which the Sogdian translation was made NANJIO 146, *Wei-mo chieh so shuo Ching* 維摩詰所說經

365 367 VAN HEE, Louis, Le Bouddha et les premiers missionnaires en Chine

Quotations from five old catechisms, prepared in Chinese for the Chinese, now preserved in the Jesuit archives, reveal the Buddha's condemnation by the early Roman Catholic missionaries

369 372 KUHN, Franz, review of BUCK, Pearl S, *All Men are Brothers*, London, 1933

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ACTA ORIENTALIA 13

35 43 WOLFENDEN, S N, A Specimen of the Kûlung Dialect

The story of the prodigal son is published with a literal translation into English. There are a few grammatical remarks by the author.

44 80 THOMAS, F W, Some Notes on the Kharosthi Documents from Chinese Turkestan

The following words are discussed: Navote, Tomga, pak'e, phak'e, bamna, naddha, vacari, acoade, acona, acovina, varağa, kabhodha, aya-dvara, camkura, cojhbo. In addition Professor Thomas has edited and translated documents Nos 165 and 358.

244 254 KONOW, Sten, a review of Sylvain LEVI, *Fragments de textes koutchéens, Udanavarga, Udanastotra, Udanalamkara et Karmavibhanga, et traduits avec un vocabulaire et une introduction sur le "Tokharien,"* Cahiers de la Société Asiatique 1 2, Paris 1933

292 318 RAHDER, J, Saikaku's "Life of a Voluptuous Woman," Second Book

This is an annotated translation from IBARA Saikaku (real name, Hirayama Togo), *Koshoku Ichidai Onna* 井原西鶴 (平山藤五), 好色一代女 which is generally considered the best realistic novel of the Tokugawa period. ASTON, in his *History of Japanese Literature*, reflects an unjust estimation of this author, but today students of Japanese literature recognize Saikaku (1642-1693) as a great stylist. The novel, of which Rahder has translated only a portion, describes the life of a woman during the Tokugawa period.

336 346 PIERSON, J L, "The Phonetic System of Ancient Japanese," by S YOSHITAKE (lecturer in Japanese, School of Oriental Studies, University of London), published by the Royal Asiatic Society, London, 1934

These are pages of remarks by Mr Pierson concerning Yoshitake's article. With some slight exceptions Pierson agrees with his approach and his conclusions.

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LANGUAGE VOL 11

196 206 PETERSEN, Walter, Tocharian Pronominal Declension

264-267 LAVES, Gerhardt, review of DEMPWOLFF, Otto, *Induktiver Aufbau einer indonesischen Ursprache* (Beiheft zur Zeitschrift für Eingeborenen Sprachen, No 15), Berlin, 1934

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NANKING JOURNAL 5

PART 2,* NOVEMBER, 1935

237-246 HU Kuang wei, K'ao Shang shih so ts'ang Ku Chia-chung Ch'ing 胡光燁, 考商氏所藏古夾鍾磬 (A Study of the Musical Stone with a Chia-chung Note in the Possession of Mr Shang [Ch'êng tsu 承祚]).

This is a well illustrated article on the *ch'ing* Mr Hu writes the word *chung* with the character 鍾, the *Tz'u yuan* uses 鐘.

247-266 LIU Chi hsün, Chan kuo Shih tai chih Chung-chi Shêng huo 劉繼宣, 戰國時代之經濟生活 (The Economic Life of the Period of the Warring States [400-250 B C])

Supported by quotations from the literary sources this subject is discussed as follows 1, The Spread of Merchandizing, where the sources indicate the existence everywhere of market places It is also shown that the size of localities was in descending order 都, 郡, 邑. 2, Currency consisted of gold, copper coins, and copper knives The gold was used in units having names, either 鎰 or *chün* 斤, differing among the several states The relation between the two and the ratio of the gold to the copper is not stated 3, The Life of the Common People This was based upon a copper economy as today 4, The Life of the Women It was a rural economy where the men tilled while the women carried on the normal home duties and the spinning 5, Advances in the Methods of Production fertilizing and irrigation of land The artisan and the warrior possessed many ingenious contrivances

267-298 SHANG Ch'eng tsu Shuo-wên chung chih Ku wen K'ao 商承祚, 說文中之古文考 (二稿) (A Study of the Old Graphies in the *Shuo wen*)

This is a continuation from p 216 of volume four of the Nanking Journal, and is to be continued

299-311 KAO Ping-ch'un, Liang Han Ti fang Ching-chih Chih tu chih Pien-ch'ien 高炳春, 兩漢地方政治制度之變遷 (The Development of the System of Local Government under the Two Han Dynasties)

This article is presented under the following headings 1, The Rise and the Fall of the system of Prefectures and Fiefs, 2, The Enlargement of the Local Government Districts, 3, The Organization of Officials in

* Part 1 of this journal is devoted to problems in modern Chinese agriculture.

the Fiefs and the Prefectures, 4, The Development of the Office of Governor 刺史; 5, Excellence of the Official Administration

313 328 WU Cheng chu, *tzü Pai t'ao*, Pai Shih Tao jen Tz'ü Hsiao chuen 吳徵鑄, 白匄, 白石道人詞小箋 (Notes on the *Tzu* of Chiang K'uei 姜夔)

Chiang K'uei was a poet who lived during the Sung dynasty

329 349 WANG Sheng tsu, *Ou chou Kuo chi Kuan hsi* 1871 1914 王繩祖, 歐洲國際關係 1871 1914 (European Diplomatic Relations, 1871 1914)

351 358 KAO Wen, *Wen tzü Chêng yuan Chu li* 高文, 文字證原舉例 (Examples illustrating the Origins of Chinese characters)

The following characters are discussed 尤, 乙, 失, 六, 冥.

359 362 WANG Chung min, *Tun huang Pen Tung kao Tz'ü Chi Ts'an chuan Pa* 王重民, 敦煌本東皋子集殘卷跋 (A Colophon to the Fragment of the *Tung kao Tzu Chi* from Tun huang)

This is a fragment containing three *fu* 賦 by the T'ang poet Wang Chi 王績

363 369 WAN Kuo ting, *Fang chih T'í li Ou shih* 萬國鼎, 方志體例偶識 (Jottings on the Form of Local Gazetteers)

This is an annotated bibliography of books and articles treating of the form of local gazetteers

371-412 SMYTHE L S C, *The Composition of the Chinese Family*

This study is based upon statistics gathered by Prof J L Buck and by the police of Nanking

433 442 SHANG Ch'eng tsu, *Chi Nan ching Ch'u t'u chih Luang Wu-chu Ni fan* 商承祚, 記南京出土之梁五銖泥範 (Notes on Clay Moulds for Wu chu Coins of the Liang Dynasty [A D 502 556] Excavated at Nanking)

The article is well illustrated and gives quotations from the sources regarding the casting of *wu chu* coins

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145-146 WOLFENDEN, S N, Note on the Tribal Name Mes (Mech).

The author rejects the usual equation of this name with the Sanskrit *Mleccha*, and suggests that the word means "man," cognate with Tibetan *mi*. The -s would be a suffix found elsewhere in this same family e g, *ma-si*, the Deori Chutiya word for "man" and the K'ulung word *mis*, "man."

273 284, 449-458 MORLEY, Arthur, Some Ethical Ideals of the *Tso-chuan*

A very general but interesting summary

299-306 OBERMILLER, E, *Bu ston's History of Buddhism and the Mañjuśrī-mūlatantra*

This article corrects on the basis of the recently published *Mañju*° (by Dr GANAPATI ŚASTRĪ in the *Triandrum Sanskrit Series*) the reconstruction of Sanskrit names in Obermiller's translation of Bu ston's *Chos-hbyun*, Heidelberg, 1931-1932.

360-362 HOPKINS, L C, A Note on the Maneless Horse in Ancient China.

The author assures us that a character on the bone inscriptions which has been identified with the modern *馬*, but which shows no indication of a mane in the pictograph, is found as the object of such verbs as "hunt" or "capture" The pictograph exhibiting clearly a mane is not found with these verbs It is concluded that the former of these two characters is not to be identified with *馬*

467-474 YETTS, W Percival, Recent Finds near An yang

This is a continuation, on the basis of part 4 of the *Preliminary Reports of Excavations at Anyang*, Peiping, 1933 (these reports are in Chinese), of Mr Yetts' article published in *JRAS* 1933, 657-785 In this report the claim that the An yang site had been disturbed by floods is abandoned A résumé is given of Tung Tso-pin's *Archéol* article on the names of the rulers of the Shang dynasty in *Studies presented to Ts'ao Yüan-p'ei on his Sixty fifth Birthday*, 1933 In this same article Mr Tung also reports the existence of bones inscribed with a brush The excavation of two sites at An yang reveals the sequence, from bottom to

top, of Yang shao culture, Lung shan culture, and Shang culture In the report on the excavations there is an article on bronze casting during the Shang period Attention is also called to articles on bronzes from this site by Bishop W C WHITE, *Illustrated London News* (presumably in 1935), Mar 23, pp 480 2, Apr 20, 639 641, May 18, 888 889

629 653 WOLFENDEN, S N, A Specimen of the Thulung Dialect

The story of the prodigal son is published with a literal translation This dialect is spoken in E Nepal, and shows close affinities with Tibetan The author gives a long discussion of the linguistic structure of the language and a comparative table of some very common words in related dialects

667 675 BURROW, T, Tokharian Elements in the Kharosthi Documents from Chinese Turkestan

In the material written with the Kharosthi syllabary found by Sir Aurel Stein in Chinese Turkestan there occur about 150 words which are adjudged by Mr Burrow to represent the native language of the area as opposed to the official Indian Prakrit The article lists the phonetic characteristics of the language which show it to be very similar to the two Tokharian dialects These words may possibly be representative of Tokharian in a form 500 years older than that preserved in the documents from Kucha and Karashar

677 688 TUCCI, Giuseppe, A propos the Legend of Naropa

This article is inspired by A. GRUNWEDEL *Die Legenden des Naropa des Hauptvertreters des Nekromanten und Hexentums* Leipzig 1933 Professor Tucci indicates further sources for the legend of this famous teacher, and registers his objections to Grunwedel's approach to the Tantric literature Occasion is taken to correct some of the translator's misunderstandings The reviewer also objects to Grunwedel's assumption of Manichaean influence although he himself finds traces of it in some of the old books belonging to the Red Sect

697 706, 2 plates KRISHNASWAMY RAO SAHIB, C S and AMALANANDA GHOSH, A Note on the Allahabad Pillar of Aśoka

After considering the various suggestions that have been made regarding the possible removal of this pillar from Kosam to its present site, the authors reach the conclusion that it seems reasonable to suppose that the pillar has always been at its present location

707-716 and 1936, 45 54, 2 plates HOPKINS, L. C., The Cas-chrom v the Lei ssü, A Study of the Primitive Forms of Plough in Scotland and Ancient China.

This is a rambling discussion of Hsü Chung shu, Lei Ssü K'ao 徐中舒, 耒耜考 (On the Plough), CYYY 2 (1930) 11 59

721 724 RHYS DAVIDS, C. A. F., Curious Omissions in Pali Canonical Lists

This article emphasizes that such groups as the Three Refuges, The Four Noble Truths, and the Eightfold Path are not given the prominence we should expect in the texts which arrange the Buddhist doctrine by numbered categories, and the subject is deemed worthy of further research

In the volume for 1935 the following books and articles are noticed or reviewed J A RICHARDS, *Mencius on the Mind*, *Études d'orientalisme* (à la mémoire de Raymonde Linossier), B H CHAMBERLAIN and W G ASTON, *Translation of "Ko-jü ki" or "Records of Ancient Matters"*, E HAENISCH, *Monggo Han Sai Da Sekiyen*, R S BRITTON, *The Chinese Periodical Press, 1800 1912*, H H HART, *The Hundred Names*, J HACKIN, *Nouvelles recherches archeologiques a Bâmiyan*, and *L'oeuvre de la délégation archeologique française en Afghanistan (1922 1932)*, G TUCCI, *The Commentaries on the Prajñāpāramitā* (edition introduction, and indices), W P YETTS, *The Horse A Factor in Early Chinese History*, S I HSIUNG, *Lady Precious Stream*, Sir E DENISON ROSS and R O WINGATE, *Dialogues in the Eastern Turk Dialect on Subjects of Interest to Travellers*, G JARRING, *Studien zur einer Ost turkischen Lautlehre*, V TRECKNER, D ANDERSEN, and H SMITH, *A Critical Pali Dictionary*, C NOTTON, *Annales du Siam*, T'ien tsé CHANG, *Sino-Portuguese Trade from 1514 to 1644*, R GEORGET, *India*, Sir Reginald JOHNSTONE, *Twilight in the Forbidden City*, Marcelle LALOU, *Bibliographie Bouddhique*, IV V, Mai 1931-33, P MASSON OURSEL H WILLMAN GRABOWSKA, and P STERN, *Ancient India and Indian Civilization*, B KARLÖFEN, "The Poetical Parts in Lao-Tsü," and "Shih King Researches", W LIEBENTHAL, *Saṃkhya in der Darstellung seiner buddhistischen Gegner*, H JACOBI, *Trisūlāryāṇapti des Vasubandhu mit Bhāṣya des Ācārya Śhīramatī* (translation), M TAKAKUSU, *The Samkhya Karika Studied in the Light of the Chinese Version*, C A F RHYS DAVIDS, *Outlines of Buddhism (A Historical Sketch)*, A VON GABAIN and G R RACHMATI, *Türkische Turfantexte VI. Das Buddhistische Sutra Sakī iulmak*, A DE SMEDT and A.

MOSTAERT, *Le dialecte monguor parle par les mongols du Kansu occidental IIIe partie, Dictionnaire monguor français*, Elizabeth SEEGER, *The Pageant of Chinese History*, R GROUSSET, *Japan*, G DAINELLI, *Buddhists and Glaciers of Western Tibet*, H G Quaritch WALES, *Ancient Siamese Government and Administration*, J P VOGEL, *Op het voetspoor van Boeddha*, H A GILES and A WALEY, *Select Chinese Verses*, S YOSHITAKE, *The Phonetic System of Ancient Japanese*, R GROUSSET, *China*

This volume also contains necrologies of Berthold Laufer, Herbert Allen Giles and W E Soothill

J R W

YOUNG PAO VOL 31

1 57 E H PRITCHARD, Letters from Missionaries at Peking relating to the Macartney Embassy (1793 1803)

These materials are drawn chiefly from the Macartney archives at Cornell University, Ithaca, New York They substantiate the contention that Macartney did not kowtow at his audience with the emperor The first document given is an English translation, dated Peking, Nov 13, 1790, of an Italian original advising against the sending of an embassy There are four letters, dated May 7, 1793 to Sept 11, 1793, in French to Macartney from Father Jean Joseph de Grammont, who was in the Chinese service, describing the reactions of the Chinese and offering advice to the ambassador Mr Pritchard also reproduces two letters in French, dated Mar 1 and 5, 1794, from Father Robert Hanna, who was then at Canton, reproducing information from the missionaries at Peking relative to the embassy They give among other information the following reasons for the poor reception accorded the embassy 1, no presents were brought for the ministers and the emperor's sons, 2, failure to follow the proper ceremonial (kowtow), 3, too simple clothing was worn at the audience, 4, they did not give gratuities to the proper persons, 5 the requests were not made in the proper style, 6, the intrigues of a certain missionary who did not want his country's commerce interfered with by the English (probably, Joseph Bernardo, a Portuguese) There is one letter in French to Macartney from each of the following missionaries Louis de Poirot, Sept. 29, 1794, and Nicolas Joseph Raux, Oct 21 1794 There is also added a letter in French from Louis François Lamiot to Sir George Thomas Staunton, dated Peking Sept 16 1803, explaining the Chinese point of view regarding embassies and the impression which Occidental traders had already made on the Chinese

lieferung," *AA* 9 (1933). 503-551. Sir E Denison Ross, *Sir Anthony Sherley and his Persian Adventure, Including some Contemporary Narratives relating hereto*, London, G Routledge, 1933, 38+293 pp with 2 maps and 8 plates [A volume in the *Broadway Travellers*] E H THOMAS, *The History of Buddhist Thought*, London, Kegan Paul, 1933, 16+314 pp, 4 plates G. J RAMSTEDT, "Die Palatalisation in den altaischen Sprachen," *Ann Acad Scient Fennicae*, series B, vol 27 (1932). 239-251 Alfons VATH, *Johann Adam Schall von Bell S J., Missionar in China, Kaiserlicher Astronom und Ratgeber am Hofe von Peking 1592 1666, Ein Lebens- und Zeitbild*, Unter Mitwirkung von Louis Van Hee S J., Köln, Verlag J. P. Bachem, 1933, 20+380 pp [*Verof. des Rheinischen Museums in Köln*, vol. 2]

188-236, 2 maps and 1 graph. Willy HARTNER, *Das Datum der Shih-ching Finsternis*

This is a fundamental study of the famous mention of an eclipse in the ode Shih-yueh chih Chiao 十月之交 of the *Shih Ching* 詩經 This eclipse had long been identified with that of (historical style) September 6, 776 B C, but Hartner reaches the conclusion (it having long been evident to the competent from OPPOLZER's *Canon* that the 776 identification was erroneous) that the eclipse mentioned here in the *Shih Ching* can only be the one of (historical style) November 30, 735 B C, Julian calendar.

237-273 Berthold LAUFER, *Rye in the Far East and the Asiatic Origin of our Word Series "Rye"*

Lauffer prepared this fundamental article to complete from the Chinese side the work of the Russian scholar N Vavilov The grain is little grown (chiefly in Szechuan) in China, and several names are found for it *Lao-ch'iang ku* written either 老羌穀 or 老鎗穀, *pai-tzū* 稗子 (which is also a wild panic grass found growing with the other cereals), *yu-mai* 油麥, *yen-mai*, 燕麥, and *Kao-li-lu* 高麗穀. The grain and its name (the oldest recording seems to be in Galen, A D 131-200, who gives a Thracian name $\beta\rho\iota\zeta\alpha$) seem to have originated in eastern Asia Minor.

274-314 Paul PELLLOT, *Notes additionnelles sur Tcheng Houo et sur ses voyages*

This article resumes the fundamental article published in *TP* 30 237-452 regarding the famous Ming admiral and ambassador. There are several translations of extracts from the *Shih-lu* 實錄 for this period as well as translations from the funerary tablet of Cheng Ho's 鄭和 father.

This inscription is published in the *T'ien I* 滇釋 by Yuan Chia ku 袁嘉穀, a native of Yunnan. Attention is also called to an article published by T. YAMAMOTO in *T'G* 21 (1934) 374 404, 506 556 "Jo Wa no Saisshō" 山本達郎, 鄭和の西征 (Cheng Ho's Expeditions to the South Sea under the Ming Dynasty)

315 329 +1 table G. COEDÈS, *L'origine du cycle des douze animaux au Cambodge*

The Cambodians and Siamese use the series of twelve animals but call them by names which are neither native nor Chinese. Recently discovered inscriptions show that the series and the peculiar names go back at least to the eleventh century. The material at hand forces the investigator to postulate a period when two separate chronological cycles were used in the Indo Chinese peninsula: the Chinese sexagesimal cycle in the north among the peoples speaking T'ai, and a cycle of twelve animals among the peoples in the south who either knew no series (e.g., the Mons and the Chams) or who learned it later (e.g., the Cambodians and Siamese) probably from those of the north. The author then shows that the peculiar names mentioned above for the animal cycle are of Mu'ong or proto Annamite origin. It seems probable that the cycle was borrowed from the Mu'ong by the Khmer who in turn passed it on to the Cambodians.

330 362 Robert LINGAT, *Une lettre de Veret sur la revolution siamoise de 1688*

This article publishes for the first time and with full commentary a letter which Veret, chief of the French Company in Siam, wrote to André Boureau Deslandes, the Company's director in Bengal. The letter is dated from Pondicherry, March 3, 1689, and is now preserved in the *Archives de la Seine*.

363-408 Eduard ERKES, *Sung Yu's Chiu pien, Text, Übersetzung und Erläuterungen*

This is an edition of the text with translation and commentary of Sung Yu's 宋玉 series of poems, *Chiu Pien* 九辯, which form chuan 8 of the *Ch'u Tz'ü* 楚辭.

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61-95. CHANG Yin-lin, Chia-wu Chung-kuo Hai-chun Chan-chi K'ao 張蔭麟, 甲午中國海軍戰蹟攷 (A Study of the Activities of the Chinese Navy during the Sino-Japanese War, 1894-1895).

The article is divided into three parts: the battle of Fêng-tao 豐島, the battle of Huang-hai 黃海 (Yellow Sea), and the defense of Wei-hai-wei 威海衛.

97-145 CHANG Tê-Ch'ang, Ch'ing tai Ya p'ien Chan-chêng ch'ien chih Chung Hsi Yen-hai T'ung-shang 張德昌, 清代鴉片戰爭前之中西沿海通商 (The Coastal Trade between China and the West before the Opium War).

This article deals mainly with the commercial relations between China and the West during the second part of the seventeenth and the first part of the eighteenth centuries (1644-1759). The author divides this period into two parts: the first part, 1644-1684, called the closed-sea period, the second part, 1684-1759, called the open-ports period. He draws materials from both the Chinese and the western sources.

147-152. T'ao Hsi shêng, Ku-tai ti T'u-jang chi ch'i so i ti Chih-wu ti Chi-tsai 陶希聖, 古代的土壤及其所宜的植物的記載 (Records of the Soil and its Flora in Ancient China).

This article is based on such books as *Shu-ching* 書經, *Chou-li* 周禮, *Kuan-tzû* 管子, *Lu-shih Ch'un-ch'iu* 呂氏春秋 etc.

153-155. CH'ÊN Yin-lo, Li T'ai-po Shih-tsu chih I wên 陳寅恪, 李太白氏族之疑問 (On the Ancestors of Li Po).

A short but very significant article on the origin of the ancestors of Li Po 李白, one of the great poets of the T'ang Dynasty. According to the author's conclusion, Li Po was born in the Hsi-yu 西域 (The West), his surname Li is simply an adopted one. He is purely and simply a Hsi-yu Hu-jên 西域胡人 (a barbarian from the West).

157-183. WANG Li, Ts'ung Yuan-yin ti Hsing-chih Shuo Tao Chung-kuo-yu ti Shêng tiao 王力, 從元音的性質說到中國語的聲調 (The Nature of Vowels and Tones in Chinese)

After discussing the nature of the vowels, the author proceeds to give a summary of the conclusions of previous studies concerning the tones of Chinese. In the last part he discusses some of the delicate problems of

Chinese tones, such as the influence of diphthongs, of intensity, of consonants, of emotion, etc

185 233 Hsu Wei yu, Ho Lan kao Fu Fu Nien p'u (Fu Chu shu K'ao) 許維通, 郝蘭皋夫婦年譜 (附著述考) (A Chronological Biography of Ho Lan kao and His Wife, with a Study of Their Works)

Ho I hsing 郝懿行 (1757 1825), hao Lan kao, was the author of many books, among which *Shan hai ching Chien chu* 山海經箋注 and *Erh ya I su* 爾雅義疏 are the most well known His wife, Wang Chao-yüan 王昭圓 (1763 1851), tzü Jui yu 瑞王, was also learned and the authoress of a number of works At the end of this chronological biography is an annotated list of the works of the couple

249 254 CH'EN Ch'uan 陳綬, a review of Georg JACOB and Hans JENSEN, *Das chinesische Schattentheater*, Stuttgart, 1933

279 310 FENG Yu lan, Yuan Ju Mo 馮友蘭, 原儒墨 (The Origin of Ju and Mo)

The main theme of this article is to prove that the origin of both Ju and Mo can be traced back to the breakdown of the aristocracy of the Chou Dynasty With this breakdown, those professional men, who were formerly subordinated to and supported by the aristocrats and whose duty was to teach and to perform sacrificial and funeral ceremonies, lost their former status and became *ju* or *ju shih* 儒士 From the Ju came Confucius, who tried to philosophize their professional principles and founded the Ju Chia 儒家 Along with this same breakdown there arose a group of professional fighters, called *hsia* 俠 or *hsia shih* 俠士, who were formerly the subordinates of the aristocrats and would now fight for those who hired them Mo tzü 墨子 was one of these *hsia*, and, like Confucius, he tried to philosophize the principles of their trade and thus founded the Mo Chia 墨家 This is an important new explanation of the origin of Ju and Mo

311 357 YANG Shu ta, Ku yin Tui-chuan Su Chêng 楊樹達, 古音對轉疏證 (Some Aspects of Vowel Change in Ancient Chinese)

The proposition of vowel changes in ancient Chinese was first made by K'ung Kuang sên 孔廣森 (1752 1786) This article is an attempt to supply it with copious examples gathered from various Chinese classics

409-474 HSIA Nai, T'ai p'ing T'ien kuo ch'ien hou Ch'ang-chiang Ko-shêng chih T'ien fu 夏鼐, 太平天國前後長江各省之田賦 (The Land Tax of the Yangtze Provinces before and after the Taping Rebellion)

475-481. CH'ÏEN Tao sun, Jih-pên Shuang-lu T'an 錢稻孫, 日本雙陸談 (On Japanese Backgammon).

Shuang-lu 雙陸 (Sugoroku in Japanese), a kind of backgammon, was introduced into Japan from China in the sixth century A. D. Today the method of playing Shuang-lu is practically lost in China, but in Japan it is still preserved. The present article gives interesting discussions about the pronunciation of its name, its history in Japan, and the rules of the game.

483-490 Li Chia-yen, Liu-tsu T'an-ching Tê-1 K'an-pên chih Fa-hsien 李嘉言, 六祖壇經德異刊本之發現 (On the Tê-1 Edition of the T'an-ching of the Sixth Patriarch).

The existence of a 1290 edition of the T'an-ching has so far escaped notice. Mr Li calls this edition Tê-1 德異 after the name of the editor and proves that the edition of 1439 is based upon it.

515-518 LEI Hai-tsung 雷海宗, a review of K S LATOURETTE, *The Chinese, Their History and Culture*, New York, 1934

518-530 CHANG Yin t'ang 張印堂, a review of G B CRESSEY, *China's Geographic Foundations, A Survey of the Land and Its People*, New York and London, 1934

536-544 CHAO Fêng chieh 趙鳳喈, a review of HU Ch'ang-ch'ing 胡長清, *Chung-kuo Min-fa Tsung-lun* 中國民法總論 (Chinese Civil Law) and *Chung-kuo Min-fa Chai-pien Tsung lun* 中國民法債編總論 (Debts in Chinese Civil Law), Shanghai, 1934

545 556 CH'ËN Yin ko, Yuan Wei-chih Ch'ien Pei hui Shih chih Yuan-t'1 chi ch'1 Tz'ü-hsu 陳寅恪, 元微之遺悲懷詩之原題及其次序 (The Original Titles and the Sequence of the Poems of Yuan Chên)

The author tries to prove that the three famous elegies of Yuan Chên 元稹, *tzü Wei chih*, generally entitled "San Ch'ien Pei hui" 三遺悲懷 or just "Ch'ien Pei-hui," were not composed at one time, that their present sequence is wrong, and that the title "San Ch'ien Pei-hui" originally belonged to the third poem only. The titles of the first two poems, which should be "Ch'ien Pei hui" 遺悲懷 and "Tsai Ch'ien Pei hui" 再遺悲懷, respectively, have probably been mistakenly omitted in later editions.

557-563 WÂN I-to, Shih Hsin t'ai "Hung" Tz'ü Shuo 聞一多, 詩新義鴻字說 (An Explanation of the Word "鴻" in Ode 13, Book 3 of the *Shih Ching*).

The word *hung*, according to the article, is a different name for *ch'an-ch'u* 蚺蛇 (toad), it is not the name of a bird, as usually explained

565-585 T'ao Hsi shêng, *Chou tai Chu Ta tsu ti Hsin yang ho Tsu chih* 陶希聖, 周代諸大族的信仰和組織 (Social Organization and Religion of the Main Clans during the 11-5 Centuries B. C.)

The article treats of the social organization and religion of the Chou 周族 and of other groups such as Ch'u 楚, Wu Yueh 吳越, Yen Ch'i 燕齊, Ch'in Chao 秦趙, etc

587-629 Wu Chung-ch'ao, *Hsi Han ti Chieh-chi Chih tu* 吳景超, 西漢的階級制度 (The Class System of the Western Han Dynasty)

This article treats of the three social classes of the Western Han Dynasty: slaves, common people, and privileged class which consisted of the rich and the noble. Society of the Western Han Dynasty, according to the author, may best be described as an agricultural absolute monarchy characterized by classes. Classes there were, but class struggle in the modern sense there was not. The author draws his materials mainly from the *Ch'ien Han shu* 前漢書

631-646 Wu Han, *Ming Ch'eng tsu Shêng mu K'ao* 吳晗, 明成祖生母考 (On the Mother of Emperor Ch'eng tsu of the Ming Dynasty)

The problem of the real mother of Emperor Ch'eng tsu has long been in dispute. The author of this article tries to prove that Empress Kao 高 had no son, and that the real mother of Ch'eng tsu was the concubine Kung 竇妃

647-690 WANG Li, *Lei yin Yen-chiu* 王力, 類音研究 (A Critical Study of P'AN Lei's 潘耒 *Lei Yin* (1646-1708))

719-727 CHANG Yin lin 張蔭麟 (with a reply from the author), a review of FENG Yu lan 馮友蘭, *Chung kuo Chê-hsueh Shih Hsia-chuan* 中國哲學史下卷 (A History of Chinese Philosophy, vol. 2, Shanghai, 1934)

A discussion between the reviewer and the author concerning three points of the book: the authenticity of the *T'ai-chi T'u shuo* 太極圖說, the differences between Chu tzu 朱子 and Lu Hsiang-shan 陸象山, and the origin of the theory of *Li Ch'i* 理氣

740-747 CH'EN Tao-sun 錢稻孫, a review of AKIYAMA Kenzo 秋山謙藏, *Nisshi Kotsu Shwa* 日支交通史話 (Historical Essays on the Intercourse between China and Japan), Tokyo, 1935

747 749 CH'EN Tao sun 錢稻孫, a review of *Toho Bunka Shi Soko* 東方文化史叢考 (Historical Articles on Eastern Civilization, Bulletin of the Imperial University), Keijo, 1935

791 801 HUNG Ssu ch'i 洪思齊, a review of G B CRESSEY, *China's Geographic Foundations A Survey of the Land and Its People*, New York and London, 1934

803 836 CHANG Yin lin, Chou tai ti Feng chieh Shê hui 張蔭麟, 周代的封建社會 (Feudal Society in the Chou Dynasty, 11 5 centuries B C)

837 865 WEN I to, Kao t'ang Shen nu Ch'uan shuo chih Fen hsi 聞一多, 高唐神女傳說之分析 (An Analysis of the Legend of the Goddess Kao t'ang)

867 875 FENG Yu lan Yuan Ju Mo Pu 馮友蘭 原儒墨補 (A Supplement to "The Origin of Ju and Mo")

Supplementary remarks to the article mentioned above from pp 279 310 of the *CHHP*

877 886 CH'EN Yin ko, Yuan Po Shih Chung Feng liao ch'ien Wên ti 陳寅恪, 元白詩中俸料錢問題 (The Question of Salaries in the Poems of Yuan Chen and Po Chu i)

In this article the author makes a comparative study between the official salaries indicated in the poems of Yuan Chen 元稹 and Po Chu i 白居易 and those recorded in the *Shih huo chih* 食貨志 of the *Hsin T'ang shu* 新唐書, showing that there are mistakes in the latter. This article should be read in connection with the author's other article, pp 545 556 of this issue of the *CHHP*

887 915 CHU Tzu ch'ing, Li Ho Nien p'u 朱自清, 李賀年譜 (A Chronological Biography of Li Ho)

Li Ho (tzu Chang chi 長吉), one of the great poets of the T'ang dynasty, flourished at the end of the eighth and the beginning of the ninth centuries, being a contemporary of Han yü 韓愈, Huang fu Chih 皇甫湜, and Tu Mu 杜牧. He was short lived (790 816), precocious, and is said to have been able to compose poems at the age of seven.

917 939 Wu Han Ming tai Chung nan chih I yü Kuo-tu Pei-ch'ien 吳晗, 明代靖難之役與國都北遷 (The Revolt of the Prince of Yen [1402 A D] and the Removal of the Capital to Peking)

This article, based mainly on the *Ming Shih* 明史, treats of one of the most significant events in the history of the Ming Dynasty

941-950 YANG Shu ta, Wen tzü Hsun ku hsueh Lun wên shih P'ien
楊樹達, 文字訓詁學論文十篇 (Semantic Notes on Some Words and
Phrases)

The article contains ten short notes on Chinese words or phrases, such as the compound *Chün shih* 軍實 in the *Tso chuan* 左傳, the term *hsieh-shih* 謝施 in *Chuang tzü* 莊子, the character *Yü* 獄, etc

951-954 Hsiao Kung ch'uan 蕭公權, a review of R F JOHNSTON, *Confucianism and Modern China*, London, 1934

954-957 Lei Hai tsung 雷海宗, a review of L C GOODRICH, *The Literary Inquisition of Ch'ien lung*, Baltimore, 1935

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